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REFORMS: A SYMPOSIUM.

Issue the second instalment of the Symposium on Post-War Reforms Number of *The Indian Review*. Owing to pressure of space, we regret we have a few more contributions on the subject to the succeeding number.—Ed. *I.R.*

by Lee, LL.D.

My knowledge of India which in expressing an opinion on the of Post-War Reforms submitted Viceroy by nineteen elected non- members of the Imperial Legislative Council only assure you that I earnestly hope war to see adopted every measure which ntly calculated at one and the same time use the prosperity and happiness of my fellow-subjects of the British Crown, and ke for the additional security of the British re. I am especially anxious that in any of Imperial Federation, India should be ar to that of the Self-Governing Dominions. trust after the war that I may be in a posi- to accept an invitation, which has been given lecture on literary themes in one or more Universities of India, and thereby to come user touch than has yet been possible for sh the enlightenment of the Indian peoples.

Sir M. M. Bhownaggee.

My opinion, nothing short of the privileges ghts enjoyed by other parts of the British e will do for India with every distinction e and colour at present, being eliminated. I look forward to the people of India "taking their proper place in the family of nations side by side with the other children of the British Empire." That, in brief, comprises all that British citizenship means for the people of India, adapted to their special circumstances and interests.

It is likely that some scheme of an Imperial character will be evolved as a result of the War. India should make it perfectly plain that she expects to have adequate representation in such a body, and that matters touching her affairs and interests must be handled by her representatives.

Mr. Amar Singh, Pleader, Punjab.

Apart from the intrinsic merits of "Memorandum of Nineteen," the who effect it will have on the Indian politician worth notice. The retrograde, the puppet, the ornamental required a good deal of pulling up. With one masterly move the Nineteen have shown them their place. The Nineteen have proved that Indian politics can better do without them. The very bold decision of the Muslim League at Lucknow, in bidding "exit" to the reactionary spirits, has intensified the deterrent effect of the silent action of the Nineteen on the official-made leaders and those whose foremost aim is to grind their own axle.

Matters raising impressions of mistrust in the people by the Government, invidious distinctions which make people feel themselves foreigners in their own country: with a comparatively few honorable exceptions, the overbearing attitude of Europeans and those who pass as such towards the sons of the soil: indifference as to the safeguarding of the Indian interests abroad, are the four main factors which, I think, are the head and front of unrest in India. The Indian political movements are but a protest, not only against the form of government, but against the whole mental attitude of Anglo-India as well. Tardiness in eliminating these factors of discontentment has cast doubt on the *bond fides* of British Rule in India. It has led to desperation which, in turn, set fire to the fuel of discontentment and turning it into anarchical outrages.

The Memorandum places before the Government the real situation in a nutshell. Malady is no longer a secret—unrest is there, and there is the political crime. The Nineteen have suggested the remedy. The treatment rests with the Government. It is fortunate both for the people and Government to avail themselves of the suggestion.

Dewan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai.

The memorandum of the nineteen non-official elected members gives articulate expression to the reasonable and modest aspirations and expectations of our countrymen. As regards the main demands stated therein for securing effective voice to the representatives of the people, in the internal administration of the country, there can be no difference of opinion; and any differences that may arise with reference to the details of the scheme, I think can be easily remedied when the regulations are framed. Timely reforms will surely strengthen and ensure the goodwill and the loyal attachment of India to England, while advancing at the same time the prosperity and the welfare of the masses of this country, and adding to the glory of the British Isles and the British race.

The Hon. Mr. Yakub Hasan.

It is the greatest compliment to Great Britain that within a century of her rule India considers herself advanced enough to claim the boon of Self-Government. If the British nation after all that she claims to have done for India does not consider her fit for this privilege, she deliberately undervalues her own capacity of elevating nations whose fate it is to be under her rule. Great Britain has been, deservedly or undeservedly, credited with the possession of a genius for benevolent governance of alien races for their greatest good. In this art of government she claims to have succeeded to a phenomenal extent. None can bear better witness to this claim than the nations that have borne the brunt of the experiment. This world war has put all the nations on the face of the globe on their mettle and every one has to give an account of her charge at the bar of the world's judgment. The affairs of all nations are being subjected to the force searchlight of scrutiny both from without and from within. The component parts of the British Empire have awakened to the defects of the Imperial machinery, and they rightly demand readjustment of inter-state relationships and effective voice in international matters. The truth is, that Great Britain has so long controlled an empire through the time-worn institution of the British Parliament that was designed only for the administration of a small kingdom of England and Scotland, and which was out of joint even for the neighbouring Isle of Ireland. A

system of Imperial Government suited to the modern times—in fact an Imperial Democracy as distinct from a rule of one nation by another—has yet to be evolved. Great Britain owes it to herself as the controlling partner of the only world-wide empire of the day as much as she owes it to the humanity at large to so reconstruct the Empire as would equally satisfy all its parts. In spite of their serious pre-occupation, Great Britain and her so-called Dominions have become keenly alive to this necessity. Preliminaries are already being arranged for the settlement of this momentous question, and at this juncture India considers it her duty to declare what part she should have in the councils of the Empire and what form of government would suit her best.

This she does now in the most unmistakable language. It is a matter of great satisfaction that the demand for substantial reforms in the administration, and for the grant of self-government at an early date, is put forth for the first time in the name of United India. There can be no better proof of our political sagacity and fitness for self-government than the manner in which the two great peoples of India have composed their differences and come to an understanding that will undoubtedly insure—nay it has already insured—their perfect solidarity.

The Hon. Rai Bahadur Bakhshi Sohan Lal.

I am entirely in favour of the Memorandum with regard to Post-War Reforms signed by nineteen non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council and submitted to His Excellency the Viceroy.

The Hon. Syed Ali Nabi.

I agree with the proposals of the Joint Committee of Hindus and Muhammadans, as made out in the matter of "Post-War Reforms." At present I can add nothing to what I have expressed as my opinion in that Committee at Calcutta.

WARFARE IN ANCIENT INDIA.

BY MR. P. JAGANNADHASWAMI, B.A. L.T.

In this book the author gives a vivid picture of warfare in Ancient India, the causes, methods and principles that should guide the belligerents in times of war. He has drawn largely from the ancient literature extant on the subject in Sanskrit Sukraniti and Kamandikiya, Manu, the Vedas, the Smritis; and the Epics are all quoted *in extenso* to give a real picture of warfare as understood and practised in ancient India.

Price As. Four.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Sunkurama Chetty Street, Madras.

Self-Government for India under the British Flag

BY THE HON. MR. V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

[The Hon Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, President of the Servants of India Society, deserves the warmest thanks of the country for having brought out, at an opportune moment, his remarkable brochure on "Self-Government for India under the British Flag" one of the ablest expositions of India's case for Self-Government. Following the example of his illustrious master, Mr. Sastri has stated all the objections that have been urged against India's demand and shown conclusively how unreal and unjust they are. To Britishers and Indians alike, the book must appeal as an honest and earnest attempt to plead the cause of India. It is hoped the following paragraphs selected from the book, will give the reader an idea of the method and manner in which Mr. Sastri has tackled the great problem of the hour. We commend a careful study of the book to every true well-wisher of India.—Ed. I.R.]

THE demand of Indians to be allowed to govern themselves is countered by the assertion that they are unfit for so high a task. It is alleged that when the English Colonies were granted responsible Government, they had reached a higher standard of fitness than we have now attained. This is not historically true. The present prosperity and enterprise of the Dominions should be entirely forgotten when we try to picture the Colonies as they were in the forties and fifties of the last century. Fifty years of political and economic independence, as the example of Japan shows us, can make wonderful changes in the condition of a people. Let it also be remembered that fifty years of the modern time are really much longer than the like period in any former century. Canada was the first of British colonies to be made self-governing, and it is in Canada that British political institutions are believed to have shown their happiest results. Luckily, we possess in the report of Lord Durham a graphic and in general a faithful description of the condition of the colony and its people at the time when the concession of responsible government was made.

The report that he drew up, describing the condition of the country and making recommendations for its improvement, is considered to be one of the ablest State documents ever submitted to Parliament. Constitution-makers go to it for inspiration. Its perusal is a tonic to those whose faith in the healing and ennobling power of popular institutions is weak. The chief lesson it conveys to us in India is, that responsible government is remedy and the only sure remedy for the evils arising from imperfect understanding between the government and the people. Existing defects in India are pointed to by opponents of progress as barring the way to a fuller measure of popular government. Whereas, if a second Lord Durham could now come out to report on Indian affairs, he would in all likelihood advocate the immediate

grant of responsible government as a cure for the ills of the body politic.

The grant of responsible government, wherever it has been made, has only strengthened the bond between the suzerain power and the subordinate but autonomous governments—a lesson which may well be borne in mind by those prophets of evil who prognosticate that in India political generosity will be met with ingratitude.

In spite of the vicissitudes of fortune through which our country has passed, the great Dravidian, Aryan and Mahomedan civilizations are found in vigour, if not in their pristine purity. Each one of these civilizations has developed forms of government and systems of administration which have been productive of beneficent results to the people. Judged by modern standards, they might be pronounced to lack the elements of strength and thoroughness. Nor do they appear to have given rise to democratic or popular forms of organization of the kind that we are familiar with to-day. Self-government,* then, in the sense of the power to develop an indigenous polity and find an indigenous agency to maintain it, has always been with us. It may have been overborne at times and not had free play, it may have degenerated under stress of adversity, it may have left the people weak, disorganised and helpless before external force; but it has always been there. The numerous Indian States carry on before our eyes the ancient traditions, transformed, it is true, in great measure and adapted to the special needs of the British pattern, but still kept alive by age-long aptitudes. In our own time, the work done in these territories by some diwans and administrators within the limitations to which they are subject can bear comparison with the great deeds of Western statesmen in British India.

* Self-Government for India under the British Flag, by the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Servants of India Society, Poona. Price 8 As.

Whenever opportunity has been afforded, Indians have shown that they can work modern institutions in the modern spirit. In the executive, no less than in the judicial department, officers of the Provincial Civil Service recruited by competition have proved themselves, man for man, the peers of their brethren in the Indian Civil Service. The Indians, who were first appointed to the Council of the Secretary of State for India, have elicited warm appreciation from no less a judge of men than Lord Morley. Lord Minto and Lord Hardinge have in turn borne generous testimony to the assistance they derived from the advice and co-operation of their Indian Ministers. The late Mr. Krishnaswamy Aiyar, of Madras, the first Indian on that side of the country to whom a statue was erected by public subscription in which Europeans and Indians joined, has been the recipient of posthumous tributes from his European colleagues, which are remarkable as much for the admiration which they convey as for the note of personal attachment which they strike. To Mr. Gokhale, who struck the imagination of the English people in many ways, was reserved the unique honour of discussing affairs of high international moment, albeit in an informal way, with the Government of South Africa. This difficult and delicate task he performed with such ability, fairness and statesmanlike grasp of the issues involved that he earned the gratitude and admiration of all parties concerned.

In the Legislative Councils the people's representatives have conducted themselves with moderation and self-restraint, and although they have chafed at the restrictions placed upon their activity and usefulness, their resentment has on no occasion broken out in any of those disorderly or violent forms which disfigure the annals of the legislatures of England and of the Dominions. Lord Hardinge has more than once borne high testimony to their work. Their criticism and advice have not been without effect on the policy and administration of the country. But so high is the expectation which the public entertain nowadays of the Legislative Councils, and so keen is their sense of the impotence of their representatives from a constitutional point of view, that nothing can satisfy them hereafter short of the power of regulating the policy, disposing of the finances and controlling the executive.

The theory of unfitness appears in another shape, not so uncompromising, but not less danger-

ous. The unfitness, say some critics, is not incurable; in course of time, under careful and benevolent political education, such as our slowly-broadening institutions afford, it is possible, though prophecy in such matters is proverbially foolish, that the people of India may become fit for self-rule. But that day is not yet. Wait, wait in patience. Then our mentors resort to metaphor. The way is long and weary, full of peril and adventure. Do you know how they toiled and travailed who went before you, what trials and tribulations they had to bear? Metaphor and proverb, fable and parable, history and epic, teach us a good deal; they give us warning and guidance. But they are not actual life, they cannot replace direct experience either for individuals or communities. The best training is obtained when you grapple with your difficulties by yourself, the highest and most useful part of education is self-education. The people of India will become fit for self-rule only by practising self-rule. There is no other way for it. They must conceive their aims and ideals, they must lay their plans and execute them, make mistakes and rectify them, incur losses and recoup them, encounter perils and overcome them. Mr. L. Curtis, in his book, *The Problem of the Commonwealth*, writes:

In the first place, the exercise of responsibility tends to increase fitness for exercising it. As every one finds in his own experience, it is in having to do things that a man learns how to do them and develops a sense of duty in regard to them. And that is why political power is and ought to be extended to whole classes of citizens, even when their knowledge and sense of responsibility is still imperfectly developed.

True, this process should not begin too early; there must be a period of preliminary training. What is the period required? The answer is, till the necessary general, intellectual and moral equipment is acquired, till the necessary political experience has been gained. Our contention is, that we have this necessary equipment and experience. In so far as such comparison is possible, we cannot see that India is less fitted to-day than the Philippines for self-rule, nor that her general condition is much behind the condition of Canada or the other Dominions when they had the gift of responsible government, and we go further and say that England and Japan appear to have had nearly as many shortcomings as India now has when they adopted a fully popular constitution. The Emperor of Japan took the great Charter oath in 1869; in 1881, he promised to grant a constitution in ten years;

and, in 1890, the first Imperial Diet was summoned. The Filipinos have had less than twenty years schooling in civilized administration. Are Indians so much worse than the Filipinos, or is the school of British political institutions so much slower than that of American political institutions that it takes a century, and how much longer one cannot say, to complete the process of education in the one case which in the other is completed in twenty years? The first Legislative Council met in Canada in 1792. In fifty years full responsible government was granted. In New South Wales the first Parliament met in 1843. The first responsible ministry took office in 1856. Indians were first admitted to the Legislative Council in 1861, though it had been in existence for many years. It is not generally known, but it is a remarkable fact that, during this first period, when Europeans enjoyed the exclusive right of legislation for India, they conducted business in regular parliamentary style, with their own standing orders, calling the Acts of the Executive in question and carrying on debates which, in their range and breezy freedom, contrast markedly with the prudish and correct respectability of present-day proceedings. Beginning in 1861 on a scale which was caution itself, the non-official Indians admitted to the Council being few and nominated, and the Council itself never meeting except when there was a legislative measure to be placed before it, we did not take a second step till more than thirty years had passed. In 1892, after a good deal of popular agitation, the number of non-officials was increased slightly, they were still nominated in form, but practically elected by delegates of local bodies, a limited power of interpellation was given them, and the annual budget was placed before them for discussion, but it was not to be voted upon. Seventeen years passed and strong agitation had to be made before the third step was taken in 1909. This time local legislatures were to have non-official majorities, members in the Councils could put supplementary questions and move resolutions on subjects of public interest, subject however to too many exceptions and to the further proviso that, even if accepted by the Council, they were not to be binding on the Executive. Those reforms were introduced with a great fanfare of liberal sentiment, and generally hailed by the people as a substantial improvement. But the seven years that have passed since have been marked by an enormous advance of political

thought and political ambition in the people, and the Councils are spoken of by the advanced school as glorified debating clubs. In fact, the executive government is still practically master of the situation and carries measures in the teeth of public opposition. After fifty-five years people's representatives have still nothing like constitutional power in the land. Surely our progress is none too hurried. The foundations have had ample time to settle down and can now carry the full weight of the structure of self-government.

The next objection to be noticed is that, if the scheme came into operation, it would establish the reign of the few who are educated over the many who are uneducated, we should have an oligarchy of a few hundred thousands controlling the destinies of vast millions. You reply that, taking numbers only into consideration, the change will be a big step towards popular government, as the present ruling class does not exceed a few thousands. "But we have knowledge," say they, "of rural life and of the dumb millions, which you, educated gentry dwelling in towns, cannot and do not care to acquire." "It is not so," we rejoined, "the gulf of antipathy and contempt between educated and uneducated is a fable by which you deceive yourselves. The educated come mostly from villages and keep in constant touch with village life. In fact, the most notorious evil of the present administration is, that it is run by people who come from over the sea, never learn the vernaculars sufficiently well for ordinary conversation and depend throughout their service on interpreters. Besides, they maintain an attitude of proud exclusiveness which differs in kind and manner of display from the ancient arrogance of the Brahman, but is a far more effectual barrier to sympathy and mutual trust; in fact, it is now an article of creed with them that India and Indians are unfathomable mysteries and that, the longer one remains in the country, the more convinced one becomes of the impossibility of ever understanding its people and their nature and modes of thought and life." "But the lower classes look to us for protection, they remember the old misrule and tyranny from which we rescued them, and will not consent to the transfer of power from us to you, their social oppressors for ages." "Our history, like the history of other peoples, shows periods of good rule and bad rule, of social well-being and social misery, of progress and decay. When you came, you found us in one of our unfortunate phases, disorder and the break-

ing up of an empire met your eyes and helped the establishment of your dominion. The oppression of the lower by the upper classes is nothing peculiar to the East. Before the dawn of the modern humanitarian age, the annals of Europe were disfigured by similar abuses and tyranny. Plato long ago said that in every city there were two cities, that of the rich and that of the poor. To-day, even in the most liberally governed countries, the peasants and the labourers may be heard to denounce the learned folly and the selfishness of those that make the laws and work them for their own benefit, while all the time professing to help and relieve the masses. Ideas of social amelioration and service and higher standards of government have been learned by the educated men in India, and as they have incomparably greater interest in the prosperity of the country and far more knowledge and sympathy to inspire their efforts, there is no danger of a revival of the old days of caste domination and heartless tyranny. The new oligarchy then will be at least as good as the present. One doubts whether this ancient fiction about the protection of the masses is believed any more even by those in whose interest it is kept alive. Is it the indigenous Short or the overseas Codlin who opposes the spread of education among the people and uses their illiteracy as an argument for opposing political advance? Is it the indigenous Short or the overseas Codlin who defends the pernicious excise policy of the Government on the ground that every man must have his tastes, and likewise approves of the raising of the State demand on land at every resettlement on the ground among others that money left in the ryot's hands goes to the drink shop? Who allows the country to be flooded with cheap free trade goods and refuses to foster the industries of the people in the only way in which other countries, including Great Britain and her colonies, have fostered theirs? Who was responsible for the currency legislation of a few years ago, which, but for some fortuitous happenings which told in his favour, might have hit the poor agriculturist hard, while relieving the Government of the exchange difficulty in paying off the heavy Home Charges? Who at the same time gave the European services the exchange compensation allowances in cynical disregard of the taxpayer's interests? Who to-day, when extravagance is treason and luxuries of every kind are denounced as crimes, keeps up the exodus to the hills for half the year and sanctions

extra allowances to Civilian Officers for promotion delayed, while at the same time cutting down expenditure on education? Who is going to defend the interests of the voiceless and voteless taxpayer, when in consequence of the report of the Public Services Commission, the organised and well-paid Services will drive the Government of India mad with all sorts of claims for increased emoluments? The unfortunate Indian Short, in a hopeless minority in the Council, must set up a piteous wail, which, however, will be drowned in the noise of Codlin's trumpet announcing to an astounded world his protection of the Indian masses against their own heartless countrymen.

The last objection that we shall deal with in this section is, that the martial races, believing that the government of the land has passed into weak hands when it passed into Indian hands, will raise the standard of revolt and shake the new regime at the very start. In the first place, this cannot be true of either the Mahomedans, the Sikhs, or the Marathas, who have drunk deep from the fountain of patriotism. In the second place, when service in the army is thrown open to all who are physically fit and promotion is within the reach of all who are worthy, irrespective of race or colour, the distinction between martial and unmartial people will disappear in the course of a generation. But the real answer to this objection is, that it would apply only to a scheme which sought to take India out of the British Empire and completely eliminated the strong arm of the British from Indian affairs. Our critics may choose for their own alarmist purposes to misrepresent the effect of our proposals or the motive that underlies them. But, as a great man once said, "You may fool some of the people all the time and all the people some of the time, but not all the people all the time." Our scheme has for its aim and purpose the continued maintenance of British supremacy in India and the reconciliation of her peoples to the suzerainty of the British Empire, which has done them incalculable good, giving them hope of a nationhood that they had lost or never possessed, and admitting them to a share of the noblest inheritance of modern civilization, viz., democratic freedom.

THE PUBLIC SERVICES COMMISSION

BY MR. HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU, B.A., B.Sc.

(Of the Servants of India Society.)

THE report of the Public Services Commission has, at last, been published. Had its contents been made public, as officially announced in September last, it would have enabled the Congress to consider its recommendations and given the members of the Imperial Legislative Council an opportunity of studying it before the cold weather session of the Council. The delay in its appearance, however, has prevented the former from giving authoritative expression to the views of educated India on the subject for a year, and it is improbable that many members of the Council will be able to study it in all its bearings before the close of the present session.

The report will be a bitter pill for India to swallow. In the history of Indian political agitation, no subject has engaged the attention of our leading-men longer than the employment of Indians in the high branches of the Public Services. For sixty years we have been protesting loudly against a system which virtually debars Indians from occupying positions of trust and responsibility in their own country. And when the Public Services Commission was appointed, we expected that some justice would be done to Indian claims, and that our countrymen would no longer be treated as the pariahs of the Indian administration. But the report of the Commission, while recommending many changes favourable to indigenous talent, is in essence a complete denial of the principle that Indians have a prior claim upon every appointment in the public services of their country and is a justification of the system which is draining it morally and materially. It is a melancholy satisfaction, however, to note that Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim has refrained from signing this reactionary document and written a minute of dissent—it may well be called a minority report which deals with the problem, which the Commission was appointed to consider from the Indian point of view and vindicates the moral rights of the people of this country to control the cause of administration by having an agency, which possesses their confidence, to carry out the laws under which they have to live. Mr. Chaudhary's minute of dissent also deserves warm praise. The fact that he has signed the report ought not to detract from the intrinsic merit of the minute.

The Commission took evidence in regard to twenty-four services. Of these, leaving out of account a few specialist appointments, the post-office, telegraph (traffic), railway (stores), Northern India salt revenue, salt and excise, registration, land records (Burmah), and survey (Madras) departments, are recruited for India. The other departments, recruitment for which takes place either wholly or partly in Europe, are divided into three main groups. "In the first," say the Commissioners, "we place the Indian Civil Service and the police department, in both of which the nature of British responsibility for the good governance of India requires the employment, in the higher ranks, of a preponderating proportion of British officers. To the second group belong those services in which, on grounds of policy and efficiency, it is desirable that there should be an admixture in the personnel of both Western and Eastern elements. Such are the education, military finance, medical, telegraph (engineering), public works, railway (engineering and traffic), and survey of India departments. In the third group come certain scientific and technical services, such as the agricultural, civil veterinary, factory and boiler inspection, forest, geological survey, mines, mint and assay, pilots (Bengal), and railway (locomotive and carriage and wagon) departments. In these there are no grounds of policy for any considerable admixture of officers imported from Europe, and all that limits recruitment in India is the lack of facilities in that country for technical instruction and the consequent deficiency of properly qualified teachers." The recommendation in regard to the two remaining departments, viz., the Indian finance and customs departments, is similar to that made in the case of the third group. Thirty years ago Indian demands for admission into the higher ranks of the Public Services were strenuously opposed on the ground that Indians were lacking in character, which being left undefined, could easily be claimed to be a British monopoly, and that a minimum of Europeans was necessary in order to maintain British methods of administration; and the validity of these grounds was endorsed by the Commission of 1886. The same cry was raised again a quarter century later before the Commission of 1912, but the Commissioners have

wisely refrained from repeating these worn out objections. They have preferred to rest their case on political grounds. The nature of the British connection, they say, implies that the Indian Civil Service and the police should be continued to be staffed, in the main, by men who are ignorant of our history and our language, our manners and our customs. So long as the reins of power are in the hands of Great Britain, Indians must yield the first place, as a matter of course, to Britishers. Declarations of responsible British statesmen are ignored, royal proclamations are disregarded, and even the Act of 1833 is thrown to the winds. Henceforth, not merit but race is to be the test of fitness.

It is difficult to understand on what principle the departments mentioned in the second group are treated differently from those belonging to the third group. The line which separates the first from the second is natural and obvious. But the distinction sought to be made between the second and third group is a distinction without a difference. For instance, what are the "grounds of policy and efficiency," which necessitate that the education department should contain a substantial—nay, for years to come a preponderant—British element? No doubt the structure of the Universities Act would topple down at once if Indian agency were substituted for British agency, but one would vainly hope that it does not embody a cardinal principle of British policy. As for efficiency, present or prospective, the less said about it the better. "The evidence," says Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, "which the Commission received from both official and non-official witnesses, shows that the staffing of the education service, especially in its higher branches, is inefficient, and though it may have been the best that could have been done on the whole or up to now, its inefficiency will become more and more marked as the standards of Indian education are raised." Under these circumstances it is futile to expect that the arrangement proposed by the Commission will inspire confidence in the public.

The policy enunciated by the Commission in respect of the services included in the third group is as gratifying as it is just. The Commission desires that eventually they should be recruited wholly in India and recommends that "immediate and determined" efforts should be made to provide suitable educational facilities for this purpose. But the value of these recommendations will be greatly discounted if the transitional stage is not shortened as far as possi-

ble. Unfortunately, as Mr. Chaubal points out, the proposals made by the Commission to increase the salaries and better the prospects of the European officers in the scientific and technical departments will tend to prolong this period indefinitely. These changes have been proposed in order to secure and retain the services of qualified men and to ensure that the conditions of employment will be such as to induce them to remain in India "for a full term of service." This implies that the superior posts will continue to be occupied at least for a generation to come by non-Indians, and it is not unreasonable to fear that in the end the policy, which the Commission has laid down, may be forgotten and never given effect to.

It has already been mentioned that recruitment for the post office, telegraph (traffic), railway (stores), Northern India salt revenue, salt and excise, registration, land records, (Burma), and survey (Madras), departments takes place almost entirely in India. The Commission approves of this arrangement and recommends its continuance in future. One might think that these services, being recruited in India, would contain a large number of Indians in the higher ranks. But nothing is further from the truth. Out of the 1,887 posts in these departments monthly carrying salaries of Rs. 200 and over, only 448 or 23 per cent. are occupied by Indians; the rest are occupied by Europeans and Anglo-Indians, whose total population is a little over two lakhs. The inequality is even more marked if we take into account only the higher posts. Out of 536 posts, to which salaries of Rs. 500 and over are attached, only 44 or 7.2 per cent. are held by Indians, while of the 298 posts of the monthly emoluments, of which are not less than Rs. 800, only 19 or 6.4 per cent. fall to the share of Indians. Thus, the higher ranks in these departments are as much the monopoly of non-Indians as in those which are recruited wholly or partly in Europe. But the Commission not only ignores this fact, but aggravates the evil by proposing that wherever the possession of a university degree is required of Indians, "an examination of a corresponding standard in European schools" should be regarded as sufficient in the case of Anglo-Indians. This point is brought out with the greatest clearness in Mr. Chaubal's minute of dissent which, for its grasp and vigour is well worth perusal.

The twenty-four services, with which the Commission deals, affect 9,949 officers, of whom 4,140 or about 42 per cent. are recruited in Europe. Again, the total number of posts in these depart-

ments, to which monthly salaries of not less than Rs. 200 are attached is 11,064. Of these, only 42 per cent. or less than one-half are held by Indians. If we take only salaries of not less than Rs. 500 and Rs. 800 per mensem into consideration, we find that the number of posts is 4,984 and 2,501 respectively, and the share of Indians is represented by 19 per cent. in the first case and 10 per cent. in the latter. Can anything furnish a more eloquent and convincing proof of the utter inadequacy of the steps hitherto taken to give Indians their rightful share in the Public Services and of the urgent necessity for the adoption of radical measures to accomplish this object? But the Commission has failed to grasp the importance of the problem, which it was called upon to grapple, and there is nothing in its recommendations to show that it regards the present system, which condemns Indians to be hewers of wood and drawers of water, as essentially unjust. There are two principal methods of ensuring that Indians should have adequate opportunities of entering the superior grades of the various departments. In the first place, examinations should be held simultaneously in England and India for services which are at present recruited by means of competitive examinations held in England alone; and, in the second place, the artificial division of some of the most important services into Imperial and Provincial, carried out at the instance of the Public Service Commission of 1886, should be done away with. But neither of these methods has commended itself to the Commission. With the important exception of the Public Works Department (including the engineering branches of the railway and telegraph departments), the existing division of the services into Imperial and Provincial is maintained, as the Commission is satisfied that it corresponds to a real difference in the duties, which officers belonging to the two sections are expected to perform. Simultaneous examinations are rejected, because they will have an adverse influence on Indian education and impair the British character of the administration which, by the way, consists in practice in the adoption of methods and principles foreign to the spirit of the British constitution. The attempt at argument is too feeble to be seriously considered. It seems to me that the conclusion, at which the Commission has arrived, is less the result of an impartial examination of facts than of a desire to justify the *status quo*. A more conservative or liberal system, if prevalent, would have been

as easily approved as the one which happens to be in force now.

In the limited time at my disposal, it is impossible for me to discuss the recommendations of the Commission in detail or even to consider their effect on some of the more important departments. I shall content myself, therefore, with a brief examination of the proposals relating to the Indian Civil Service, which is the premier service in India and which controls the entire civil government of the country.

Public opinion in India has demanded nothing more insistently than that the examination, which qualifies for admission into the Indian Civil Service, should be held simultaneously in England and India, and the rejection of this demand will cause the keenest dissatisfaction throughout the country. If there were a large proportion of Indians in the Indian Civil Service, it would not only gratify the legitimate ambition of Indians to occupy the higher and more honourable positions in the public services of their own country, but in all likelihood facilitate the solution of many a question of policy and administration. The pace of political progress would probably be rendered much quicker, and the separation of judicial and executive functions made easier of accomplishment, as there would no longer be any consideration of prestige to bar the way to these reforms. The admission of Indians into the higher ranks of the other services, also, will become easier, for the officers of the Imperial Services are regarded as the coadjutors of the Indian Civil Service in the proper governance of India, and this alliance may be expected to cease when there is a substantial Indian element in the Indian Civil Service. Educated India has, therefore, rightly regarded admission into this Service as the thing to be chiefly aimed at, and I am afraid that until it succeeds in this object, or wins the right to control the internal affairs of India, no satisfactory solution of the general question of the wider employment of Indians in the superior grades of the public services is practicable.

While disapproving of simultaneous examinations, the Commission recommends the institution of a separate examination in India open to statutory natives of India only. The age-limits for the examination are to be 20-22. Nine posts are to be recruited for in India. Of these, seven are to be filled in accordance with the result of the examination, and the other two by candidates to be termed, "King Emperor's Cadets," and

nominated each year by the Secretary of State, on the advice of the Government of India, from amongst graduates of the various universities, and of an age similar to that of the competitors at the examination." All the nine candidates are to be sent to England for three years, and are to receive the same training as those successful at the examination held in England. The candidates appointed in India are to be on equal footing in every respect to those appointed in England.

The proportion of posts reserved for statutory natives of India will excite no enthusiasm. According to the rules framed in 1879, one-sixth of the appointments to be recruited for every year were to be given to Indians. Forty years have elapsed since then, during which India has made great progress in education and witnessed the birth of a new national consciousness, but the Commission does not feel itself justified in going much beyond the proportion fixed in 1879.

But the most objectionable feature of the new arrangement proposed by the Commission, to which Indians can never reconcile themselves, is that the age-limits for the English examination should be reduced from 22-24 to 17-19, and that every candidate should furnish a certificate from the headmaster of a secondary school recognised by the Civil Service Commissioners, that he had attended the school for three years "up to a time within six months of the examination itself," or had passed an academic year at a university. This would make it practically impossible for any Indian to succeed at the English examination, and in effect, is a violation of the Act of 1833. When the Statutory Civil Service was formed in 1879, the age-limits for the competitive examination held in London were lowered to 17-19, and were again raised when it was abolished in 1892. During this period the percentage of Indian successes at the examination was only 2.5, while during 1892-1912, the figure rose to 5.6 per cent. The Commission is aware of this fact, and generally speaking recognizes that Indians will not be able to compete at the English examination. And if, in spite of this, it recommends the lowering of the age-limits, one is forced to conclude that the proposal is only a device, while remaining within the four corners of the law, to prevent Indians from entering the Indian Civil Service through the door of the examination in England.

The Commission, while slow to recognize the claims of Indians is not at all backward in urging

the grant of further concessions to Europeans. The cadre of the Indian Civil Service has considerably increased since 1886, but the Commission proposes that it should be enlarged still further, and even recommends the division of districts in which the work is heavy.

Concessions have also been recommended in regard to the salaries of the officers of the Indian Civil Service, while, as Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim points out, in England and Ceylon the maximum salary, which members of the Home and Colonial Civil Services can hope to draw, is Rs. 30,000 per annum.

This represents the average pay of an officer of the Indian Civil Service in the higher grades, and the maximum is more than three times this figure. In the matter of pensions also, the Indian Civil Service enjoys valuable privileges, but the Commission does not hesitate to recommend that the salaries should be raised, the exchange compensation merged in the salaries, and the four per cent. contribution to their pensions made by the members of the Indian Civil Service, abolished. These recommendations will throw an additional burden of 20 lakhs upon the State, although the evidence received by the Commission establishes that there has been no falling off in the number or quality of recruits to the Indian Civil Service.

India is pulsating to-day with a new life. She demands that she should soon be made master of her destiny and given a place, compatible with her self-respect and dignity in the British Empire. She asks to be released from leading strings and allowed to manage her own affairs. The Public Services Commission has failed to grasp the situation and thinks that she is hankering after a few more posts. It has approached the question from a wrong standpoint. The question it has asked itself, says Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim, is, "What are the means to be adopted for extending the employment of Indians? But the proper standpoint, which alone furnishes a satisfactory basis to work upon, is that the importation of officials should be limited to cases of clear necessity, and the question, therefore, to be asked is, In which services and to what extent should appointments be made from England." The report will be received with intense dissatisfaction throughout the country, and should strengthen our determination to win Self-Government for India at an early date, for in that alone lies our salvation.

THE TWO INDIANS **NOMINATED TO ASSIST THE SECRETARY**
OF STATE FOR INDIA IN THE COMING IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.



SIR S. P. SINHA



H. H. THE MAHARAJA OF BIKANIR



MR. M. K. GANDHI
President, One Script Conference



THE HON. MR. ABBOTT
President, Anglo-Indian Empire League

THE SPIRIT OF THE NIGHT

BY

MISS REGINA GUHA

I slept and dreamed. The moon was at the new ;
 Methought I had cast off my earth-worn clothes
 And clad in aery lightness wing'd my way
 Into the empyrean. Behind, the air
 Did close around, a soft and clinging mass ;
 It broke into a spray of thousand lights
 Before. Joy enfolded me and love
 Ineffable. Sweet tuneful voices rang
 Upon my ears. Ah me ! I said
 Why should I stay behind and suffer there
 And ever mourn among the human crowd ?
 Why listen to the groans that never cease ?
 Why witness pain that will not lessen ? Why ?
 Why ? And speaking thus I cleft the air
 And the darkness loomed in front of me but soon
 It broke and then upon my wildered gaze
 A vision dawned—an opalescent light
 A god-like form—I stopped with awe inspired.
 It was a woman more than common tall
 Who wrapt her round in silken sable cloak
 Which fell in long and straightened lines unto
 Her feet. Her face was fair and eyes
 Like unto stars that burn and burn but yet
 With all their burning do not fade. Her hair
 A raven stream and lips like blood or worse
 They shone so red into the night. One hand
 She pressed upon her heart, the other to
 Her forehead held and formed an arch her brow
 Above ; and below them peered afar as though
 She saw strange things which we of earth see not
 Nor dare to see. Spell-bound I stood and looked
 And then as tho' with eager worship seized
 Or love so wonderful, I know not how,
 I quickly hastened forward with a bound
 And springing fell upon my face, my head
 Upon her feet. She stirred and moving threw
 Her wrap between a ray of silv'ry sheen
 Or like unto the twilight gleams that shoot
 And wander in the Indian sky—their life
 A span too brief—and bending put her hand
 Upon my head, her touch mysterious, sad ;
 Which caught my heart with a sharp and sting-
 ing pain

And made me sob aloud. “ What ails thee,
 child ? ”
 She whispered low, her voice like to the soft
 And sighing summer breezes which in sweet
 And saddened murmurs tell of life,
 And death which soon must follow life and love
 That too must cease. And then it seemed I heard
 A woman wail who'd lost her only child
 And a maiden weep whose lover long had left
 And ne'er returned, while still all night she prays
 And in the day. I gently answer made
 “ I know not why I am so sad.”
 At this she lifted me and clasped her arms
 Around me close. I leaned upon her breast
 And then was comforted. Again she spoke ;
 “ Art sad and know not ? Many are sad and know
 But cannot be consoled.” I raised my head
 And saw the sorrow on her face. Her cheeks
 Were lined and drawn as tho' the tears had chased
 A many furrows in their coursing down.
 Her eyes, they were no longer bright : a shade
 O'er them was drawn. And thro' the films, deep
 pools
 Of sadness showed and pain unending
 As if the sorrows of the world below
 Were mirror'd there—as if that heart had borne
 And still did bear such loads as never lift.
 Her teeth had caught at her under lip and drops
 Of blood oozed forth. What is my grief, I thought,
 Compared to hers. And stepping closer kissed
 Her on the cheek. She smiled—a sob had been
 More glad. I murmured low “ Thou too art sad,
 Wherefore ? ” “ I moan my children's fates ; alone
 And desolate there's none to comfort them
 Or love : and I so far they know me not.”
 She said and then again in answer to
 Th' unspoken question of my eyes : “ Know thou
 The weary ones of earth ? My children they
 And I am Night their mother. Behold
 The Day brings many griefs, my children pray
 The Day but laughs and passes on or yet
 A moment stays and fiercer light doth throw
 Upon those wrongs would always fain be hid,

All in despite and haply mocks at them
 And then I come and see and weep and throw
 My darken'd mantle over them and touch
 Their down-dropt lids with blessed sleep and
 teach
 Them to forget. But all in vain for now
 Perchance had dreams afflict or soon anew
 The morn remembrance brings of all that passed
 And I must yield my partial sway and here
 Return. This all I do, but all's too little.
 And from this point of vantage I can view
 The doings of the world and th' agony
 Hath pierced me through and slowly I have
 changed

And yet doth change my immortal nature.
 My strength is humanised and soon I feel
 I shall descend to the earth below and live
 A woman there—a god no more.
 And as she spoke a grey and pearly light
 Awoke: the east grew bright and brighter still
 And in her rose-flushed beauty morn looked down
 And darting beams of golden haze before
 Announc'd her coming back. Gray night, her
 robe
 Up gathered, fled but in her flight threw sad
 And loving looks behind. I struggled to pursue
 And starting up with eyes a-dazzled saw
 A stream of golden light pour on my face.

The Congress and the Muslim League

BY

MR. SHAMNATH MUSHRAN, M.A., *Bar.-at-Law*

WRITING this time last year to the *Indian Review* about the sessions of the Congress and the League just then held at Bombay, I ventured to express a hope that "the current which had deflected the League for a time from the Congress would be lost in the sweep of the flood when the younger generation came a little more into its own." I would have characterised as visionary the suggestion that barely a year would pass before the younger generation would come into its own, and sweep the League into the channels along which the younger members of the Congress would have her life-streams flow. And yet this is the phenomenon which has been accomplished within the space of one short year. The causes have been multifarious and for our purposes not very material. We are concerned with the scheme of reforms which has been formulated by the Committees of the Congress and the League, and the unity and clearness with which both have lent their voice to its support. There is no charm in words or phrases, and to us Self-Government by any other name would sound as sweet. A gradually increasing association of the people in the government of the people, with some provision for the responsibility of the Executive portion of the Government to those who stand for the people is the aim of Young India, irrespective of the agency through which the reform is effected or worked. The *personnel* of the Government, whether it is Indian or European, is

a question of no primary importance. It is this desire jointly expressed, and a clear and definite recognition of this by the more intelligent sections of the two communities, that marks the last Session of the Congress and the League as so momentous in the history of India's political evolution, and would keep the national week of 1916 fresh in the minds of so many. How united both were, a comparison of the resolutions moved and adopted by the two bodies would clearly show.

It would be idle to pretend or to suggest that all those who favoured the line adopted by the Congress and the League did so after a mature consideration of the nature of the change and the responsibilities it would entail, or that there were none who lent their voice to the movement simply because it was popular. But any candid observer would admit that there were many—and not a minority either—who did so with a steadiness of feeling and a clearness of exposition that would at once acquit them of all charge of drifting with the current. It is not the demand but the method of its formation that holds the promise of a better day. The silent steady effort, the mutual recognition of goodwill and good intentions, and, above all, the spirit of compromise, the strong and deliberate subordination of views, to which their adherents had been wedded for years in order that a larger purpose may be served, it was this and the manner in which this was effected that ushers in a new hope. We trust that men who could effect

this would not lapse into the impatience of idealism or succumb to the lethargy that overtakes so many of our resolutions in the process of translation into practical work.

People gathered to the Congress in record numbers, and not only was the assemblage greater than ever before, but its composition was more varied and more representative than in any of the preceding years. In addition to the men who meet year after year to discuss the questions that carry the future of the country with them, there came those who had seceded from its fold eight years ago, and also the representatives of the League, who had been holding aloof for fear of losing their identity in the multitudinous voice of the major community. And no one could say that any one of these had been manoeuvred into the Congress, or that beyond a recognition of an insistent necessity of union, any one had a tactical motive in coming together. None of these main sections represented in the Congress could be said to have captured the other or to have capitulated to them. There was some advance—legitimately called for by the spirit of the day—on the side of the "Orthodox" Congressmen, and a good deal of modification in the creed of those who had hitherto called themselves Nationalists in contradistinction to the Moderates. Both of these again held out the hand to the League, whose members came forward to grasp it impelled by the same sense of necessity which seemed both to shadow and to stimulate the proceedings all through. What this impending sense was would take us far out, nor was an idea of it so clearly present in relief as to lend itself to analysis without a study of other things in the background. World waves pass over continents, giving to movements the colour of nationality, and you cannot live without receiving something of its tone. The world clash in Europe has deepened the respective colourings of nations, and under the pressure of these ideas, things are becoming more homogeneous, or rather the movement is towards a more intense homogeneity to the elimination of all jarring notes. Events are lashing the surface of life elsewhere, and ripples come into the backwater of our existence, and possibly this would explain the largeness of outlook with which everyone seemed to approach the consideration of questions. Possibly also a sense of sharing in the responsibilities of a reconstructed Empire—or at least being concerned in the difficulties incident on such reconstruction—in the burden of upholding which they were sharing, gave them a sober and a larger outlook. All differences seemed not only tempo-

rarily sunk, but an honest endeavour was apparent all round to permanently remove all occasion for them in future.

The Congress reveals only the face of the community, and after the discussion and deliberations which precede the passage of resolutions, it wears a placidity of expression which might deceive a casual eye as to the temperature of the political body. You can only get at the pulse in the meetings of the subjects committee. The complexion of affairs there is an accurate index of the feeling of the country. A meeting of the subjects committee is symbolic of the sense and capacity of its constituents. Two things stood out clearly in the deliberations, (1) a growing and an almost passionate feeling to take a larger share in the management of our affairs, so that the country should proceed in government, education, or military training along lines approved by the leaders of the country; and (2) an intense nervous apprehension that the Colonies were to be given a hand in the management of those very affairs. Everything else was not merely given a secondary place but sank into it, it did not arrest the attention of the meeting—it seemed an intruder claiming the time which every one wished dedicated to the consideration of the two large problems. Both of these were only the two facts of a single impulse, the desire to keep free of colonial domination being largely due to the insistence on the self-management of our own affairs. The Colonies—or the Dominions as they are called—may have no wish to have anything to do with India, but a strong and organised attempt seems to be on foot to so bring about the reconstruction of the Empire as to bear India under the control of the new Imperial federation. All this is without counting with the wishes of the people in general in England or of the collective wish of the Dominions, but apparently the increased responsibilities and burdens of the Empire, which the Dominions will have to shoulder, will be compensated by the enlargement of the sphere of colonial power and dominion, so as to bring India under their sway. How far young democratic countries emerging from their struggle with the elements of Nature, and just touching the fringe of modern civilisation, will be able to "train" India for her work of self-government, as it is euphemistically put, is not very clear. What is clear is, that both the Congress and the League have declared in uncompromising accents that they will have none of this arrangement, unless reciprocal rights and privileges are reserved for the people of this country in the management of affairs in the colonies.

How far the Colonies were "fit" for self-government, when representative institutions were granted to them, was delineated by the Chairman of the Reception Committee in his masterly Address of Welcome. Common-sense would join hands with experience in holding that the only thing which could fit a people for self-government was the gradual introduction of a system of self-government. The much-vaunted fitness is nothing but the experience of having done the thing before, and efficiency is another name for experience. The best training a person can have is to be made to do the thing, and it is sailing too close to disingenuousness to say that India can have no self-government because she is not fit, knowing all the time that fitness can come only by self-government.

Self-Government is the ideal to which the Congress and the League have been committed by the growing sense of the larger masses whom they represent. The claim, as it was repeatedly expressed on the two platforms, is neither a slight to the intentions of those who are now responsible for the government of the country, nor an instance of ungratefulness on the part of the people. Constituted as we are, a desire for Self-Government is a biological necessity—and nothing in the shape of a smooth running machinery on the quiet and peace of having your house looked after by another can compensate for the deleterious effect of leading strings persisted in after the time for them has gone by. An ampler mould is necessary for the expanding energies of younger India, and for a loyal co-operation of the Indians it is necessary that ampler mould should be provided. Petty minds in great positions tell us that this demand is made by a minor faction trading on the support given to the Government by the martial races and the princes of India. If it were worth while disabusing men who seem to have made misrepresentation a mission of their life, I would tell them that the growing want of the country has nothing to do with the part played by Indians in the war. We ask for no return for the sharing of the burden of the Empire—nor is the loyalty of India determined by considerations of any material recognition. It is no favour we beg. India looks on Self-Government as advocated by the Congress and the League as her right. She is persuaded to voice the demand clearly in the hope that after what she has done in the war, there will be no room for any misunderstanding or misrepresentation. A larger association of the people is becoming a pre-requisite of the loyalty of India. Not that the persons who speak for the

country mean it as a threat of a refusal to co-operate, but for the mainstay of constitutional speakers it is necessary that they should be in a position to point to a progressive policy of the Government keeping pace with the needs of the country. Who makes headway, the constitutional and loyal citizen or the revolutionary who disdains the path of a graduated development and whose impatience is innocent of the logic of facts, is a question that will soon be pressing for an answer. We know the deliberate attempt to confuse the two, and punish the one for the unwisdom of the other. Then who-blame us for the existence of anarchy would be the first to build on its absence as a guarantee of contentment with the existing state of affairs, and warn us against meddling with a scheme which was working in so peaceful and smooth a manner. The effort to bear with persons, who would fain provoke us into impatience, is one of the steps in the training for Self-Government.

The path will be neither easy nor smooth. The work to be performed steadily will have to be in hands that will neither flag in their efforts nor chafe at control. If the Subjects Committee of the Congress be a true index of the temper of the country, the Congress has passed away from the older to the younger men. The reign of men like the old workers still spared to the Congress is over, and they can rest in the hope that younger and more nervous hands are carrying on their work. They are then to guide and to restrain, and the credit of their good work is an asset for the young Indians to cherish. But the work lies for other hands than theirs. The scheme of an Organised Committee to work the propaganda of the Congress, hemmed in as it was by safeguards, will assume shape even though temporarily rejected, and the earnest enthusiasm of young men in the Committee, and the bold virile addresses in the League, carry assurances that the ideals of old have the energy and the earnestness of youth behind them. Men will doubtless work with the patient and cautious enthusiasm of those to whom the greatness of the work is a sacred trust, and in such hands the work will prosper. A consciousness of the enormity of the work, and an appreciation of the difficulties in the way, will chasten their mood; a sense of the world-forces at their back will nerve them, the wishes of a country will lend them support, and her prayers will bring them light; they will work in the shadow of a hope, and the maintenance of their work will be their reward.

THE DECEMBER GATHERINGS

[The closing week of December 1916 was marked by the sittings of the Indian National Congress, the Moslem League, the Industrial and Social Conferences and various other gatherings held at Lucknow. To enable the busy reader to get a bird's-eye view of the Congress, the Conferences, the Conventions and the Leagues held not only at Lucknow but in different parts of the Indian Empire, we give below a brief account of their deliberations. One happy feature of the numerous December gatherings was that, notwithstanding the multiplicity of sectional conferences, the unity of purpose and the identity of interests they disclosed were markedly pronounced. Never was the Hindu Moslem *Entente* more cordial and decisive. Indeed, the keynote of the season's gatherings was struck by the Hon. Mr. M. S. Das, in his presidential address to the All-India Christian Conference at Madras, when he pointed out: "National life begins with birth. With its birth, the Nationality of the child is determined. On its birth, the child incurs obligations to the country of his birth, and he establishes his right to a share in the invaluable treasures which his ancestors have bequeathed as legacy to future generations. Religion cannot change a man's Nationality. Faith cannot deprive a man of his National heritage. Faith does not work forfeiture before the National tribunal. There is no law of escheat in God's Kingdom."—Ed. I. R.]

The Indian National Congress.

THE Thirty-first Session of the Indian National Congress commenced its sittings on the 26th December in the historic city of Lucknow under the presidency of the Hon. Babu Ambika Charan Mazumdar, the Grand Old Man of Bengal. It had a record attendance as there were no less than 2,350 delegates and about 4,000 visitors, including 500 ladies. The Lucknow Session will besides be memorable in the annals of this great National Institution for more than one reason. It has brought together under one fold all those who parted company some ten years ago at the Surat Session; it has confirmed and emphasised the unity of the Hindus and Mohammedans in their devotion to the ideals of the Congress and above all, it has given unanimous and definite expression to the ideal of Self-Government for India as the goal of the united Indian nation. On the dais were seen leaders of all classes and creeds and parties in India, Hindu, Muslim, Christian, and Parsi leaders of the moderate and nationalist groups of Indian politicians. It was, therefore, in every way a historic session.

The Hon. Pandit Jagat Narain, Chairman of the Reception Committee, then read his Welcome Address, in the course of which he referred at some length to the re-union of the Congress and to the part played by India in the cause of the Allies in this great war. He spoke feelingly of the loss sustained by the country by the death in quick succession of such well-known patriots as Ganga Prasad Varma, Pandit Bishan Narayan Dhar, G. Subrahmanya Iyer and Daji Abaji Khare, and recounted the difficulties which the Reception Committee experienced at the hands of the enemies

of the Congress, when it met last at Lucknow, in 1899. The anti-Moslem feeling for the Congress of seventeen years ago has now become a thing of the past, and Lucknow re-asserted again the union of Hindu and Muslim interests more emphatically than ever. He then made out a splendid case for India being granted Self-Government.

The President, the Hon. Babu Ambika Charan Mazumdar, having been formally elected, then delivered his address. The address was a remarkably candid and bold exposition of Indian aspirations and was received with great enthusiasm. It was primarily devoted to the discussion of the subject of Self-Government for India and a plea for India's representatives to be heard in the Councils of the Empire after the War, on terms of perfect equality with the representatives of the Self-Governing Dominions. It criticised the existing form of administration and depicted the evolution of the new progressive spirit among the people. It urged that the bureaucracy having established order had outgrown itself and that the time had come for the grant of an adequate measure of Self-rule for India. It dealt also with education, administration, immigration, industrial development and such other topics of immediate concern and suggested several important reforms somewhat in the manner of the Memorandum on Post-War Scheme submitted by the non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council. In conclusion, the President referred to the work of the British Committee in London, and ended with an appeal for the exercise of loyal patriotism.

Considerable time was then taken up by the proceedings of the Subjects Committee and the meetings in connection with the *rapprochement* of

the Moslem League and National Congress. In fact, the primary importance of this Congress Session may be attributed to the great work of reconciliation that has been brought about among the divergent elements of patriotic workers.

The proceedings of the second day opened again with the singing of patriotic songs, after which resolutions mourning the deaths of the three Congress leaders during the year and of Lord Kitchener, as also a resolution of loyalty, were moved from the chair. In the meantime His Honour Sir James Meston and party arrived at the Congress Pandal and were received with great éclat, the whole assembly standing. They were welcomed on behalf of the Congress by the President in a graceful speech, in which he recalled a chapter of the early history of the movement.

In 1885, said the President, when the Congress was first started in Bombay, Sir William Wedderburn, Professor Wordsworth and a number of other high officials attended to listen and to advise. At the second Congress, Lord Dufferin received a deputation headed by Mr. Dadabhoi Naoroji. In another Congress, Lord Connemara received all the delegates. But the curtain of official sympathy was dropped. Happily it had now been raised. In 1914, Lord Pentland attended the Congress, and on that day Sir James Meston had done them the honour to attend. They took it that His Honour sympathised with the rising aspirations of the people. His Honour's Government had signalled itself by introducing measures regarding the industrial development of the province, and they hoped and trusted his administration would be further signalled by measures leading to the growth and rise of people.

Sir James Meston, who received an ovation, said in reply:—

Mr. President and Members of the Indian National Congress.—There has been between the Indian National Congress and myself from the day of its inception a curious link both in time and in sympathy. The Congress, as you, sir, have just reminded, first saw the light in 1885, and that was the year in which I first began my endeavours to serve India.

Throughout these intervening thirty-one years, I had thus a unique opportunity of watching the development of this great movement, and I have watched it with interest and, believe me, not without deep sympathy. It is, therefore, a great pleasure to me to be for the first time a guest and a visitor at this great meeting. I thank you from the bottom of my heart for your hearty and unexpected welcome.

The Hon. Mr. Radha Kishen Das, whose speech we reproduce in another page, speaking on the Resolution on Arms Act urged its repeal at once and for ever. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, in the course of a brief but effective speech, which is printed in another column, said that she came from a city where there was no restriction to possess

arms. British India, she urged, could well take a lesson from Hyderabad.

The resolution relating to the question of volunteering and the granting of commissions in the army to Indians was then duly moved and carried.

In the next three resolutions, the Congress urged, (1) the repeal of the Press Act of 1910; (2) the abolition of indentured emigration; and (3) the adoption by the statesmen and people of Greater Britain of a more liberal and imperial view of the status of the Indian settlers in the Self-Governing Dominions and the Crown Colonies of the Empire. In pleading for the abolition of the Press Act, Mr. Horniman (whose speech will be found elsewhere) protested against the unjust and invidious use made of the Act. In pleading for the proper treatment of Indians in the Colonies, Mr. H. S. L. Polak referred to the discovery of Mr. Curtis' letter marked "private," and addressed to the round table groups all over the world, and "in which Mr. Curtis had, with the connivance of highly placed officials in this country, laid a plot to bring India under the domination of the Self-Governing Dominions of the Empire." (Mr. Polak's stirring speech will be found elsewhere.) Mr. G. A. Natesan, in seconding the resolution, observed that India would resist to a man any attempt on the part of the Dominions to domineer over her. She must be treated as an equal and admitted into the Councils of the Empire on terms of perfect equality.

But the most important work of the Congress was with reference to the resolution on Self-Government for India. This resolution, the text of which is given in another page in this issue, was the outcome of the deliberations of many bodies, including the Congress and the League Committees. It was moved by the Hon. Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, who has pleaded for a large and effective control of Indians in the Councils of the Empire ever since the commencement of the Congress. He made a notable speech on the resolution which was ably seconded by Mrs. Annie Besant, who was followed by several other speakers, including Messrs. B. G. Tilak, B. C. Pal, Joseph Baptista, Sir Dinshaw Petit, the Hon. Mr. Haque, Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer, the Hon. Mr. B. N. Sarma, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the Hon. Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jehangir Petit, extracts from whose addresses will be found elsewhere in this issue.

The resolution was carried unanimously, and the President was authorised to send a copy of it

to His Majesty's Government through H. E. the Viceroy.

This was followed by a resolution moved by Mr. C. P. Ramasami Aiyer, urging on Congress Committees, Home Rule Leagues and other political bodies to carry on propagandist work on the lines laid down in the Congress Resolution.

The Hon. Mr. C. H. Setalvad, of Bombay, moved a resolution placing on record appreciation of the sentiments conveyed in the message of the Prime Minister to the Princes of India and fully sharing in the determination of the British people to bring the war to triumphant issue, and regretting that larger use had not been made of the manpower of India, and urging the raising of an army immediately in India from the civil population under Indian commissioned officers for that purpose.

The proceedings of the next day commenced with the Hon. Principal Paranjpye's resolution protesting against the Patna University Bill. Then came the discussion on the Defence of India Act and the resolution on National Education moved by Mr. G. S. Arundale. (Extracts from the speeches of Mr. Paranjpye and Mr. Arundale are reproduced elsewhere in this issue). After passing a resolution on India's representation in the Imperial Conference, the Congress considered questions relating to the creation of a Governor in Council for the United Provinces, the Congress Deputation to England, the Trial of Indians by Jury and such other topics of interest. The Hon. Bhupendranath Basu, in an eloquent speech, proposed a vote of thanks to the Reception Committee. The Hon. Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya then thanked the President of the Congress and in a luminous speech surveyed the present conditions and the future prospects of the country. The Hon. Mr. Samiulla Beg, in seconding the vote of thanks, rejoiced over the successful manner in which Hindus and Mohammadans had worked together for the common welfare of their motherland. The Session concluded with the President's parting words to the Congress delegates and volunteers. He thanked all who had laboured to make the Session such a complete success and ended with an inspiring call for active work on behalf of India and the Empire.

A banquet was given that night to the leading Members of the Congress and the Moslem League by the Hon'ble the Raja of Mohammadabad. After the loyal toast was heartily responded to, Mr. Jinnah proposed the toast of the Congress, and Mr. Banerjea responded by proposing the toast of the Moslem League.

The All-India Muslim League.

An unusually large attendance marked the Ninth Session of the All-India Muslim League, which held its sittings on the 30th December at Lucknow. The Congress leaders reciprocated the honour done to them by the members of the League at their meetings by attending in large numbers. The Hon. Syed Nabiullah, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcomed the delegates in an able speech, after which the Hon. Mr. Mahomed Ali Jinnah took the chair and delivered the presidential address.

In the course of his Welcome Address, the Hon. Mr. Nabiullah referred at some length to the various problems now agitating the country, such as those relating to the War and Indian loyalty to the cause of the Allies. He criticised the Press Act and the Defence of India Act and protested against their unnecessary application in the case of the *Comrade* and the *Hamdard*. He urged, however, that the tumults of controversy should be hushed when the war is on, but

this does not, however, mean that we are to remain in a state of suspended animation while the hammer blows of Fate are fashioning the framework of a new and, we trust, a better and a freer world. The organisation of peace after the war is, in the opinion of most thinking men, a more complex and anxious problem than the winning of the war itself. In Great Britain and the countries of her Allies, no less than among the peoples of the Central Alliance, strenuous thought and energies are being applied to the discovery of a stable foundation for a new political, economic, and social order. Is India alone to stand still and take no thought for the morrow, when that morrow is to usher in a new era in the history of the world and nations saved from the perils of militarism are to undertake the replanning of their lives with the freedom and joy of a new resurrection?

The Hon. Mr. Jinnah's Presidential Address was marked by much thoughtfulness and earnestness, and his especial reference to India's demand for Self-Government and the Hindu Muslim unity were received with great enthusiasm. He gave a crushing answer to the cry of unfitness so often levelled against Indians and urged the Government to enunciate a definite policy. Referring to the Scheme of Reforms submitted by the non-official members of the Viceroy's Council, he said:

We have not been favoured either by our critics or by the Government as to what is the alternative scheme. We are not taken into the confidence of the secret chambers of the Government, where the Government of India, it is said, have been deliberating upon, and preparing a despatch containing their proposals of reform to be submitted to the Secretary of State for India. In England, the representatives of the Colonies and the Press and the people and Ministers are freely discussing reconstruction of the constitution of the Empire after

the War, nay even before the War is over it is suggested to set up an Imperial Council, whereas in India we are denied the opportunity of knowing even what the Government are contemplating. It will be a great misfortune if any decisions are arrived at with regard to the future of India by the Government and the Secretary of State for India without the proposals being published and placed before the country at large for public criticism and opinion. I most earnestly urge upon the Government that before any final decision is arrived at, the proposed reforms should be published and the people should be given an opportunity to express their views and that they should be taken into their confidence. I feel that if the people are bitterly disappointed at this juncture, it will mean the greatest disaster to the future progress of this country.

Resolutions of Muslim loyalty were then passed, which closed the deliberations for the day.

The League resumed its sittings on the following morning when Mr. Wazir Hussain, the Secretary, presented the report of the Reform Committee appointed in Bombay. The report was on the same lines as the Congress report. The Raja of Jehangirabad, in moving the adoption of the scheme, said that it satisfied the minimum demands of India. He also rejoiced in the complete union of Hindu and Muslim interests. The Hon. Mr. A. Rasul then moved that the All-India Muslim League, while adopting the scheme of reforms prepared by the Reform Committee of the League and approved by its Council, submits it in conjunction with the Indian National Congress to the Government for its introduction after the war as the first step towards the establishment of complete Self-Government in India. The Hon. Moulvi Fazlul Huq seconded the resolution in Urdu. At the request of the President, Mrs. Sirojini Naidu addressed the gathering on Hindu-Moslem unity. The Hon. Mr. Yakub Hasan, Mr. Mahomed Umar, Nawab Zafer Ali Khan and the Hon. Syed Ali Nabi supported the resolution which was carried unanimously. (Most of the speeches were delivered in Urdu; but a selection of the important English speeches on the Self-Government Resolution will be found in another column.) While Mr. Rasul was speaking, H. H. Sir James Meston accompanied by Sir V. Lovat and Mr. L. Curtis arrived at the meeting and were appropriately received with a speech from the chair. Mr. Jinnah addressing His Honor, said:—

I consider it my duty as President of the Ninth Session of the All-India Moslem League to accord to you a most cordial welcome amongst us. Your Honour's presence amongst us as the head of the Local Government is a clear mark and indication on the part of Government of a desire to understand our opinions and our feelings. I once again cordially welcome your Honour.

His Honour Sir James Meston replied:—

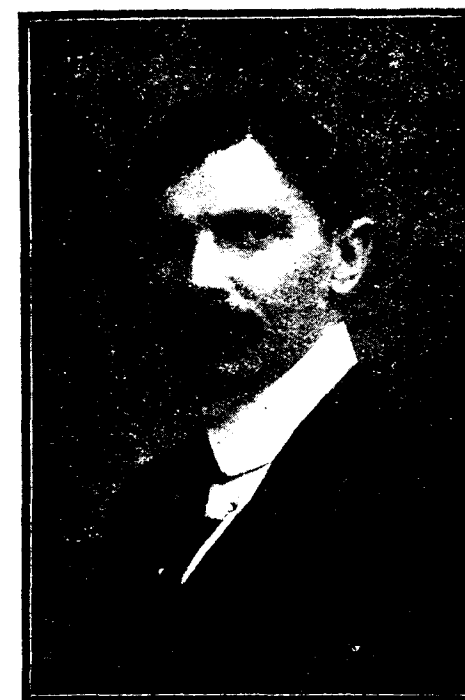
Mr. President and Members of the All-India Moslem League.—There are in this interesting gathering too many old friends to make it necessary that I should labour my acknowledgment and the great pleasure with which I have received your invitation to be present to-day and the still greater pleasure at the welcome which you have accorded Sir Verney Lovat and myself. It is not possible for me to discuss, or even to express an opinion on, the subjects which you have gathered together to discuss this morning. But it is possible for me as the head of these Provinces, in which the Mussalmans occupy a large and important place, also as, I may say, I am an old and sincere friend of the Mussalmans (loud applause), it is possible for me in these capacities to offer you a welcome to Lucknow and to express a fervent hope that on the subjects which now come before you for consideration, your deliberation will be guided by wisdom, and you will not overlook and will not subordinate it to any meaner aim and will not overlook the primary duty of the advancement of the increasing welfare and happiness of the great community which you represent. I sincerely thank you all. (Loud applause)

On the third day, the Raja of Jehangirabad moved that their Council should be authorised to send a deputation to England, in co-operation with the Congress Deputation, to urge the united demands of India. Mr. Gandhi, who spoke next on the Indians in the Colonies, urged them to conduct their proceedings in Urdu and to take more interest in Hindu literature than hitherto, as a means for a permanent *rapprochement* between the two communities. The resolution demanding the repeal of the Arms Act was moved by the Hon. Mirza Samiullah Beg, and seconded by Mr. Khunaja. As in the Congress, the repeal of the Press Act was insisted on and a resolution recommending the appointment of an advisory committee in every province, with reference to the working of the Defence of India Act, was also adopted. This was followed by the adoption of another resolution expressing deep regret and pain at the internment of Messrs Mohamed Ali, Shaikat Ali, Zafar Ali Khan, and Moulana Abdul Kalam Azad.

This over, various other resolutions expressing satisfaction at the passing of the United Provinces Municipalities Act, which accepted the principle of separate representation for Moslems on public bodies, demanding amendment of the Patna University Bill, and the immediate establishment of a university at Dacca, advocating the separation of judicial and executive functions at an early date, and the appointments of Governors in all Indian provinces with executive councils, and on other subjects, were then discussed and carried amidst great acclamation.



THE HON. AMVIKA CHARAN MAZUMDAR
President, 31st Indian National Congress



THE HON. MR. M. A. JINNAH
President, All-India Moslem League



THE HON. PUNDIT JAGAT NARAIN
Chairman, Congress Reception Committee



THE HON. SYED NABIULLA
Chairman, Reception Committee, Moslem League



THE HON. RAI SITANATH BAHADUR
President, The Industrial Conference



DR. SIR RASH BEHARI GHOSE
President, The Kayastha Conference



H. H. THE MAHARAJAH OF KASHMIR
President, The Rajput Conference



THE HON. MR. M. S. DAS
President, The Indian Christian Conference

THE CONFERENCES AND CONVENTIONS

The Indian Industrial Conference.

IN the afternoon of the 30th December, after the Congress sitting for the day was over, the Indian Industrial Conference assembled at the Congress Pandal at Lucknow. There is a melancholy interest in the address of welcome read by the Hon. Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra. For, it was originally prepared by the late Rai Prag Narain Bharghava Bahadur, whose lamented demise at Calcutta, on December 23rd, devolved the transference of the responsible office to the Hon. Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra. The address began with a comparison between Bombay and Lucknow, traced the various small industries now carried on in the city and in its environs, referred briefly to its historic antiquity and importance, and passed on to a discussion of other important problems of commerce and industry relating to all India. It surveyed the prevailing economic wants of India, touched on the inevitable consequences of the war on Indian trade and urged :—

All the important countries in the world have risen to the present industrial eminence by a well organized system of State-aid and protection in the earlier stages. Why should India alone be an exception? Unless, therefore, the Government helps our industries by financial assistance, expert advice, wide diffusion of secular, technical and industrial education, internally and by imposing prohibitive duties on foreign articles which can be manufactured in India, externally, I, for one, have no hope of seeing Indian industries developing properly. Even Sir Thomas Holland's Commission has been precluded by the Government in England from discussing the tariff problem. The reason is obvious; the Government in England is in this respect, as in many other respects, unable to go against the wishes of the people. Lancashire is stronger than the Cabinet. What is the remedy? Fiscal autonomy in India alone. Sir Valentine Chirol, (even he!) cannot justify the refusal to India of the fiscal autonomy for which there is a far more widespread and general demand than for political autonomy. I hope this Conference will urge on the Government to take immediate steps to get the fiscal policy modified to suit the conditions of India. And I dare say this is the most proper time to agitate for this change as the British statesmanship has realized the danger of unrestricted free trade even in England and is on the eve of giving it up in favour of State-aid.

The address then touched on the problems of banking and currency and finished with an enumeration of the inherent defects and disadvantages of the belated Industrial Commission. It urged:—

It is, therefore, essential that without waiting for the publication of the recommendations of the Commission, the Indian Government should come to our help at once and lay the foundations of industries for which this is the most suitable moment.

The Hon. Rai Sitanath Bahadur the President of the conference in the course of his address, spoke at some length on the immensity of India's natural resources and the inadequacy of the people's endeavours to take full advantage of them. He then urged on the necessity for State-aid for our infant industries and appealed to the people to take advantage of the principles of co-operative credit societies. He concluded with the following brilliant peroration :—

For over a century we have been in a state of industrial paralysis and helpless dependence. It is a long descent from providing the luxuries for the ancient empires of Asia and Europe to become the mere purveyors of food and raw materials for the more enterprising nations of to-day. The whole world is being stirred with new aspirations, and India feels the throb of the new life pulsating through her veins. To realise this new life is to be industrially great. And India feels it. It is not going to be a fleeting sensation, a temporary stimulus. Questions of vital importance, of the readjustment of our social, political and educational positions in view of a larger industrial life are engaging the serious attention of our countrymen, and I feel confident that the narrow views, prejudices if you please, which hampered the growth of our industrial life, are rapidly giving way under the straws of the new conditions which are confronting us on all sides. And not the people alone but the Government of India have grasped the essential needs of the situation, and we hope we shall strive together in perfect accord towards the attainment of the ideal before us. And in this connection the labours of the Industrial Conference, through a long series of years, have not been altogether thrown away. We have appealed to and awakened the national consciousness of our people. I see signs on all sides of its being thoroughly roused. I see before me the picture of an awakened India.

The annual report, which was read by the general secretary, Rao Bahadur R. M. Mudholkar, was then adopted. Several papers on economic and industrial questions were then submitted which were taken as read. Sir Vithaldas Damodar Thackersey then moved an important Resolution, in which he urged the necessity of the people taking over the management of Railways, now in the hands of the State, when a suitable opportunity should occur. A committee was also appointed to draw up a memorandum dealing with questions referred to the Indian Industrial Conference for circulation to the standing committee. After re-affirming the resolutions adopted last year, the draft constitution was circulated among the members, their opinions being invited before March 31 next. Rao Bahadur Mudholkar and the Hon. Mr. Manmohan Das Ramji were elected joint secretaries, and Mr. J. K. Mehta, assistant secretary. The office of the Conference will be in Bombay.

The Indian National Social Conference.

The Thirtieth Indian National Conference met, on December 27th, in the Congress Pandal at Lucknow. A number of ladies were also present. Pundit Manohar Lal Zutshi, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in welcoming the delegates said, that national efficiency should be the central idea of the Social Reform propaganda, and the victory of social feeling over personal and sectional selfishness should be the keynote of all social work. He urged the raising of the depressed classes, and the abolition of early marriage and enforced widowhood. Touching the question of caste and national efficiency, he observed :—

National efficiency, then, should be the central idea of the Social Reform propaganda, and the victory of social feeling over personal and sectional selfishness should be the keynote of all Social Reform work. For, a study of Indian History shows that while the Hindus have not lacked individual virtues, while they have been second to no other community in, for instance, integrity, courage, generosity and personal devotion, they have been lacking woefully in social virtues, in public spirit and national cohesion, and in my humble opinion, their downfall may be ascribed in no small measure to this great national defect.

And the chief cause of this great national defect is, I have no doubt, the institution of Caste and the exclusive and centrifugal spirit which it fosters. Whatever its origin in primitive human society may have been and whatever benefits it might have conferred on Hindu Society in the past, Caste, as we see it to-day, is the greatest monster which we have to kill. And when I say this I do not merely mean the outward forms of Caste, though these are bad enough in all conscience, but even more than these, its inner spirit, which makes every Hindu, sometimes in spite of himself, think in terms of Caste. It is this anti-national spirit of pride and exclusiveness which we must destroy and replace with the sense of man's duty to man irrespective of birth and rank.

Babu Jyotish Swarup, of Dhera Dun, an ardent Social Reformer and a staunch Arya Samajist, was elected President. He said that to make the organization a real, living one, they should appoint a small working committee and a journal to record the workings of the committee. He fixed the marriageable age for men at 25, and for women at 16. In conclusion, he advocated economy in ceremonies, foreign travel, temperance and social purity, female education, widow marriage and such other reforms.

Our object is to base our reforms on all that is good in our own and to move onwards to find anything elsewhere also good, which we might absorb for the purpose of our advancement. It is not a secret that, on several instances, those who were very emphatic and earnest on the platform in their denunciation of some of the existing social practices, forgot all about their views and resolutions recorded when occasion arose for them to act upon lines agreed to. Such failures have been the

great obstacles in the way of progress of social reform. Unless one is brave enough to stand the opposition to practical life together with that moral courage, has tact enough to win over his own near and dear ones to his views, the result will be generally disappointing, because people ordinarily say that when those who have these views fail in courage to put them in practice, there must be something uncertain, something wanting.

The Conference adopted various Resolutions with reference to these subjects and concluded with a request to the Government to introduce a Bill to declare the validity of intermarriages among Hindus.

Sir N. G. Chandavarkar was re-elected General Secretary, Mr. G. K. Devdhar, of the Servants of India Society and Mr. D. G. Delvi were elected Assistant Secretaries for the next year.

The All-India Theistic Conference.

Her Highness the Dowager Maharanee of Cooch Behar, daughter of the great Brahmo leader, Keshab Chander Sen, presided over the last Session of the All-India Theistic Conference, which held its sittings at Lucknow in the Christmas week. Mr. Nilmony Dhar, of Asra, welcomed the delegates in a graceful speech and suggested that the name of the Conference might be changed into the Brahmo Conference as Mahomedans, Christians and Arya theists were not represented. The President, in the course of her address, said :—

I thank you with all my heart for the honour you have bestowed upon me by electing me President of the All-India Theistic Conference this year. I feel very proud, indeed, to think that I should be the first woman to preside. I am here to-day as my great father's daughter. My response is feeble. It is my own life, which I know speaks for itself.

I hope here at this meeting at least one thing will be decided and, that is, no members of this Conference shall ever speak disrespectfully of any religion or prophets. Our motherland India has presented us with the most precious gifts, Yoga and Bhakti, Dharma and Satya. Let us try to be worthy of it.

We are all one family and worshippers of one True God. Look yonder brothers and sisters, I can see a vision and in this vision I see all denominations have met, all creeds and castes are assembled, all religions are embracing each other. When we shall all become one universal Brotherhood, and Sisterhood we shall then know the golden age the Satya-Yoga has returned. May God grant this All-India Theistic Conference a success. May there be no discord or misunderstanding amongst the members of this Conference.

The Maharanee of Mourbhung then addressed the Conference on the activities of the ladies of the Brahmo Samaj. A number of other ladies also delivered addresses on the educational and other missionary activities of the Brahmo Samaj.

The Muslim Educational Conference.

The All-India Muslim Educational Conference met on the morning of the 27th December at the Stratchey Hall, Aligarh. Khan Bahadur Nawab Mohammad Mozamalullah Khan Sahab, President of the Reception Committee, delivered the welcome address in Urdu, in the course of which he gave a short history of the aims and objects of the Conference. He concluded with the observation that the object with which the great Sir Syed Ahmed Khan started the Conference now thirty years ago was being fulfilled. The President, the Hon. Mian Muhammad Shafi, then delivered his address.

He spoke at some length on the necessity of the expansion of elementary education among Indian Mussalmans, on the strengthening of the bonds of union between Hindus and Mussalmans by a more vigilant study of Urdu, the *Lingua Franca* of India, and on the need for more scholarships and funds for Muslim educational advancement and finally wound up with an appeal alike to the Government and to his co-religionists to co-operate in bringing about the long longed for Muslim University. Touching the low percentage of Muslim literates, he pointed out :

What, then, are the existing conditions obtaining in this country in the three stages of education and what are the problems arising therefrom which the Government and ourselves have to face? On the 31st March, 1915, there were 50,579 scholars on the rolls of the various Colleges in this country, of whom only 5,426 were Mahomedans. The total number of students in Secondary Schools on the same date was 1,097,922 of which 203,396 belonged to the Moslem community. And of 5,447,850 scholars reading in Primary Schools, our co-religionists numbered 1,136,156. It may here be noted that these figures include both boys and girls and "do not include scholars reading in special schools or private institutions." It will, thus, be seen that while Moslem scholars constitute less than one-ninth of the entire body of students receiving University education, their number in Secondary and Primary Department is approximately one-fifth of the total school-going portion of our population. Bearing in mind the fact that the Moslem community constitutes, roughly speaking, a little over one-fifth of the entire population of India, these figures obviously disclose so far as Moslem education is concerned a highly unsatisfactory state of things in the higher rungs of our educational ladder.

He then paid a warm tribute to the educational activities of H. H. the Nizam and H. H. the Begum of Bhopal.

A number of resolutions were then passed, among which was one expressing the hope that there would be a real educational advancement during the regime of H. E. Lord Chelmsford.

Burma Muslim Educational Conference.

While the Christmas season in India was busy with Conferences, Burma was by no means idle. The Burma Muslim Educational Conference opened on the 27th December at Moiktila, Hajee Esuf Bhymeah, of Rangoon, presiding. Delegates were present from Rangoon, Moulmein and several other parts of the Burmese province. A resolution on Muslim loyalty was unanimously passed. In the course of the presidential address, Haji Esuf Bhymeah dwelt on the educational state of Burma so far as his community was concerned, pointing out that 70 per cent. were illiterate, and that only a few thousands out of five lakhs of Muhammadans in Burma were receiving education. Another lamentable feature, to which the President alluded, was that the Mussalmans of the province had not yet realised the necessity of having a college of their own. The speaker also dwelt upon the necessity of teaching Urdu in higher schools and colleges without which, he thought, the Mussalmans of Burma would go astray from the right track of national progress.

Other important matters touched upon were the appointment of a Muslim Deputy Inspector of Schools and Deputy Inspectress, and the Burma University. Dealing with the latter, he advocated the election by the Government of two members from Upper and Lower Burma separately for the Senate and Syndicate, and provisions for an Oriental Faculty on the model of the Oriental section of the Punjab University.

The Urdu Conference.

The Urdu Conference met at Lucknow on the 29th December under the chairmanship of Nawab Prayal of Patna and concluded its sittings on the third day. Donations were promised for the preparation of an Urdu Encyclopædia.

A Hindu Editor of a Hindustani paper, at Lucknow, suggested to the Conference the desirability of creating a special platform for the discussion of Urdu literature, in order that Hindu lovers of Urdu might also co-operate with the Mahomedan advocates. As it was, the Conference was considered more or less an offshoot of the Mahomedan Educational Conference, and the speaker urged that there should be a separate organization for the discussion of a common subject like the advancement of Urdu literature. The Conference accordingly appointed a committee to enquire and report on the suggestion.

The Anglo-Indian Empire League.

The Eighth Annual Conference of the Anglo-Indian Empire League met at Jhansi, on December 28th, with the Hon. Mr. J. H. Abbott, President of the League in the Chair. In the course of his presidential address, he pointed out after welcoming the delegates:—

The past year has been an epoch-making period in the history of the Anglo-Indians, because it saw the raising of an Anglo-Indian force. The fact that the given number of recruits had not yet been raised did not militate against the success of the scheme or prestige of the community, as the sanction came at a time when thousands had already responded by enlisting in British lists. The fact that the railways and the Government departments did not find it convenient to spare men should not deter the League from making special efforts to secure the number still required. A concrete example of success attending their efforts was, that the first Anglo-Indian battery is now in Mesopotamia.

Mr. Abbott then dealt with the question of volunteering and invited the Conference to pay special attention to that question. He then referred at some length to the community's representation in the Imperial and other Councils. And, lastly, he strongly advocated the scheme for an Anglo-Indian hostel at Allahabad. The scheme was not one, he said, that concerned the League and the Association only: it was a matter of much concern to the Anglo-Indians in general throughout the Indian Empire. In conclusion, he expressed his pleasure at the presence of several representatives of Anglo-Indian Associations from Calcutta and Allahabad with a view to bring about their amalgamation, as they were all alike moved by common interests and common aims.

The second day's proceedings began with the passing of an important Resolution amidst much enthusiasm and cheering. After considerable debate, the following Resolution was passed:—

That the Conference strongly urges the immediate amalgamation of the League with all other existing Anglo-Indian organizations throughout India and Burmah, and that practical steps be taken forthwith to give effect to this resolution.

This was followed by a number of speeches touching the social and educational improvement of the Anglo-Indian community. Among the subjects that engaged the attention of the Conference were: free and compulsory primary education, technical education, scholarships for the deserving, the establishment of hostels, and the proper utilization and improvement of the charity fund for educational purposes. It was also resolved to institute a Death Benefit Fund. Finally, a committee consisting of members from various centres was formed to prepare a scheme

to encourage, increase, and maintain the League membership.

The Conference continued its deliberations on the 30th also, when Mr. J. H. Abbott was re-elected President of the League for the sixth year. Mr. Abbott then spoke on the necessity for a change in the present volunteer system. Other speakers also severely criticised the inadequate manner in which recruiting is being done in India, and after a debate on the compulsory service question, it was resolved to adopt the following Resolutions, which were duly wired to H. E. the Viceroy:—

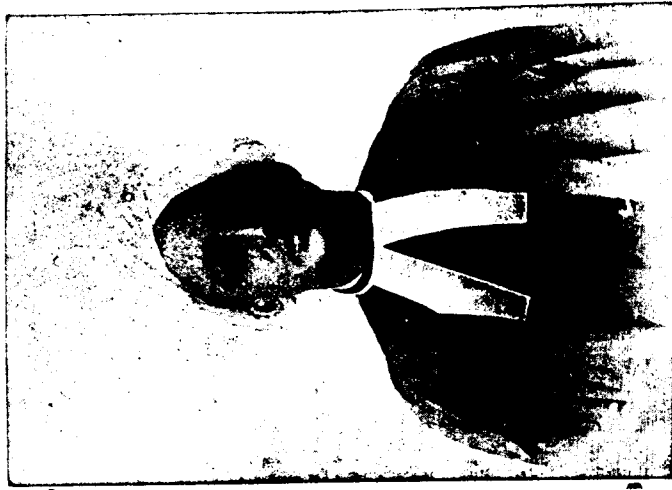
(1) That, in the opinion of this Conference, it is desirable that compulsory military service be introduced for Anglo-Indians and domiciled Europeans with as little delay as possible. (2) That, in the opinion of this Conference, the present volunteer system is inefficient and inadequate to the military needs of the State and the Anglo-Indian and domiciled European communities, and it is desirable that a system of compulsory military training be submitted for it.

The main objects of the League were then fully discussed, and it was agreed that among the wants of the Anglo-Indians were: adequate representations in the various councils; primary and technical education for the poor; the introduction of the boy scout movement among the community, and greater facilities for social brotherhood among the members.

The Indian Christian Conference.

The All-India Conference of Indian Christians began its sittings at Madras on the 27th December. There were delegates representing the Catholic and Protestant Christians. The Hon. Mr. M. S. Das, C.I.E., of Orissa, the President of the Session, made an exhaustive speech, in the course of which he appealed to non-Christian friends for unity, and assured them that the Services of the Indian Christians would always be at their command in any movement which sought the political progress of India within the British Empire. He also insisted on the identity of interests among His Majesty's Indian subjects irrespective of their colour or creeds. He urged on the Indian Christians' specific pride in being first and foremost Indian. Touching this question of nationality, he said:—

We are Indians. Indian blood runs in our veins; Indian history, Indian traditions, are the springs from which we draw our inspirations, our hopes for the future greatness of India are built on the glorious achievements of ancient India. Ostracism is only a form of national emasculation. We shall continue to work as we have done in the past. We shall grow in numerical strength by admitting the depressed classes, and thus form



DR. SIR S. SUBRAHMANIA IYER
President, Madras Students' Convention



MRS. ANNIE BESANT
President, The Theosophical Convention



DR. SIR TEMULJI NARIMAN
President, The Parsi Conference



MR. MANAK CHAND JAINI
President, The Jain Conference



MR. V. P. MADHAVA RAO, C.I.E.
President, The Hindu Conference



HON. SIR ASHUTOSH MUKERJI
President, Bengal Literary Conference

a body politic national in its character. We shall do our best to give the fair sex her exalted position as the mother of the nation. We shall continue to afford every facility intermarriage between the several portions of the Indian population, and thereby fuse the different races into one powerful nation. The offsprings of these intermarriages will not be known as Bengalees, Mahrattas, Punjabis or as Brahmins and Kayasthas, but they will be known as Indians. Thus, the Indian Christian community, which at present counts among its members 4 millions, will prove the nucleus, around which will gather one-fifth of the world's population, and form one nation—a nation which had a glorious past and is destined to have a more glorious future. Let me assure our non-Christian brethren our humble services will always be at their command in any movement which seeks the political progress of India within the British Empire. The guiding principle of our communal life has hitherto been and will alway be "peace on earth and goodwill towards mankind."

The present Session was also notable in one important respect, viz., the union of the Catholics and Protestants of India as Indian Christians. The Bishop of Mylapore urged that the proceedings of the Conference should by no means be given a religious aspect and that there should be no prayers during the Session lest there should arise any feeling likely to mar the identity of the interests of all Christians irrespective of minor doctrinal differences. Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai spoke at some length on the importance of the Indian Christians acting together, as a whole, in the protection and promotion of their temporal interests. He said that for Catholics, this decision of the All-India Council was an event of far-reaching importance.

Reports of the secretaries and the treasurer having been adopted, the question of the practicability of an All-India Christian daily paper was then mooted. It was, however, claimed as impracticable for the present.

Dewan Bahadur Swamikannu Pillai spoke also on the value of co-operative societies for Indian Christians and urged that at a very moderate estimate, they should have at least 5,000 societies. The Lord Bishop of Madras and Mrs. Whitehead also spoke on the need of co-operative unions for the benefit of the depressed classes and suggested some practical methods of redemption from economic distress.

Papers were then read on the law regarding Indian Christians and their present legal disabilities by Professor S. C. Mukerji of Bengal; technical and industrial education of Indian Christian youths by Dr. L. L. Joshi of Bombay; and Indian Christian nationality, by Mr. David of the United Provinces.

The Rajput Conference.

The Twentieth Session of the Rajput Conference was held in the grand shamiana specially erected in the precincts of the Hon. Mr. Haque's residence, at Bankipore, on the 27th December. The Maharaja Bahadur of Dumraon, Chairman of the Reception Committee, delivered an instructive address, in the course of which His Highness emphasised the value of higher English education in India and primarily for the Kshatriyas. He welcomed the delegates in a graceful speech and alluded to the war in the following words:—

There is a soul of goodness in things evil, and the war has thus given the people of this country in general and the Kshatriyas in particular one more occasion to manifest their innate and enthusiastic loyalty to the person and throne of the King-Emperor. I therefore fervently appeal to the Rajputs of Behar to offer themselves in large numbers for enlistment in His Majesty's army. I also appeal to the Government to give the Beharee Rajputs greater facilities in enlistment.

This was followed by the Presidential Address delivered by Lieutenant-General H. H. Maharaja Sir Pratap Singh Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, who reciprocated the sentiments contained in the welcome address. His Highness referred to India's devotion to the cause of the Allies, and urged that Rajput chivalry should be dedicated to the cause of the Emperor. He deplored the lack of educational facilities for Rajputs and urged that with sufficient culture they could lead the masses aright. The aim of the Conference, said His Highness, was by no means political but essentially social and educational. To this end he urged his fellow-religionists to work and labour with unceasing devotion to King and country. His Highness urged that the Ruling Princes should be invited to participate in the affairs of the Maha Sabha:

If the Rajput Ruling Chiefs at this juncture hold aloof and do not extend a helping hand to their poorer brethren, how can they expect that when the community has advanced, as it undoubtedly must and will advance, the same respect, honour, reverence and esteem will be shewn to them as at present? I make, therefore, an earnest appeal to them to aid us by their countenance and support in the efforts we are making for the betterment of our community by educational and other means, in order that the Rajput community may not lose irretrievably that which it formerly held, but has to a great extent now lost—I mean its position in the front rank of civilisation.

His Highness concluded with a reference to the work of His Honor Sir James Meston in connection with his satisfactory compromise about the course of the Ganges at Hardwar.

The All-India Khatri Conference.

In the course of the address delivered by Dewan Bahadur Amar Nath, Minister of the Kashmir and Jammu State, as President of the All-India Khatri Conference at Lucknow, he said after an expression of loyalty to the King-Emperor and to the cause of the Allies, that the Conference was organised and inaugurated in 1900 under the auspices of the late Sir Baba Khem Singh Bedi and the late Rai Madan Gopal. The President regretted that only ten sessions had been held altogether and urged his compatriots to renew the life of the Conference from this the eleventh session. Touching the aims and scope of the Conferences, he pointed out :—

No definite pronouncement appears to have been made so far as to the aims and objects which this Conference has in view. These can, of course, be gathered from the various resolutions adopted by the Conference in previous sessions, but a clear knowledge on this point is absolutely necessary to avoid the possibility of misconception which is prejudicial to united efforts. I would, therefore, suggest that the amelioration of the social, material and educational condition of the Khatri, which would appear to have been implicitly accepted as the primary aim and object of the Conference, may now be clearly and authoritatively laid down as such for general acceptance.

He then enumerated the various reforms needed for the betterment of the community and suggested intercommunal dealings among the many subdivisions of that caste. He then referred at some length to the education of boys and girls, suggested the establishment of a widows' Home in the manner of Prof. Karve's Home and appealed for funds for organizing such schemes for their amelioration. In conclusion, he objected on behalf of his community to the restrictions and prohibitions that bar their admission into the Indian army. He recalled the military glory of the ancient Khatri and urged the Government to allow his compatriots the privilege of service and sacrifice in the cause of the Empire. He concluded :—

We cannot do a greater service to our community than by compiling an authentic historical record of its past. The best way to do this will be to engage a scholar of repute, who has already published, or is engaged upon, original work on some period of Indian history, preferably during the last two centuries. He may be offered a handsome salary, and if the right man could be found, the work would, I have not the least doubt, be extremely useful, for nothing makes a stronger appeal to the imagination of a race or community or exerts greater influence on its practical life than a history of its glorious past, of which we Khatri can, I think, be justly proud.

The Bhatia Conference.

The Third Session of this Conference was held on the 24th December at Lahore. There were about forty delegates from Bombay, including Sir Damodar Thackersey, about fifty from Sind, fifteen from the Frontier Provinces with a sprinkling of Bhatias from the United Provinces and Bengal. The Proceedings began with prayer and an address of welcome from Rai Saheb Dr. Heeralal, when H. H. the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab was also present. On the motion of Sir Vitaldas Damodar, Rao Bahadur Dewan Assardas Gotaraj, of Shikarpur, took the chair and addressed the Conference. He urged that there must be an adequate safeguard for the Hindu Religion against the assaults of other competing creeds. He said :—

It cannot be denied by anyone that there is a very great desire on the part of non-Indians, especially the Christians, to spread their religion in India. We have all been complaining of the evils of such an arrangement, but, with the exception of the Arya Samaj, so far as I know, no other community has taken any appreciable steps to fight a battle and resist the invasion. There is no doubt that we have got learned individuals in our community, but it is essentially necessary that there should be specialists—Doctors of Divinity—to face the criticisms of preachers of other religions. By this arrangement, not only shall we be spared time and worry to follow the economic requirements of our life, but keep our religion and community safe from outside assaults and invasions.

Telegrams of sympathy from H. H. the Maharaja of Kashmir and other notables were read.

In the two succeeding days various Resolutions pertaining to the welfare of the community were passed, notably several touching the social and educational advancement of the Bhatias. The Conference advocated the establishment of scholarships for boys and girls and the continuation of classes for women. It also expressed its appreciation of the gift of Rs. 6½ lakhs by Seth Gurchondas Nath, for founding a school for Bhatias at Bombay, and the Law and Medical Fund founded by the late Seth Gokaldas Tejpal, and emphasised the need of placing the management of these endowments in the hands of Bhatias themselves as far as possible. Other resolutions referred to the need for founding technical scholarships for Bhatia young men. A resolution was passed, praying for the modification of the Punjab Land Alienation Act, and another suggesting the compilation of a history of Bhatias. With thanks to the Lieutenant-Governor for his kind interest and presence, the Conference came to a close.

The All-India Hindu Conference.

The third All-India Hindu Conference met at Lucknow, on December 25, under the presidency of Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, C.I.E. In welcoming the delegates to the third Session, the Hon'ble Raja Sir Rampal Singh, K.C.I.E., Chairman of the Reception Committee, began with an explanation of the scope and aim of the Hindu Sabha movement. He said :—

Self-preservation is the first function and foremost duty of everything that breathes. Nay, further, every particle of even inanimate matter resists all efforts to break it. How much more it is then the paramount duty of the great and important Hindu community to preserve its solidarity and to resist all attempts made against its hard-earned growth and progress.

This over, the President spoke on the necessity for such a Sabha and enunciated the work that lay before it. He denounced the principle of separate electorates in the Legislative Councils or Municipalities and urged that no franchise should be regulated by racial or religious considerations. He then referred to the apathy of the Government towards social and religious reforms and said :—

On social and religious questions, the Government take little or no interest. This is of course proper from their point of view. But when the Government becomes truly national, socio-religious questions will become recognized fields of activity for Government as may be seen from the legislation adopted in Mysore and Baroda on the question of infant marriage. But the fact of our having an alien Government now throws additional burden on the community as it will have to look after its social evolution and the adjustment of social institutions to changing conditions. These functions the Hindu Sabha will have to exercise even on a larger scale when self-rule has been given to India composed as it is of different races and creeds. It is thus that the question of having a Hindu Sabha becomes all important.

The Conference then decided to pass certain resolutions regarding the position of Hindus in the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils, District and Local Boards and in the Post-War Reforms, and particularly with reference to separate electorates given to the Muslims. The President wrote to the Congress Secretary :—

I think we will be failing in our duty to the Indian National Congress if we were not to inform you that if you consult only the Muslim League representatives and not the Hindu Sabha representatives in your deliberations on the above questions, you will not be doing justice to the great Hindu community. We do feel that our views and sentiment, are not and cannot be fully represented by those Hindus alone who happen to be there as members of the All-India Congress Committee.

On the 26th morning, the Hon. Mr. Surendra

Nath Banerjee, as Chairman of the Joint-Committee of the Congress and the League invited the representatives of the Sabha, who sent fourteen delegates to attend the joint Conference deliberations on the 27th evening. Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao explained the position of the Sabha and requested the Congress Committee to arrange for a Conference between the Moslem League and the Hindu Sabha. As no such interview could be arranged at once, it was decided to postpone the consideration of the question, and the Deputation withdrew with the assurance that they did not press the point then and there and that their object was merely to explain their situation to the Congress and the League and that the two bodies should recognize their position.

The Theosophical Convention.

The forty-first anniversary of the Theosophical Society was held at Lucknow, on December 28, when Mrs. Annie Besant, the President, gave a comprehensive review of the Society's activities in the various parts of the world. She complained about the serious attacks on the religious liberty of the Theosophical Society and "the consequent suffering of its members from official persecution." Referring to the world-wide organization of the Society, she said :—

Forty-four new Lodges have been chartered, as against thirty-one last year. We have, of course, no reports from the belligerent enemy countries; nothing from devastated Belgium; for the second time there is no report from Finland, except from one independent Lodge. The Australian mail is so irregular that we hope for reports from Australia and New Zealand before we go to press; the Netherlands report has not yet arrived, nor those of Cuba and Norway. I am leaving out this year the enemy countries as the figures we have probably bear no relation to the realities, thus we omit Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bohemia, reducing the national societies to 19. The numbers in Australia, New Zealand, the Netherlands, Cuba, Finland, Belgium and Norway are given as in last year, for, though we know the number of new members, we do not know how many have died or have resigned; these will all be understated. Altogether in the 19 national societies, there will be something over 28,000 members.

But the educational activity of the Society, she pointed out, was even more significant than its work in the direction of religious advocacy. The Theosophical Educational Trust has a college for boys and one for girls, and no less than twenty-five schools are under its immediate management. Four more, we are told, are in the making. In all there are 4,577 students—3,463 boys and 1,114 girls, with a staff of 237 teachers. Mrs. Besant also delivered other lectures on various aspects of theosophical work in India.

The Kayastha Conference.

The Twenty-sixth All-India Kayastha Conference was held at Allahabad, on the 24th December and was attended by a large number of delegates and visitors. Mr. Gulzari Lal, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcomed the delegates and outlined the work before them. Dr. Sir Rash Behari Ghose, the President, drew attention to the decline in the number of Kayasthas and reminded the community of the necessity for devising ways and means for arresting such decadence. He then exhorted them to take to industrial and commercial pursuits and said:

You must overcome your aversion to these pursuits and recognise the dignity of labour. We must move forward with the advancing tide of progress, casting aside all our traditional prejudices. We must reform the present system of education and give it a practical turn which can alone enable us to play our part in the ever-growing struggle for existence. If we want to solve the bread problem, we must pay greater attention to scientific and technical education, which will eventually lead to the industrial regeneration of India.

He then touched upon the various questions of Social Reform for the advancement of the community and rightly concluded with a word of warning against the breeding of communal jealousy and hatred in these days of sectional conferences:—

You will pardon me if I venture to give you one word of warning. While we must steadily proceed on the path of reform, we cannot be too careful in avoiding unnecessary friction and unpleasantness. We must expect honest difference of opinion and learn to tolerate, nay, respect them. Care must also be taken that the feelings of other communities are not embittered by arrogant assertions of superiority or by raking up controversies which will not add an inch to our stature. We must have noticed with interest the growing self-respect amongst all caste and classes in India, and I tell you frankly I would not have taken any part in this Conference if I thought that it would stand in the way of that upward movement. Mutual hatred and jealousy must give place to mutual sympathy and regard, and we must all work in the cause of social regeneration in a spirit of friendly co-operation. The great danger of all sectional movements lies in the breeding of jealousy and strife, and we must steer clear of these rocks in our career of useful reform.

The following are among the more important Resolutions that were passed at the Conference:—

(1) "That in order to encourage commerce and industry among members of the community, this Conference urges the establishment of a Technical Class in the Kayastha Pathshala to impart instruction in those subjects." (2) "That this Conference urges upon the community the importance and necessity of female education and abolition of Purdah system as the foundation of all social reforms."

The All-India Temperance Conference.

The thirteenth Session of the All-India Temperance Conference was held on the morning of the 27th December in the Congress pavilion at Lucknow. It was presided over by the Hon. Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma of Madras. There was a large attendance of delegates and visitors. In the course of his speech, the President pointed out that the ideal of the temperance reformer should be abstinence. He then referred to the policy of Government in regard to the drink problem and showed that that policy was based on a fundamental misconception of facts. He pointed out how the drink habit is not only injurious to the physical, moral, and intellectual stamina of the people but is in absolute conflict with the injunctions of the great religious tenets of the Indian people. He appealed to the Government to take up remedial measures to wean the people from the clutches of drink. He also exhorted the people to realise the danger of drink and abstain from the obnoxious habit. In conclusion, the President formulated a number of suggestions to minimise the consumption of alcohol, among which may be mentioned the following:—

That licensing boards should be immediately constituted in the capital cities and other large centres of population.

That the number of shops should be steadily reduced; in so far as such reduction may not lead to illicit consumption or resort to other deleterious drugs.

That the Bengal rule should be strictly adhered to, and that the experiment of removing shops to sites outside municipal areas be tried on a large scale.

That the fixed fee system be given a larger trial in select areas. That preachers be appointed to preach in the vernacular to the classes affected.

That the opening hours of shops should be advanced so as to render it difficult to indulge in drink before starting work for the day, and that shops be closed at sunset, at any rate, in all rural areas in the beginning.

That no drink should be sold to Indian women, or minors.

That duty on foreign liquor be raised.

That the sale of drink under Municipal or governmental control on the ticket or analogous systems may be tried in select areas, where public sentiment is not opposed to it.

The Conference ended with the passing of various resolutions, embodying suggestions similar to those enunciated by the President.

SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR INDIA.

[EXTRACTS FROM ADDRESSES AND SPEECHES AT THE CONGRESS AND THE MOSLEM LEAGUE.]

The Hon. Pandit Jagat Narain.

In my opinion, statesmanship demands that Great Britain should announce to the people of this country that a Self-Governing India is the goal of her policy and grant us a substantial instalment of reform after the war, as a step towards that goal. Representative Government should be made a reality by the fullest control over civil affairs being given to the elected representatives of the people whose decisions should be binding on the Executive. Indians should no longer be debarred from an honourable participation in the defence of their hearths and homes, but should be given every opportunity developing their martial spirit. The slow deterioration which is taking place in the manhood of the race is one of the saddest results of British rule in India, and steps should be taken to repair the injury as early as possible. It is also essential that in any scheme of Imperial Federation, India should occupy the same position as the Self-Governing Dominions. The Memorandum submitted to His Excellency the Viceroy, by our elected representatives, although not a complete statement of our demands, proceeds on these lines and the same principles underlie the scheme of reform which has been prepared jointly by the All-India Congress Committee and the Muslim League Reform Committee and which will soon come before you. But these reforms, which fall far short of Colonial Self-Government, cannot satisfy India for all time to come and in any legislation undertaken to give effect to them; it should be provided that full responsible government shall be conferred on her within a generation.—From the Welcome Address to the Congress.

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The Hon. Mr. A. C. Muzumdar.*

Call it Home Rule, call it Self-Rule, call it *Swaraj*, call it Self-Government, it is all one and the same thing—it is Representative Government. The idea is not a new one, nor is it the revelation of any evangelist. As far as I am aware, the idea dawned upon the people in 1882, when the agitation on the Ilbert Bill first revealed to the people the helplessness of their situation. A *National League* was then formed and a burning pamphlet called the *Star in the East* was issued, which was written in a style and language which, if employed at the present day, would have surely stranded the writer in serious difficulties. Lord Ripon fully anticipated the demand when, in his famous Resolution of January 1882, he told the people that "local self-government must precede national self-government." Although the first Indian National Congress passed no resolution directly bearing on the question, the notification under which it was called into existence clearly stated that one of the objects of the future assembly was "indirectly to form the germ of an Indian Parliament which, if properly conducted, will constitute in a few years an unanswerable reply to the assertion that India is still wholly unfit for any form of representative institution." And Mrs. Annie Besant in her admirable book, *How India Wrought for Freedom*, has pointedly referred to the utterance of the Grand Old Man of India, which clearly foreshadowed the coming demand of the Indian people for Self-Government. Ever since then the idea worked and matured itself when, in the brilliant session of the Congress in 1906, it found an emphatic and unequivocal pronouncement from the very same patriarch of the Indian political world in his trumpet-call for *swaraj*, which has since then stirred the Indian mind to its utmost depth to find the true remedy which it had so far sought in vain. A generation has passed away, but a generation has risen whose sole and whole-hearted demand is nothing short of Self-Government as the sovereign remedy for the present unsatisfactory situation. A cry has, however, been raised that we are not yet fit for Self Government. * * *

From the Congress Presidential Address.

Gentlemen, we are roundly charged with reveling in "extravagant hopes" and indulging in "unrealisable demands." But we have long refused to profit by the very friendly and eminently practical suggestions of those whose only claim to be regarded as the *Statesman* or *Englishman* consists in the proud names which they have, like the "bogus medical degrees," assumed for themselves. We do not judge the great British nation by specimens of this kind who do no honour to the English name.

Let us recall to-day only a few of the many assurances that have been given to India by some of the responsible ministers and men who are now guiding the destinies of the Empire.

The *Times*, the leading organ of conservative opinion in England, has been struck with the unexpected demonstration in India and frankly admitted that the Indian problem must be henceforth looked at from a different point of view. "On our part," says the great journal, "when we have settled account with the enemy, India must be allowed a more ample place in the councils of the Empire." Both Mr. Montague and Mr. Roberts, as Under-Secretary for India, have from time to time expressed themselves in no uncertain voice as to the correct lines upon which the Indian administration requires to be revised and modified. Mr. Montague's honest interpretation of Lord Hardinge's Despatch of August 1911, is well-known, while Mr. Roberts speaking from his place in the House of Commons has frankly acknowledged that with the intellectual classes in India this outburst of loyalty is a "reasoned sentiment based upon considerations of enlightened self-interest," and has at the same time asked the British public to alter "the angle of vision" in their perspective of the Indian problem. Following the *Times*, the *Review of Reviews* has, in one of its latest numbers, fairly admitted that "India to-day occupies a higher place in the Empire than ever before and has materially advanced her claims towards Self-Government, and it is inevitable that, after the war, her outstanding demands should receive the most sympathetic considerations."

"We have," the *Review* adds, "made promises of Self-Government to Egypt, and it is inconceivable that we should deny the same privileges to India. At present India is not pressing her claim but patiently awaits her just due not as a reward but as a right which her conduct has shown her worthy of possessing."

Lord Haldane, who till recently occupied a commanding position in the Cabinet, said:—

The Indian soldiers were fighting for the liberties of humanity as much as we ourselves. India had given her lives and treasures in humanity's great cause, hence

things could not be left as they were. We had been thrown together in the mighty struggle and had been made to realise our oneness, so producing relations between India and England which did not exist before. Our victory would be victory for the Empire as a whole and could not fail to raise it to a higher level.

Then at a recent meeting held at Guildhall, at the instance of the Lord Mayor, Mr. Asquith, the Premier, and Mr. Bonar Law, the erstwhile leader of the Opposition, and both now united in coalition ministry, have given a pointed pledge for the readjustment of India's position in the councils of the Empire after the war is over. But to quote the words of Mr. Bonar Law, why the thing should not be done "while the metal was still glowing red-hot from the furnace of the war" and the promised rewards of India's comradeship and co-operation should be all relegated to the indefinite future and not one of them even shadowed forth in the present programme of the Imperial Government, seems to be inexplicable. Quite recently, Lord Chelmsford is reported to have said that "the war, by giving India an opportunity to show its practical importance to the Empire, had stirred Indian aspirations for developments politically and economically. It would be his endeavour to secure a practical response to this new desire for progress." His Lordship is said to have added:—"My task is to guard India from cramping influences of undue conservatism equally with unpractical revolutionary tendencies."

Now, are these men of less authority, foresight and responsibility than the members of the Indian bureaucracy or its exponents in the Anglo-Indian Press who are ever so loud and positive in denouncing our claims? Or are these assurances all a hoax intended to delude the Indian mind? We positively refuse to accept any such view which would be a gross calumny on the great British nation. We have much greater confidence in British statesmanship which may have blundered in many places but has failed nowhere. Gentlemen, we indulge in no gloomy anticipations; but we shudder to contemplate the serious effect which the non-fulfilment of these pledges is likely to produce in the minds of the Indian public. . .

As loyal subjects of His Majesty, we, of the Congress, deem it our duty to tell all whom it may concern not to treat the Indian problem after the war as lightly as some irresponsible and mischievous critics are evidently disposed to do. Already a subdued note of the scrap of paper has been raised in certain quarters. The Charter Act of 1833, the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 and the two gracious messages of King Edward VII and

George V still remain unredeemed, and it would be no wise statesmanship to add to the burden of unredeemed pledges. England has been drawn into the vortex of a titanic struggle for the deliverance of Belgium and Serbia. God grant, she may come out with her brave Allies completely triumphant in her heroic efforts. She has, however, a much greater stake in India, and India has a much greater claim to her consideration. Let us hope she will not fail to be at least as just as she is generous.

After the war is over, a complete readjustment of the Empire will have to be made; all its component parts will have to be co-ordinated and harmonised with one another and with the parent state. India alone cannot be left out of this programme. She must be admitted into common and equal partnership with colonies on terms of equal rights and obligations of the Empire, enjoying equal laws and equal rights of British citizenship throughout that Empire. The collar of a Dependency should be removed from her neck and the coronet of an autonomous Self-Governing State placed upon her head. What a glorious federation it would then be, more glorious than that of the Roman Empire or of any that the world has yet seen.

The Hon. Mr. M. A. Jinnah.*

Is India fit for freedom? We, who are present here to-day, know full well that from the Indian standpoint there can be but one answer. Our critics would probably challenge our conviction. Our only reply to them would be to go forward and put the matter to the proof. After all, what is the test of fitness? If we turn to history, we find that in the past, only such people have been declared to have been fit for freedom who fought for it and attained it. We are living in different times. Peace has its victories. We are fighting and can only fight constitutional battles. This peaceful struggle is not and will not be wanting in the quality of vigour and sacrifice, and we are determined to convince the British Empire that we are fit for the place of a partner within the Empire, and nothing less will satisfy India. . .

The first and the foremost question that requires to be put at rest is, that the position of India in the Empire should be defined in the most unequivocal terms. It should be made clear by the Government in an authoritative manner that Self-Government is not a mere distant goal

* From the Presidential Address to the Moslem League.

that may be attained at some future indefinite time, but that Self-Government for India is the definite aim and object of the Government to be given to the people within a reasonable time. That should be the aim and object of the reconstruction and reformation of the present constitution of the Government of India, and immediate steps should be taken after the War to introduce the reforms towards that end in view both by the Government and the people.

Reading the signs of the time it appears that the claims of the Overseas Dominions, such as Canada, Australia, and even South Africa, viz., to allow them a voice in the declaration of war and the making of peace and the Imperial Foreign policy if they are to bear the responsibilities of the Empire cannot well be resisted and it might follow that an Imperial Parliament may be constructed and established. England, Scotland and Ireland have their separate Parliaments for the purpose of managing their internal and domestic affairs such as the Dominions already have. Sir Joseph Ward, addressing the meeting of the Insurance Institute at Gresham College only last month, said that:—

In the future reconstruction of the Empire, there could not be any interference with local authority and though an Imperial Parliament was a long way off, they might now work for some effective Imperial Council and that before an organic Parliament was possible, there must be devolution in Britain to pave the way for a federal legislature overseas. The Dominions had no right even to a minority voice as to whether the nation should go to war or what the peace terms should be.

He quoted Mr. Asquith's speech at the 1911 Imperial Conference, in which the Prime Minister stated that "an Imperial Parliament scheme would impair the authority of the British Parliament." Sir Joseph added:

Since then, there had been a great evolution of opinion on the subject. Mr. Bonar Law had declared as a result of the war the time was coming when the Overseas Dominions would share in the Government of the Empire with Britain. He hoped that before the war ended, some *modus vivendi* would be established.

In the political reconstruction, India, the largest part of the Empire, cannot possibly be allowed to continue a dependency as an adjunct to England, Scotland or Ireland, or to be ruled and governed by the Dominions. Hitherto the responsibility, the control and the supervision of India has been vested in Great Britain. The question naturally arises, what will be the position of India if an Imperial Parliament with full representation of the Dominions is constituted? Is India to have new and additional masters? Is India to be

ruled jointly by England, Scotland, Ireland and the Dominions? Are we to be handed over to this Imperial Parliament and to be thus ruled and to be governed by the Colonies? Are we not to have a status or *locus standi* in this Imperial Parliament? I feel sure that I am expressing the opinion of the entire educated people of this country that India will never allow herself to be relegated to such an intolerable position. Indeed, she does not want a change of masters nor additional masters. If an Imperial Parliament, such as indicated above, is established, India's right should be recognised and her voice in that Imperial Parliament must be fully and properly secured and represented by her own sons in the Councils of the Empire."

The Hon. Syed Nabi-Ullah.

The All-India Moslem League stands to-day for two principal objects, namely, for the safeguarding of the political position of Mussalmans and for co-operation with the other communities for the attainment of Self-Government or Home Rule.

It has given considerable relief to all of us to find that the responsible Hindu leaders in all parts of India realise the Moslem standpoint and are ready to offer all reasonable guarantees for the safety of the Moslem political position. With the settlement of this fundamental question involving the fate of India's future, nothing else should remain in the way of a complete Hindu-Moslem co-operation for the supreme end we both have in view. That end, I need hardly say, is United India, alive to her destiny and recoiling from no toil and sacrifice to rise to the summit of her aspiration, i.e., to the position of a self-governing member of the British Empire. Is there a single Mussalman present here to-day, nay, is there a single Indian in and outside of this hall, born of Indian woman, whose heart fails to warm up and whose pulse does not beat faster as he gives even a moment's thought to that glorious conception? If there is such a miserable wretch in existence, he is a freak and a monstrosity. For such ideal no effort can be spared, no sacrifice can be too great.—*From the Welcome Address to the All-India Moslem League.*

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G. A. Natesan & Co., Sankurama Chetty Street, Madras.

The Hon. Babu Surendranath Banerjee.*

Ladies and gentlemen, we are on the eve of a great reconstruction. The world after the war will not be the same as it was before the war. England and India will participate in that reconstruction. The object of the war is to vindicate the sanctity of treaty obligations, to protect the rights of minor nationalities, to uphold the sacredness of scraps and bits of paper. In the same spirit, I submit, we are entitled to hold, that the gracious messages contained in our charters and proclamations should be redeemed and upheld; for the moral law does not work by latitudes and longitudes. It is of universal application. The latest declaration on the subject of readjustment that we have had is the one made by Lord Chelmsford to an American correspondent. His Excellency observed that the war has stimulated the aspirations of India politically as well as industrially, that it would be his duty to give them a practical form and recognition—now mark the words—to guard them—I am quoting almost the exact language—to guard them against the cramping influences of undue conservatism and also against revolutionary tendencies. A noble message nobly delivered. If His Excellency can carry out this message, he will go down to posterity as one of the greatest benefactors of

* The most important Resolution passed at the last sitting of the Congress was the one on "Self-Government for India." The terms of the Resolution were:—

(a) That having regard to the fact that the great communities of India are the inheritors of ancient civilisations and have shown great capacity for government and administration, and to the progress in education and public spirit made by them during a century of British Rule, and further having regard to the fact that the present system of Government does not satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people and has become unsuited to the existing conditions and requirements, the Congress is of opinion that the time has come when His Majesty the King-Emperor should issue a Proclamation announcing that it is the aim and intention of the British policy to confer Self-Government on India at an early date.

(b) That this Congress demands that a definite step should be taken towards Self-Government by granting the reforms contained in the scheme prepared by the All-India Congress Committee in concert with the Reform Committee appointed by the All-India Muslim League. (For text of the Scheme, please see page 57).

(c) That, in the construction of the Empire, India shall be lifted from the position of a Dependency to that of an equal partner in the Empire with the Self-Governing Dominions.

The Resolution was proposed by the Hon. Babu Surendranath Banerjee, recorded by Mrs. Besant and supported by Mr. Tilak and several others, whose speeches are herein reproduced.—[Ed. I. R.]

the Indian people. But, brother delegates, I desire to raise a note of warning. There has been, of late, a tendency to err on the side of caution. A high authority, supposed to be a power behind the throne, speaking in Simla at a public meeting at which the question of post-war reforms was discussed, said that if Akbar had been more cautious and less imaginative, possibly the Moghul Empire in India would have endured till to-day. Prophecy in regard to matters that might have been but were not is a perfectly safe occupation. Might I not be permitted to indulge in the same pastime and say that if Akbar had not followed this bold and courageous policy, the Moghul Empire would not have taken root in the hearts of the people? I am supported by the authority of the historians of Akbar and by an overwhelming array of facts. Mark what happened before the establishment of the Moghul power in India. Dynasty after dynasty followed one another in rapid succession. There were five dynasties within the space of 300 years giving an average life of 60 years to each. Akbar grasped the situation and saw the weakness of it all and initiated a bold and statesman-like policy, which enshrined him in the hearts of the people and laid broad and deep the foundations of the Moghul Empire. And I am sure that if Akbar had followed any other policy which failed to attract the hearts of the people, the fate which had overtaken the previous dynasties would have been his.

Ladies and gentlemen, Lord Chelmsford has observed that it would be his duty to guard the country against revolutionary tendencies. I think His Excellency may rely with absolute confidence upon the unstinted support of the educated community in this matter. We are not revolutionaries. (Cries of 'No, no.') Revolution is repugnant to our instincts and to our nature. We are the friends of reform (hear, hear), because it is the surest safeguard against revolution. All history proclaims the truth that reforms indefinitely postponed or tardily carried out, or inadequate in their scope and comprehension, prepare the ground for revolutionary propagandas. God grant that this blunder may not be committed in India. We know it was committed in Ireland. We are anxious that the same mistake may not be repeated here (hear, hear). Lord Chelmsford said to the Deputation of the Indian Association—I was a member of that deputation—that reforms would not be rapid. Well, whether they be rapid or slow, let there be no reforms by dribblets with a background

of mistrust and suspicion. Whatever reform is conceded, let it be whole-hearted, let it be the index of a generous trust reposed in the people, and, above all, let it be adequate to the growing aspirations of India. Any reform that fails to satisfy this test must give rise to disappointment, create discontent, frustrate the object of all reforms, which is to keep pace with an advancing public opinion. I hope and trust that it may be Lord Chelmsford's high privilege to grant us reforms which will satisfy the growing aspirations of the people and be consonant with the scheme which has been formulated and which is now before you.

Brother delegates, there is a widespread feeling all over the Empire that after the war, Self-Government should be conceded to India, or that, at any rate, a definite step should be taken towards it. The difference of opinion between Indian Nationalists and our critics is this: We say we should have Self Government at once or in the immediate future. They say we must pass through purgatory on our way heavenwards. Mr. Lionel Curtis (cries of 'Shame')—never mind—he is a man who has written several books on the subject. He exercises considerable influence over English public opinion. He may or may not be an opponent of Indian aspirations, but let me try to meet him on his own ground. . . . In his book "The Problem of the Commonwealth," he says, "The task of preparing for freedom the races which cannot as yet govern themselves is the supreme duty of those who can. It is the spiritual end for which the Commonwealth exists, and material order is nothing except a means to it." The preparation of the races living within the British Empire for Self-Government is, according to Mr. Lionel Curtis, a spiritual end for which the Commonwealth exists, and it is the sole justification for British rule in this country. Material order is a means to that end. All administrative measures are subordinated to this spiritual end which overshadows every other aim and purpose. So far so good; we are all in agreement with Mr. Lionel Curtis. But when he comes to the question of Self-Government for India, he cries out, 'Not yet.' That is an old cry. He says, you cannot have Self-Government now. Why not? Because you have not got suitable electorates. To that my reply is, Had you any electorates in the United Kingdom worth the name before the Reform Bill of 1832. (Hear, hear.) Is it not notorious that there were those pocket boroughs which were openly bought and sold? And yet no

one questioned the competency of the English people for Self-Government. Had Japan electorates suitable or otherwise when the Mikado conferred parliamentary institutions upon that country? Had the Philippines any electorates, qualified or otherwise, when the American Republic resolved to concede national independence to the people of the Philippines? The growth and development of electorates is part of the growth and development of free institutions. They are inseparable and linked together. They act and react upon each other and strengthen each other by their mutual interaction.

It is said that we are not fit for Self-Government. We are, forsooth, unfit for self-rule. In the morning of the world, when Europe was sunk in barbarism, our ancestors had those village communities which represent the first beginnings of self-government and which survived the vicissitudes of time and fortune. We are not fit for self-government! Go back to the days of the Vedic Rishis. What do you find? The king was an elected monarch—so says Dr. Pramatha Nath Banerjee in his book. And even in the Middle Ages the memory of an elected sovereign lingers in the institutions of the land. Analyse the institution of Islam. What do you find? Islamic society and government are saturated with the spirit of democracy; and the Caliph, the spiritual head of the Moslem world, originally owed his authority, his position and dignity to the choice of the Faithful. There is no community in the world in which the spirit of equality is more visible and more active than that professing the creed of Islam. And yet we are told, we Hindus and Mussalmans are not fit for Self-Government. When shall we be so fit, may I ask? When will the bureaucracy think that we are? (Laughter). And when will that be? Doomsday. (Renewed laughter). There is yet another authority which may give us Self-Government. What is that? The Parliament of England? But it takes a long time to move Parliament. Sir Henry Fowler said on one occasion that every member of the House of Commons was a member for India; what is everybody's business is nobody's business. We have found that from our painful personal experience. Nobody cares for India. England and Englishmen are so deeply concerned in their own affairs, absorbed in their own administration and government that they find it impossible to pay any attention to India. Who then will determine the time when Self-Government is to be conceded to us? You and I. (Hear, hear, and applause.) For nations by themselves are made,

(Hear, hear). Enlist on your behalf all the sympathy you can of Englishmen and Englishwomen and of the civilised world; but bear in mind you and you alone are the final arbiters of the destinies of the Motherland. (Applause). Cromwell on one occasion made a memorable remark of which I am reminded at the present moment. On the eve of the battle of Naseby, when a severe thunder storm passed over the encampment addressing his troops, he said, "Keep your powder dry and pray." Pray by all means, but keep your powder dry. Don't lose sight of the material resources which are necessary for success in this world. Spiritual agencies are a mighty factor but the material resources are not to be despised. The salvation of India is to be wrought upon Indian soil by Indian hands, by Indian brains and by Indian agency. (Applause.) Have by all means the sympathies of Englishmen and of the civilised world, but it is you who will determine the great question for yourselves.

Ladies and gentlemen, I don't know whether I have already exhausted your patience. (Cries of 'No, no.') I have a few more remarks to make. Why is it that we want Self-Government? We want Self-Government in the interests of the Empire to which we are so proud to belong. We want Self-Government in the interests of the efficiency of the administration. We want Self-Government for self-protection. And, finally, we want Self-Government for the highest ends of national existence, for the moral and spiritual elevation of our people. I say we want Self-Government in the interests of the Empire. Who knows what will happen 20 years hence? Who knows what strife, what struggle, what difficulties there may be hidden in the womb of the future? Who knows that another war more sanguinary and more devastating than the one which is now desolating Europe may not again break out with all its attendant horrors and cast its shadow upon the fortunes of humanity? Is it not the duty of statesmanship to be forewarned and to be forearmed, to take the necessary measures of precaution against a contingency of this kind? Who had ever dreamt forty years back, after the battle of Sedan, that England and Germany would stand and fight with one another? You talk of the man-power of Germany. But look nearer home. We are as multitudinous as the stars of heaven, as countless as the stars of heaven, as countless as the sands of the sea. I say to the rulers of India, Rely upon us, trust us, and Germany will quail

before the man-power you hold in reserve in India. (Hear, hear). Marshman says in his history of British India the grandsons of those who fought against Baber became under Akbar the governors of his provinces, the captains of his armies and the ministers of his councils. Let such trust be reposed in us, and England may gaze with serenity the mightiest combination that may be formed against her Imperial sway. Self-Government is the cement of the Empire. It has knit together the Self-Governing Colonies in the bonds of an indissoluble union. It has converted hostile Boers into loyal citizens shedding their blood in suppressing a rebellion of their own countrymen against the Empire, which has conferred on them the inestimable gift of freedom. If Self-Government is conceded to us, the same results will follow in this ancient land.

We want Self-Government for the efficiency of the administration. . . . Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman has told us that good government is no substitute for self-government. I will go a step further and add that in fairly progressive communities, self-government is the only guarantee for good government. . . . Good government is no substitute for self-government, but self-government is necessary for good government, and we claim it for the purpose of good government. . . .

We want Self-Government for the purpose of self-protection. You might ask—what do you mean by self-protection? At the present moment there is visible on the horizon a cloud no bigger than a man's hand, which, I am afraid, unless timely precautions are taken is destined to assume formidable proportions and bursting upon us may overwhelm us. What is that cloud? It is the prospect of a federal council of the Empire from which we are to be excluded and on which there will be colonial representatives. The Self-Governing Colonies are soaked in colour prejudice. From the Federal Council of the Empire, they will determine the policy and the principles of Indian administration. We must put our own house in order and have self-rule before this dire catastrophe overwhelms us.

We want Self-Government finally for the highest ends of national existence, for the moral and spiritual elevation of our people. Political inferiority involves moral degradation. It is galling to our self-respect. The mind and the conscience of a free man are not the mind and conscience of a slave. A nation of slaves could never have produced a Patanjali, a Buddha, or a Valmiki. We want Self-Government in order that we might

wipe off from our brows the badge of political inferiority and uplift our heads among the nations of the earth, so that we may fulfil the great destinies that are in store for us under the blessing of Divine Providence. We want Self-Government not only in our own interests but for the sake of humanity at large. In the morning of the world, on the banks of the Ganges and on the banks of the Jumna, the Vedic Rishis sang those hymns which represent the first yearnings of infant humanity towards the Divine ideal. In the morning of the world, before the Eternal City had been built on the seven hills, we were the spiritual preceptors of mankind. Kashi was flourishing before Babylon. Our past takes us back to the dim twilight of history. In those days, when the world was sunk in primeval barbarism, we were the guides and instructors of mankind. Has our mission been fulfilled? It has been arrested and will have to be renewed, aye, renewed and fulfilled, so that we may rescue humanity from the gross materialism and the perverse moral culture which has heaped the battlefields of Europe with the hecatombs of the dead. But we must be fully equipped before we can adequately discharge this high and exalted function. Self-Government is the indispensable equipment. These are the ideals, the hopes and the aspirations which inspire us in the demand for Self-Government. Our work is not political: it is moral, it is religious. We are therefore irresistible and invincible.

To-day is a red letter day in our history. To-day Hindus and Mahomedans and all ranks of the National party are united on this platform inspired by a common resolve and a common purpose. May the memory of this day be embalmed in the recollections of posterity by the inauguration of a new campaign for the attainment of Self-Government. It is no use our holding a session for three days and then going to sleep for the rest of the year. We must resolve in our hearts and take a vow such as we did in connection with the Swadeshi movement and enter into a solemn league and covenant before God and man that we shall not rest from these labours until we have secured for ourselves the great and inestimable blessing of Self-Government. (Hear, hear, and applause).

INDIAN NATIONAL EVOLUTION. By Amvica Charan Mazumdar. Price Rs. 2. To Subscribers of "I. R." Re. 1-8.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Sunkurama Chetty Street, Madras.

Mrs. Annie Besant.

You have just heard the scheme of reforms which has been passed by the All-India Congress Committee in Conference with the Reform Committee appointed by the All-India Muslim League. Those reforms are alluded to in the second clause, and you will see that they are meant for a transition period to be passed as soon as possible and to lead up to that change, which is to come with the reconstruction of the Empire after the War—that change to Self-Government of India on a footing of equality with the Self-Governing Dominions. It is to the last clause that I propose to ask your attention. The last clause says that in the reconstruction of the Empire after the War, India shall be lifted from the position of a Dependency to that of an equal partner in the Empire with the Self-Governing Dominions. With regard to that, it is said that you ought not to embarrass the British Government by raising such a question as this in the middle of the War. We are only following the example of the Self-Governing Dominions. We are only taking the advice of Mr. Bonar Law, who advised the Dominions to strike the iron while it was red hot. After the reconstruction of the Empire, the iron will be cold, and where, I ask, is the blacksmith who allows the red-hot iron to cool down before he strikes it to the shape and form he wants?

We hear at this moment much talk about the five nations who are to form a Federated Empire after the War. Where is India? Oh! She is not one of the five. She is a coloured people, and coloured people are to have the right of domination over them by colourless people. Coloured people have only the duty of submission. (Cries of 'Shame.') But that is not the doctrine that this coloured nation at least is willing to accept. We are not uncivilised natives of South Africa, that we should bow our heads beneath the yoke of the five nations. It is not lack of colour that makes clever brains. The Lord Buddha and the Christ were coloured men. All the founders of religion were coloured men. Have the colourless produced a single founder of religion? We will never bow beneath the yoke of the Colonies.

We are told not to spread bitterness against the Colonies. I think the writer of that has begun at the wrong end. Have we excluded the Colonies from India, because they could not talk or write some language of which they knew nothing? Was it this country or was it Australia that passed that Law? Have we said that no North American or Canadian should come to

India unless he comes straight from port to port when there is no line of ships that carries straight from one to the other, or has Canada made that law against the Indian people? What is this talk of bitterness? Bitterness is caused by the Colonies and not by India. Let this advice be given to the Colonies and not to India. The Indian had no share in the making of that feeling.

Oh! We are not fit to govern ourselves and we are divided! Are we? We have shown some power of union during the last few years. Our Congress was split into half nine years ago. But we stand a United Congress to-day. Hindus and Muslims had a gulf between them, not in Kashmir where a Hindu Prince rules, not in the Deccan where a Muslim Prince is the Sovereign, but only in the British Raj, and that gulf has been bridged by Muslims and Hindus themselves, and we have linked our hands in love, in trust, in mutual forbearance, in mutual respect, and we stand to-day a united nation that nothing shall hereafter break asunder.

Oh! you are not fit for Self Government. You are ignorant. Who has the right to cast that reproach at the masses of our people? It was the late Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale who tried to win free and compulsory education cautiously, carefully, step by step, for he was not an impatient idealist in the world, however much his heart went with impatient idealism. An Indian tried to educate his brethren but who is it that denied it? It was the Imperial Council with its perpetual majority of officials. Does it then lie in the mouths of Englishmen to reproach us with ignorance when the Government would not educate our people and would not help us to do it.

Then they say: "You cannot help yourselves." Did we pass the Arms Act? Did we take away weapons from the hands of our people? Since 1878, there has been no pure-blooded Indian, whether Hindu or Musalman, who could possess arms without a licence, to the gaining of which all sorts of difficulties are attached. Is it India's fault that it is undefended? For thirty years the Congress has asked for the repeal of the Arms Act and for permission to volunteer and to open Military Colleges, and those who have treated every demand with contempt, say that we are not fit to govern ourselves, because we cannot defend ourselves. It is only Home Rule that will enable us to defend ourselves. Until we have Home Rule, we cannot be armed as we should be.



THE HON. MR. MUZHAR-UL-HAQUE



THE HON. PUNDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA



HON. RAO BAHADUR R. N. MUDHOLKAR



THE HON. BABU SURENDRANATH BANERJEE



HON. PANDIT GOKARAN NATH MISRA



SIR DINSUAW PETIT



MR. JOSEPH BAPTISTA



MR. JEHANGIR B. PETIT

Oh ! it is said there are divisions among you. There are none in England ! (Laughter). Before the Great War in 1914, which saved the Empire, the United Kingdom was on the brink of Civil War. Was England then unfit for Self-Government ? How far was England educated when the Reform Bill of 1832 was passed ? Has England always been so quiet under difficulties ? In 1913, were there no strikes paralysing railway traffic and threatening London with starvation, because of the lack of transport, as all men engaged in transport work were on strike, and yet England is fit for Self-Government, and you, quiet and industrious, are not ?

As regards the objection, that educated Indians are in a minority : the educated of every country are in a minority, but they are not in so small a minority as the God-given Rulers of to-day. The educated minority know the people, and the English do not. People come here to learn about the Indian Nation. They live in Government camps, and they go about with Government officers. They make friends of those who have slandered India. Is that the way to learn what Indians think ? What idea can they get of the village life when they see it under such circumstances.

Then we are told that we are injuring the prestige of the British Nation, and the Press Act is brought down to silence criticism. Have you forgotten that one of the Panjabi papers that described the condition of London was held to have excited hatred and contempt against His Majesty's British subjects, and the security of that paper was forfeited ? Sir James Meston may think my language emphatic, I am afraid, but we want emphasis in order to make both our rulers and people understand the intolerable condition of things under which India is living to-day.

India has still love for England. India does not want to break the British connection, but the England she loves is not the steel-framed England of the Press Act, the Defence of India Act, the Seditious Meetings Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act, and all those horrible enactments of 1818 and 1827. It is not the England of those things that we love ; it is the England of Cromwell, of Hampden and Pym, of Milton and Shelley. It is the England that sheltered the threatened life of Mazzini, the England that welcomed Garibaldi by thousands in her streets as the liberator of Italy, the England that has been sheltering every political refugee, it is

that England that we love. That is the England that, despite everything else, we still believe in, but she is ignorant and blinded by the people who come here on superficial knowledge and confirm her in her blunders instead of enlightening her.

England is fighting for her life, and has called India to help her with as much as India is able to give. Oh ! India would have given so much more, so many more men, so many more volunteers in order to help England in the day of her need. But England at her peril calls on Indian soldiers to fight for the liberty of Belgium and the sacredness of treaties, and then sends those soldiers back home to find their people still in bondage and treaties disregarded, torn in pieces and thrown aside. That which England fights for in Europe she must admit here. There is only one thing which makes a Nation fit for freedom, and that is the heart to aspire after it, and the will which is determined to have it. England will not give you freedom, no Nation has ever been given freedom, but England will pass an Act of Parliament establishing freedom when she realises that you are in earnest, that you are tired of being played with, that you are determined to be free, and India's loyalty rests on a belief in the old England and not in the English bureaucracy, and her loyalty is the reasoned loyalty of freemen ; she has asked for her place in the Empire, and until that is granted, there will be danger in the path of progress.

Mr. Balgangadhar Tilak.

I thank you sincerely for the reception that you have given me on this platform, but let me tell you I am not fool enough to think that this reception is given to me personally. It is given, if I rightly understand, for those principles for which I have been fighting. The resolution which I wish to support embodies all these principles. It is the resolution of Self-Government. It is that for which we have been fighting, for which the Congress has been fighting for the last thirty years. The first note of it was heard ten years ago on the banks of the Hughli, and it was sounded by the Grand Old Man of India, that Parsi Patriot of Bombay, Dadabhai Naoroji. Since the note was sounded, difference of opinions arose. Some said that the note ought to be carried on and ought to be followed by a detailed scheme at once, that it should be taken up and made to re-

sound all over India as soon as possible. There was another party amongst us that said that it could not be done so soon, and the tune of that note required to be a little lowered. That was the cause of the dissension ten years ago, and I am glad to say that I have lived these ten years to see that we are going to put our voices and shoulders together to push on this scheme of Self-Government. Not only have we lived to see these differences closed, but to see the differences of Hindus and Muhammadans closed as well. So, we have now united in every way in the United Provinces, and we have found that luck in Lucknow. So, I consider it the most auspicious day in the most auspicious session of this 31st Indian National Congress. There are only one or two points on which I wish to address you. It has been said by some that we, Hindus, have yielded too much to our Muhammadan brethren. I am sure I represent the sense of the Hindu community all over India when I say that we could not have yielded too much. I would not care if the rights of Self-Government are granted to the Muhammadan community only. I would not care if they are granted to Rajputs. I would not care if they are granted to the lowest classes of the Hindu population, provided the British Government considers them more fit than the educated classes of India for exercising those rights. I would not care if those rights are granted to any section of the Indian community. Then the fight will be between them and another section of the community, and not, as at present, a triangular fight. We have to gain this from a powerful bureaucracy, an unwilling bureaucracy, naturally unwilling, because the bureaucracy now feels that these rights, these privileges, this authority, will pass out of their hands. I would feel the same if I were in that position, and I am not going to blame the bureaucracy for entertaining that natural feeling, but whatever that feeling may be, it is a feeling which we have to combat against, it is a feeling that is not conducive to the growth of Self-Government in this country. We have to fight against that feeling, and when you have to fight against a third party, it is a very important thing that we stand on this platform united as regards all shades of different political opinion. This is the most important event of the day. When Dadabhai Naoroji declared that "Swaraj" should be our goal, its name was, "Swaraj"; later on, it came to be known as Self-Government and Constitutional Reform, and we, Nationalists, style

it Home Rule. It is all the same in three different names. There is the objection raised that "Swaraj" has a bad odour in India and "Home Rule" had a bad odour in England, and hence we ought to call it Constitutional Reform.

I do not care to call it by any name. I do not mind the name, but I believe you have hardly realised the importance and character of that scheme of reform. Let me tell you that it is far more liberal than the Irish Home Rule Bill, and then you can understand what possibilities it carries with it. It may not be complete Home Rule, but it is more than a beginning of it. It may not be complete Self-Government, but it is far better than Local Self-Government. It may not be "Swaraj" in the wider sense of the word, but it is far better than "Swadeshi" and "Boycott." It is, in fact, a synthesis of all the Congress resolutions passed during the last 30 years, a synthesis that will help us all to proceed to work in a definite and responsible manner. We cannot now afford to spend our energy on all the resolutions on the Public Services, the Arms Act, and sundry others. All is comprehended and included within this one resolution.

I would ask every one of you to try to carry out this one resolution with all your effort, might, and enthusiasm and everything that you can command; your intelligence, money, enthusiasm, all must now be devoted for carrying out this scheme of reform. Do not think it is an easy task. Nothing can be gained by passing resolutions on this platform by the simple union of the two races, the Hindus and the Muhammadans, and the two parties, the Moderates and the Nationalists. The union is intended to create a certain power and energy amongst us, and unless that power and energy are exercised, you cannot hope to succeed, so great are the obstacles in your way. You must now prepare to fight out the scheme. In short, I do not care if the sessions of the Congress are held no longer. I believe it has done its work as a deliberative body. The next part is the Executive and that will be placed before you afterwards.

When "Swaraj" was declared to be our goal, it was a question whether it was a legal goal. The Calcutta High Court held it was a legal goal a year afterwards. Then it was a question whether it was legal. Finally, it was decided that it must be carried out, and expressed in such words as would not cast any slur on the bureaucracy which was the master at the time. That, too,

has been decided judicially, that you can make any criticism in order to further your objects and justify your demand, and that it comes within the bounds of law. So, the goal of "Swaraj" is declared legal, and here you have a specific scheme of "Swaraj" passed by the united communities of the Hindus and Muhammadans. All the thorns in your way have been removed. It will be your own fault if you do not succeed in attaining what is now described in this scheme. This is a very serious responsibility. Do not shirk it but work for it.

The days of wonders are gone. You cannot feed now 100,000 people on a few crumbs of bread as you did in Jesus' day. The attaining of this object cannot be achieved by the wonders of Heaven. You have to do it. These are days of work and incessant labour, and I hope that, with the help of Providence, you will find that energy and those resources which are required for carrying out that scheme. I hope that by the end of 1917, when I expect that the War will be closed, or at least in 1918, we shall meet at some place in India, where we shall be able to raise up the banner of Self-Rule.

The Hon. Mr. Muzhar-ul-Haque.

All my political life I have been of this opinion that our Motherland cannot advance without the unity of Hindus and Mahomedans. Having been of this opinion, I have worked for the attainment of that union, and that has been achieved to-day in this town of Lucknow. I consider it my duty here to mention the name of one who has been the chief instrument of attaining that unity, I mean the name of my revered friend, the Rajah of Mahmudabad. I assure you that he is an asset for India. I hope there will be many like him in my country. May he live long! The time for speechifying and talk has long gone by and the time for action has come. You are talking about Self-Government and Home Rule; and do you for a moment believe that you will get it by talking? Unless and until you make your rulers believe that you are earnest and serious in your demand, you will never get anything. I am sure of it. So my advice to my countrymen is this, try to work now. You must have a propaganda throughout the country, and let our rulers see for themselves that every man, every woman and every child of India is bent on and determined to have self-government.

Sir Dinshaw Petit.

I have taken upon myself to answer the command of our leaders to address you, lest my refusal should be construed into some sort of apathy on the part of the community, to which I belong, towards the just, the righteous aspirations of the people of this country. There cannot be the slightest doubt as to what could be the views of the community which has produced a Dadabhai Naoroji and a Pherozeshah Mehta. It is said by those, who do not like the advancement of the people of this country towards the attainment of Home Rule, that the Parsees under the British Government have been enjoying too many high offices and high posts, that they do not know what they would gain by casting in their lot with the Hindus and the Mahomedans in making this demand. Do not for a moment think that the Parsees, when they are under the Government of Home Rule, will in any way suffer in that direction, but, admitting for argument's sake for a moment that they did, would it be right and sensible to expect that for the benefit of a few thousand Parsees, 320 millions of people should be denied their birthright and their privilege? It is always said that the Parsees are the most loyal community in India. They are second to none in their loyalty to the Crown, and, therefore, it is because they are loyal, they support this movement, because everybody must feel that there is nothing which would contribute more towards the permanency of the British connection in India than Home Rule under British guidance. I shall throw out one suggestion towards a speedier attainment of the objects of this Congress, and it is this—I speak with some personal experience of public life in the Presidency from which I come—that the people who do the greatest harm to our legitimate aspirations are not the people who rule us, but they are unfortunately some of our own people. I know there are people who go to Government House to carry tales. I know there are people in the Legislative Council and in the Municipal Corporation who barter away the rights and privileges of their country and city to get a Khan Bahadur or a C.I.E. It is my advice that we must ostracise such people. If we do not admit them into our clubs, let us see if they will be admitted by their English friends in their clubs. Now, on behalf of my community, I congratulate you on the union which you, Hindus and Mahomedans, have made this time by sinking into oblivion all your little differences. United you must stand, and united you must fall, whether it be for good or for evil.

Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal.

I can hardly tell you how happy I feel to meet you all, my dearly beloved members of the united National Congress, after an absence of ten long years. These ten years have not gone in vain, and the fruition of our efforts is seen in every word of the resolution that has been placed before you to-day. We divided. The result of that division has been a closer union than had been before between us, and the proof of it is seen in every word of the resolution to-day. We fought, we wrangled, but every fight is justified, not in itself, but by the closer and more organic reconciliation to which it leads, and our fight has in the Providence of God led to more organic reconciliation between all parties, all ideals and all principles that we represented and fought for during the past. Here you have in the resolution the word self-government divested of every adjectival or adverbial or any other phrase to take away its quality or quantity. Self-Government, pure and simple, is the resolution to which our leaders have spoken, to which you have already given your acceptance. It is the first article of the Congress; it is the first article of Indian Nationality; it is the first article of every self-respecting nation, every civilised nation in humanity. It is the first article of every man and woman who feels within himself or herself the call of the Divine. It is the first article of every *yogi*, of every *gnani* and of every *bhakt*, because Self-Government is the pith and foundation, not only of the life temporal, but also of the life spiritual. Yesterday you passed a resolution from the chair, avowing sincerely and honestly your allegiance to the British connection. It seems to me that the resolution to-day follows as a necessary corollary to that resolution of yesterday, because the only condition upon which British connection with India can be perpetuated is the realisation of the resolution that has been placed before you to-day. This resolution divides itself into three parts. The first part demands that there must be a Royal Proclamation. Why do you demand a proclamation? I do not know that. I will tell you why I demand it. I know there is deep despair upon the face of India at the present time. I have talked to the young. I have met old men of my age and men older than myself, and the one thing that each one and all of them has said to me is, "What is the good of it?" Deep despair and despondency sit upon the face of India at the present time, but not in me. I believe we have a future. I am fully assured that you and I shall

be and shall live in our own country, just as every other civilised people in the world are living in their own country. I have no doubt about the future. I see clearly, as I see the grey beard of the President from here, that Self-Government for India is absolutely assured, but my people do not believe it; the old men do not believe it. They say, "What is the good? Let us die in peace." The young men do not believe in it. "What is the good? Let us earn money and leave a generation behind us," and the middle-aged gentlemen say the same.

We want a message of practical hope, a message of objective hope, and, therefore we want this message from the British Crown and the British Parliament to tell us that we shall live in our own country as other people live in their own country; but that will not do. We have had declarations, and we have been disabused of being taken in by politicians' words. We want something substantial and a substantial assurance that this declaration will not go the way of similar declarations in the past. We want the reform scheme placed before the Congress, prepared by the Congress and the Muslim League, to be immediately put into action. That is the second, but that is not all. You are talking of the reconstruction of the Empire, but I want to know what this Empire is without India. Is there a British Empire without India? They talk of man power, the total man power of the British Empire all told of the age from 15 to 35 is something like 11 crores, and 1½ crores of that man power consists of white humanity and 9½ crores of brown and black humanity. What is the British Empire, then, in man power if you leave out the 9½ crores, the youth, the muscle, of India? You talk of brain power. Where is the brain power of the Empire? As it is, we have no opportunity for the exercise of our brains for the application of our intellect, to the solution of the larger world problems of the day. We have no place in the councils of the statesmen. If we had, we might have proved our power as we have already proved it in the Bar, on the Bench, in every walk of life. Where we have had an opportunity, we have proved that the Indian brain is not a negligible quality in the Empire. Why have we only one J. C. Bose, only one P. C. Ray, only one Professor Paranjpye? Not for want of brain-power, but for want of opportunities to realise to the full extent the brain power of our nation. Give us that opportunity, or rather remove the obstacles from it, and we shall take the opportu-

nity and utilise them ourselves to their fullest extent, and therefore we say that we want this.

The third thing is about the reconstruction of the Empire. We say impossible, Sir, if India is left out; worse than impossible; it will be the death of Indian national aspirations on the one side and the death of imperial ambitions on the other if India is left out in the construction of the Empire. Thirty years ago it might have been conceivable to leave India out of the Imperial family. To keep India as a helot, as drawers of water and hewers of wood to day with this new awakened national consciousness, this sensitive patriotism, throbbing through the heart of the old and young, the thing is unthinkable, inconceivable, dangerous, fatal to the permanence of the British connection. Therefore, we say that these three parts of the resolutions should have not only your acceptance, but should command the serious attention of the round table and the square table and every table on earth.

The Hon. Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru.

If I was asked to sum up our demand in one word, I would say unhesitatingly that what we want is not so much of reforms as the power to reform ourselves. Reforms in dribblets, in instalments, we have had in the past, and we may expect to have them in the future, but they will not satisfy the rising and growing aspirations of our countrymen now. Self-respect alone demands that, like other self-respecting nations of the world, we should be allowed a free hand to work out our own destiny and that we should not be treated as perpetual schoolboys in politics. (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen, there are just one or two points which I should like to touch upon if you will permit me. My time is limited, but I consider that they are worth hearing.

It has been said by a distinguished writer, whose name has come up before you during the last two days, that the real cement of the Empire is devotion to the Empire. Granted. In this land of spirituality we do not want a Westerner to teach us a lesson in devotion. (Hear, hear.) But may I be permitted to ask whether it is possible for any human being to be devoted when there is no response to that devotion. (Hear, hear.) Devoted to England we have been in the past, devoted to England we shall be in the future. But if by devotion to the Empire is meant that we should be devoted to the Colonies, then I, for one, will have no hesitation in saying that India will refuse to allow the Colonies to rule over her. Let us not mince matters over this. Let us be plain and outspoken. To England we have

been devoted, we are and we shall be, but India will not be so shortsighted and so foolish as to allow the Colonies to have a finger in her pie.

Gentlemen, the next point that has been urged against us is, that we have not got the capacity to rule ourselves. When was the discovery made, may I ask? Until at least 60 or 70 years ago before England took over directly the control of affairs in India into her hands who were ruling us? We ourselves. Is it really intended to be said that during the last 60 or 70 years since the control of affairs in India has passed into England's hands, that we have lost all capacity? If the answer is 'yes,' I say the discredit is to those who have deprived us of the capacity. I venture to submit with all respect and with all sincerity that we have not lost the capacity for Self-Government. Witness the Native States of Hyderabad, Baroda, and Mysore. Who is ruling them? Our own countrymen. It really comes to this, that so far as the power of initiative is concerned, so far as the scope for talent is concerned, that is denied to us here, and it is not denied to the people in the states like Hyderabad, Baroda and Mysore. Gentlemen, assuming that we have lost something of the capacity, how are we going to recover that capacity? By being denied admission to the inner circles of the Government or by being allowed to commit mistakes and to learn thereby? The answer is obvious.

Now, gentlemen, there is one more objection which I wish to notice and then I will retire. It has been said by that very writer Mr. Curtis, that the one great and supreme objection to self-government being conferred just now on this country is that we have not got sufficiently large electorates. And I may tell you in confidence that I was told personally that if we could show to England that one-fifth of the population possessed sufficient political capacity, then they would not object to our getting self-government. Now, gentlemen, you have got 315 million people in this country—I am very poor in arithmetic—I believe one-fifth of that comes to 63 million. And at the rate of progress we have been making in the matter of primary education, I should think it would take us 400 or 500 years before we get political capacity. (Laughter.) I know, gentlemen, that India is always famous for patience. But the time has come now for us to say definitely and without equivocation that self-government is no longer to us a far-off adorable dream, that we want to achieve it as soon as possible by all constitutional means open to us without mincing matters and without equivocating on that point.

Let it not be held to us as an ideal to be reached within 100 years or 200 years. Of course patience is a great virtue, but, gentlemen, outspokenness too if, I may be permitted to say so, is sometimes a greater virtue. Let us not deceive ourselves, let us not be deceived by others by saying that we are going to be content with these small dribblets of reforms. The time for that has gone by. The time has come when England should call upon its statesmen to exercise their higher gifts of statesmanship, to exercise their gifts of imagination, to exercise their gifts of political judgment and feel the political temperature of this country and act accordingly. (Loud applause.)

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.

From the very beginning of time it has always been the woman's privilege to have the last word on any subject, and though that last word is sprung on her by the tyranny of the leaders that demand Home Rule, it is to vindicate the readiness of my sex to stand by the men of India in all that concerns their national welfare and honour that I rise to obey the mandate of this tyranny. Many speakers before me, gifted and famous, full of knowledge and full of experience, have laid before you a scheme of self-government, and it is not for me to add words to their practical wisdom. I am merely a spectator from the watchtower of dreams, and I watched the swift and troubled, sometimes chequered, but nevertheless indomitable, time spirit marching on in a pageant of triumphs to the desired goal. If to-day Home Rule is no distant dream, if it is no mere fancy of Utopia, it is due to one thing more than to any other thing, and perhaps you will let me enlighten you so that you may offer your gratitude to the right sources. Less than four years ago in this very city of Lucknow, this city of memories, this city of dead kings, a new hope came to birth, because the younger generation of Mussalmans had seen a vision that made it possible for the leaders of the National Congress to realise within the scope of practicable vision, of practical work, of practical achievement, the national soul. It was my privilege to represent my great community on this occasion. It was the greatest honour of my life that I was invited to speak to this young generation of Islam that had seen this vision of Indian nationality, which succeeded in passing a constitution, whose essential creed was co-operation with the sister community. Four years later, in this very city of Lucknow, you are able to say that you shall have Home Rule. We will not ask for it, we will

create it out of our own capacity, out of our inviolable unity, the unity of the Hindu and the Mussalman.

Friends, members of this Congress, citizens of India, who have come from the farthest corners in this great country, I ask you, in the name of that greater nation that is born to-day in the city of Lucknow, to offer your thanks to three men, though it might indeed seem invidious to make distinctions where so many have been earnest, so many have been loyal and co-operating, but it would be, indeed, lacking in gratitude on the part of this great assembly were it not to offer a public recognition of gratitude to three most loyal, most brilliant, most faithful, most courageous Mussalmans. The Rajah Sahib of Mahmudabad, that fearless and independent spirit; Mazharul Haque, and thirdly, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, of whom it was that the late Mr. Gokhale said to me immediately after the last Muslim League in Lucknow, that he is the best ambassador of the Hindu-Muslim community. We are united to-day by the efforts of the Muslim League. We stand united, but united with such strength that nothing from outside, not even the tyranny of colonial domination, shall withhold from us our rights and privileges, withhold from us the liberties that are due, which we claim by our united voice; nothing can prevent us from achieving the desires of our heart, for the final issues are in your hands. The ultimate decision is yours, and who will deny you the birthright of freedom if the millions of India speak with one voice and say, "Ours is the right of freedom; we claim it; we take it; you dare not deny to us the birthright of humanity." Centuries have gone by; the old divisions are healed; old wounds are covered; instead of building our regeneration on hatred and division, we stand to-day building our national future on the secure imperishable foundation of love and united service. Each of us has gained that living consciousness, that it is united service for the motherland that constitutes the supremest hope of to-morrow. There is no one so mean, so weak, so selfish, as not to think that in the service of the motherland, his joy is greater than all personal joys; in suffering for her comes the supremest consolation in our personal sorrow, and in her worship is the absolution of sin. To live for her is the most victorious triumph of life; to die for her is to achieve the priceless crown of immortality. Let us then offer our lives unanimously as a tribute at the feet of the Motherland; for as the great Prophet of Islam says, Under the feet of the Mother lies Paradise.

Mr. Joseph Baptista.

I can assure you that it is not without fear and trembling that I venture to support this resolution. I understand that in this Province the new commandment has been issued, thou shalt not be emphatic—(laughter)—you could be phlegmatic if you like, but not emphatic. In other words, you must not call a spade a spade. That would be too emphatic. You must call it diamonds and hearts. You cannot call Home Rule Home Rule. But if you call Home Rule Self-Government, it is all right. Whether it is all right or all wrong, I prefer to call Home Rule Home Rule. To my great surprise I find that within the past few months Home Rule has become a popular cry throughout the whole country. There are no heretics among us. All believe in the creed of Home Rule. No dissenters, no quakers or shakers. We are all militant Home Rulers. To what is this great change to be attributed and to whom must we be grateful in this great hour of trial? You must give credit to the person who deserves that credit, and I say most emphatically that credit is due to the magnetic personality and dynamic energy of our friend and sister, Mrs. Besant.

Allow me to tell you that so far as the destiny of India is concerned, it is the most momentous and the most transcendent question that can occupy the minds of educated Indians. Believe me that this destiny of India depends upon political principles that are applied to the government of this country. You may be quite sure that that destiny will not be achieved unless we combine the principles of liberty, the principles of nationalism and the principles of federation in the government of this country. The task before us is to rescue India from her present plight and place her on a pedestal upon which we can look with pride and pleasure. What is the present plight of India? Is there anyone who is satisfied with the present position of India? Go outside British India. India is a mere political cipher in the political world. Nobody cares a fig for her and nobody thinks of her. Is that a proper position for 300 millions of people to occupy in this Empire? Within the Empire what do you find? Go to the colonies, the curse of colour. In the South African War, Indians stood by Englishmen and fought beside and shed their blood for them. What is the reward? Exclusion from the country or confinement in isolated places, subjected to regulations so odious that it makes our blood boil. Such is the reward and

such is the gratitude of a civilised and Christian country. Coming home, what do you find? The curse of distrust, distrust everywhere, excluded from the army, as you know, excluded from the use of arms by the Arms Act on account of distrust and thereby emasculated, subjected to the Press laws and God knows, to what other laws, as Mr. Surendranath Banerjea said. Apart from that what do you find with a fauna and flora which can produce everything to minister to the comforts of all people and with men who are skilful in production? You have 50 to 60 millions of people pledged to starvation from day to day. (Cries of "Shame.") Is this the structure of the Empire with which you are satisfied? Anglo-Indian architects have had a free hand for the last 150 years, and this is the Empire they have produced. I ask you, is there any man with sense or sensibility that can look upon this and say that this is a proper thing for us? Can anyone say that this is a mansion befitting the ancient civilisation and the latent potentialities of the country? Is this not a glorified chawl? This is due not to the men that administer, but entirely to the system under which it is administered. There cannot be the slightest doubt that no improvement is possible unless the centralised system is done away with. At the present moment what are we? We are under a centralised system of government in India, which is after all a mere administrative department of government in England and no more.

Mr. Jehangir B. Petit.

The proposition before you obtains the quintessence of the desires and demands of the Indian nation, passed year after year at different sessions of the Indian National Congress. I have no faith in the so-called change of angle of vision. If the Indian nation is determined to have what is embodied in this resolution, the only way to get it is to show to the Government that the population of this great country is determined at all costs to have it. What is it that secured for South Africa immediately after its annexation its independence and self-government? What is it that secured for the other colonies their independence and self-government? By making administration impossible they obtained self-government. Once you declared your determination in unmistakable terms, Home Rule or Self-Government will not be delayed or withheld from you one day longer.

The Hon. Pundit M. M. Malaviya.*

When we started in 1885, we reposed great trust and confidence in those to whom Providence had entrusted the guidance of the affairs of India. For the time we began with appealing, with praying, with begging, with entreating. Resolution after resolution has been passed during the last 30 years; it is a written record which nobody can destroy or remove; it is a record showing the patience, the confidence the people of India had in the administrators of India. Their willingness to proceed by gradual steps, almost painfully slow steps, towards evolving a better system of administration. The record of these 30 long years tells us how we have asked not once, not twice, but repeatedly during these so many years. It is now, after an experience of 30 years, that the conviction has sunk into our hearts that those to whom Providence has entrusted the administration of the affairs of India, the members of the Indian Civil Service as well as the members of the British Parliament have failed and sadly failed to respond to the call of reason and justice. I am sorry to say it. I should have rejoiced if I could say in gratitude they had made a response worthy of the members of the great British nation. There has been some response in some small matters and for that we do feel grateful, but the response in all the most important matters has either been wanting or it has been sadly slow. The result of this is, that the conviction has come to us that unless we ourselves have a potent and determining voice in the administration of our country's affairs, there is not much hope for that progress which it is the birthright of every civilised people to achieve.

We have on our record a repetition of resolutions asking for such simple justice as the separation of judicial and executive functions; we have on our record a cry of children for bread; repeated year after year to be given some education, we have on our record the fact that while we have prayed that primary education should be made compulsory and universal, the provision that has been made for it up to this time is extremely disappointing and unsatisfactory. We have on our record that even with the enlarged Councils, when our dear brother Gokhale did make an attempt by introducing a Bill into the Council to make provision for the permissive introduction of compulsory education, that effort was baffled by the solid official majority which sits in the Council, to do no other work than

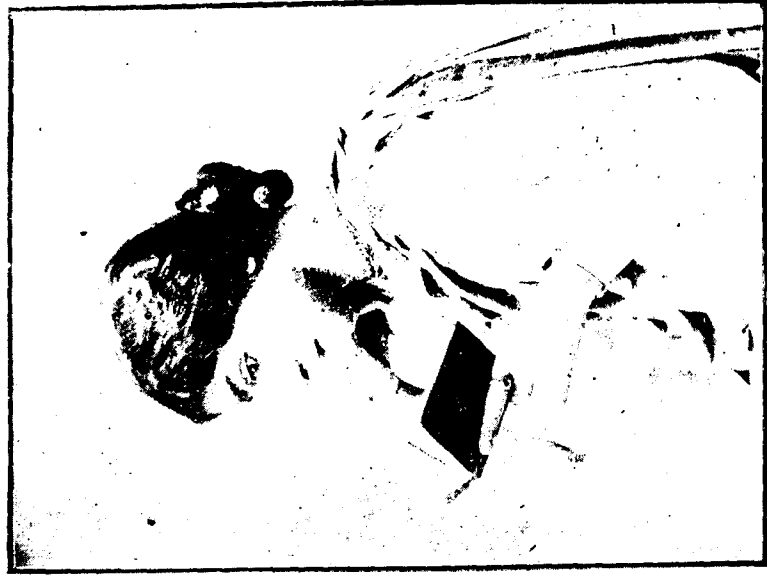
simply to vote against resolutions moved by popular representatives. On the other hand, what has happened to bring home the conviction to us we know. In Russia, there was no self-government until few years ago, but after being beaten by Japan, Russia learnt wisdom and roused herself into consciousness of what the conditions of modern civilisation required. The first Duma that met, I think in 1903, resolved, being conscious that primary universal education was one of the potent causes of building up a people, upon making education universal and compulsory. It introduced a programme of 19 years, during which period it decided that elementary education shall become universal, and in the year 1916, nearly three-fourths of that programme has been carried out, and by 1922, the Russians will have provided elementary education to children of school-going age.

That was the result of power being transferred from a sovereign authority or from a bureaucracy to those who know where the shoe pinches, who feel the need and the effect of unhappy conditions, and who understand how their interest can be best promoted. I have given to you that one illustration among many already given to you as showing the urgent, pressing need of having self-government for the people in order that they may administer their own affairs. Let nobody accuse educated Indians of having put forward a proposal of reform in a light-hearted manner. That reform, so far as the Government is concerned, is supported by the entire people, though there may be some small differences, as unfortunately there are with regard to some details. But so far a Government is concerned for the transferring of the power from the Government to the people themselves, this is a united demand on behalf of India and is made in no light-hearted fashion. This conviction is born after 30 years of self-sacrificing labours in the country's cause, after having held 31 sessions of the Congress in various parts of the country, which involved no small expenditure of time and money and comfort; this conviction is born after the question had been weighed in all possible aspects. The conclusion is forced on our mind that those who have the power are unwilling to part with that power, that those who have the power are unwilling to give the time and the attention to the consideration of your affairs, as the members of the British Parliament are and that conviction once arrived at is not likely to be shaken or departed from.

* Speech made in proposing a vote of thanks to the President of the Congress.



MR. BIPIN CHANDRA PAL



MRS. SAROJINI NAIDU



MR. BAL GANGADHAR TILAK



THE HON. RAJA OF MOHAMMADABAD



THE HON. MR. YAKUB HASAN



THE HON. MR. SAMIULLA BEG



THE HON. MR. ABDUL RASUL

The reforms which you have put forward do not represent the maximum that you desire. They represent the minimum that is necessary. Let there be no misunderstanding about it. There are some very kindly friends who caution us and wish us to proceed slowly. We have proceeded cautiously and slowly for 30 years. It does not lie in the mouth of any member of the Indian Civil Service—there are some very fine generous-hearted men amongst them—it does not lie in the mouth of any member of the Indian Civil Service or any member of the British Parliament to say that Indians are asking for an unreasonably large measure of reform to-day, or that they want to take a long jump. We do not want to take a long jump. There are certain conditions which determine what is necessary and what is not. It is the right of every people to govern itself. No government can be so good as the government of a people by their own people. That being accepted in England, that being accepted for the greater part of the rest of the civilised world, with what reason or justification can it be advanced here that we should be content to let our affairs be administered by a few men who, without any previous training, without any knowledge of our traditions, or our history, come to this country to enjoy a good salary and to spend a good period of their time in the sunny climate of our land? How can we expect they will be able to administer our affairs in the way in which we can? Objections have been urged, but they have been refuted one by one. I do not want to detain you by recapitulating them.

I wish and hope and pray that we shall realise fully the importance of the measures that we have put forward to-day, and that we shall be prepared to work to bring about their accomplishment. I hope that we will not be content with an expression of our gratitude to our President and expressing satisfaction at the result of this Congress, but that we are determined, as honest, honourable, manly men, to carry out to do our share of the duty of promoting these reforms and carry them into execution. For, remember that here is no greater duty than is cast upon us to see that these reforms are carried out and granted at an early date. Remember it is not a question of personal character with any one of us. We see millions of our countrymen suffering from the evil effects of the administrator lacking in one direction or another to come up to the standard of their requirements. We see that those who have the power have failed to do it and what is more regrettable, do not show any willingness to

respond to their call. I will draw your attention to one other matter only. There is the question of the employment of Indians in the higher ranks of the army. You have proved by the blood our people have shed on the battlefield that you are not inferior to any other community or nationality on the face of the earth in bravery, in devotion, yet the ranks of the army have not been opened to our people. So also with regard to the Indian Civil Service. A Commission was appointed, a report has been made and it was presented to the Government. It seems to be so ugly a production that the Government have hesitated long to put it before the public. Now when that is the state of affairs, you cannot hope to bring about healthy, necessary reforms unless you get power into your own hands. That is the conviction borne in upon us by these 30 years of labour, and I hope you will do all that is necessary to carry this conviction into effect. When you do so, this great gathering of the Congress will be remembered always as the one Congress where this decision was arrived at, and you will always associate in your mind with the success of the Congress the arduous, the strenuous, the patient labours of our esteemed President, who has guided our deliberations for these four days.

The Hon. Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar.

From the day of the birth of the Congress, the demand for control over our own affairs, the demand for Self-Government has been the most important, the most vital and essential demand of the Congress. When you sent deputations to England of men going from the Congress, the main thing which they had to represent, on which they had to elicit the help of the British people, was that, as we were British subjects, we ought to be given all the rights of British citizenship. Equality with the self-governing parts of the Empire has been our demand from the first. In the beginning as we had to make a beginning, we had to ask for the introduction of the principle of representation and election in our Legislative Councils and for the expansion of their rights and the enlargement of their numbers. Nobody deluded himself with the belief that a few members or even a large number of members added to the Councils and some expansion of their functions was the goal of our aspirations. That was only the first step of the ladder which we had to mount. There were immense difficulties in attaining to that extent. You know what difficulties were raised in 1890 and '91 for granting that modicum of representation which was subsequently

granted in 1892, but that was, as I said, the very first step which had to be taken. During all the years which followed, we had to reiterate our demands: we had to ask for further expansions of the Councils and further extensions of the principle of representation and election. Then came what are called the Morley-Minto Reforms, which gave us our existing Imperial and Provincial Councils, but even in regard to that, we were careful to mention that this is only the next step which has to be taken, and very soon after this, further steps will have to be taken. Gentlemen, in the case of individuals and of nations, every individual and every nation has to pass through three stages. The first is the stage of self-consciousness or self-realisation. We had, first of all, to focus our self-consciousness, our consciousness as a nation, and it was for that purpose that the Indian National Congress was called into existence. After that, we had to assert ourselves; we had to say what we are and what we have to be, and after that, as in the case of individuals, comes the further stage of self-control, in the case of nations there is the further stage of self-government. No self-respecting nation can carry on its existence properly unless it is able to control its destinies to be the arbiter of its own fate, and it is that for which we are now making a more articulate, a more practical, a more detailed demand. We were asking for Self-Government; we were called upon to state what it is we wanted; we were told: "There are all these differences amongst you. Even amongst you Hindus, you are not united, and between you and the Mahomedans is an impassable gulf." Well, gentlemen, this Congress has demonstrated to the world, to all our critics, that there is absolutely no difference of opinion amongst either the two large communities or amongst any sections of the Reform Party in India. (Hear, hear.) Now, this proposition, in its first paragraph, asks you to place before the Government our demand, to carry to the Crown our request that His Majesty will be pleased to issue a proclamation assuring to the people of India that they are entitled to have Self-Government given to them at a very early period. (Hear, hear.) That is the first paragraph. In the second paragraph, we put before them reforms which should be carried out immediately, in regard to which there could be no difference of opinion, because they are only legitimate extensions of the principles which have been adopted. They asked us for definite schemes, and a definite scheme has been put forward. They asked: "What will the Mahomedans say to this?"

Here, the representative body of the Mahomedans and the Congress Committee have sat together, and they have brought out a scheme to which both parties are equally pledged. This is then our reply to our critics about introducing a practical scheme.

Then we come to the third part which is most vital and important at this time. That is this, that India refuses to be placed on a footing of inferiority to any other part of the Empire.

We say, "as we are an important section, as India is the most glorious jewel in the British Crown, India ought to have a place adequate to her past, adequate to her present, and of equal position in the future. This is what we ask in the third: We refuse to be dominated by any section of any portion of the so-called Self-Governing Colonies or self-governing portions of the Empire. (Hear, hear.) We say that without India, the British Empire will be of very little importance, and in consonance with that importance should be the recognition accorded to us. That is the third portion of the Resolution. But, gentlemen, we cannot carry out all these things that we want, on which our heart is set, on which our future depends, and on which our real self-realisation depends, without our working all the year round for this, not only here talking in the Congress, not only going and speechifying to a few people here and there, but working incessantly all through the year and carrying on the work in England also.

Diwan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Aiyar.

I propose to consider a few objections that are urged to the grant of Self-Government or any measure of it to the Indian people. Gentlemen, we are taunted with being a coloured people and as such unfit for representative institutions. I would ask which is the greater evil, to have a coloured skin or to have a coloured vision. (Hear, hear.) I am not ashamed to own that we possess coloured skins. We can, however, honestly say that so far as our vision goes, it is altogether unclouded and clear. After all, gentlemen, it was in the just dispensation of Providence that we are a coloured people. If we were otherwise, colourless as Mrs. Besant has said, the effect of that would have been that we should have been where our critics are, elbowing them out and making it difficult for them to be there. (Laughter.) After all, gentlemen, is it a fact that the coloured skin unfits for representative institutions? In this connection you will notice that the Lulu, the Hottentot, the Kaffir, the Negro, the Australian

the Hindu, the Mussalman and the Parsee are all to be in one lump, and they are all coloured people. Absolutely no attention is paid to their civilisation, to their culture, and to their inherited equipment. Gentlemen, what are the facts. You find that even a responsible writer like Jeannenot says, that the Negroes were able to develop Self-Government in 50 years to the extent that the white were able to do in the course of five or six centuries. You find that the Philippine Islands although they came under the domination of people who are prepared to trust them with Self-Government in two decades they are found fit, and can it be said of us with the past history that we possess on which many previous speakers have expatiated, can it be said of us that we are so dead to all the necessary requirements of democratic institutions that self-government with us must mean failure. The experiment which has been allowed to be made, the experiment which has been in operation in the Native States, has proved an unqualified success, and after all when you realise that good government can never be better than Self-Government itself, there ought to be no reason whatever why the measure of Self-Government that we ask for should be denied to us. But, gentlemen, there are certain special reasons that are urged against us. One is, that we form no one people or one nation but a congeries of different races and different communities, each having its own aims and ideals. Let us examine that. Those of us who have been privileged to take part in the deliberations of the joint committee of the All-India Congress Committee, and the representatives of the Muslim League that composed the session, were not merely to safeguard their rights but to see that their rights were placed upon as reasonable and permanent a basis as possible, provided that in doing so they did not determine the interest of the whole as a whole. Now, gentlemen, there you must have noticed that there was a firm determination to assent oneself to the fullest extent, but that there was at the same time also the determination that in doing so both sections of the people should go together and should find their satisfaction not merely in being given opportunities to develop themselves but also opportunities to assist in the development of the other section as well. (Hear, hear.) It was a spirit of sweet reasonableness that pervaded the whole of the deliberations, and we find the result of that in the magnificent scheme that is now put forward for your acceptance this afternoon. It is in the capacity to differ and to make our differences heard,

it is in the capacity to realise the strength and weakness of those that differ from us that there is the best security that there will be a reasonable conclusion arrived at in the end, that we can say has been the spirit by which both the communities have been actuated. May I point out this? In the physical world you notice that when anything is unstable, then you attach to it a weight which tends not merely to settle itself down but also to make that stable which otherwise has been unstable, and if once you are trusted with responsibility, the very sense of that responsibility enables us to realise our limitation, enables us to rise equal to the task that lies before us, so that we shall be in a position in discharging that task to do it to the good of all. Gentlemen, it is also stated that there is illiteracy among the people. Now before Lord Durham recommended a scheme for self-government in Canada, he found that a great proportion of the teachers can neither read nor write. If in these circumstances you can find a nation fit for self-government, we do not stand in the same predicament of whom whatever else can be said, it cannot be said that our teachers know neither to read nor write; can it be said of us that on account of illiteracy we are unable to have self-government? Then, gentlemen, it is stated that there is the war of masses and classes, that the interests of the educated community are opposed to the interests of the masses so that the educated community cannot be trusted to take care of the masses. Now with respect to this again who have been the best friends of the masses? That we are in a position to realise their needs cannot be denied. Who is it that ask for compulsory education? It is the educated classes. Who were the friends of the co-operative movement? It is the educated classes. Can we think of two levers more powerful to uplift the masses than universal compulsory education and the spread of co-operative movement among the people. Gentlemen, there is only one word more I wish to say and I shall be done. Dr. Sapru has told us how we look upon the Dominions participating in the control of our affairs. I unite my feeble voice to the emphatic expression that we made our strong and resolute determination not to allow the Dominions to take part in any concerns in which we might be involved, by every means in our power that can be open to us so long as they continue to be what they are.

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma.

We ask for provincial autonomy in domestic matters with a central legislature armed with extensive powers and completely dominating all domestic concerns, with an executive armed with extensive powers subject to the will of the Imperial Parliament as it exists at present, and if there should be a revision, with India as a partner, as an equal partner, in every sense of the term with the Self-Governing Dominions of the Empire. A question then naturally would be, are we fit for it? Are we asking for reforms along lines, lines along which we have not experimented in the past. Turn to past history, turn to medieval history, turn to modern history, all history alike tells us that Indian peoples with rulers of their own race have been able to rule countries far more extensive than the Indian Empire of the present day; for those rulers have been holding sway over Khandaahar and Ceylon and other vast colonies which the genius of our ancestors created first in times past. Was this domination only for short periods? No; for long centuries, for periods longer than that of any empire, modern or past. Then comes the question, have we still capacity? I assure you, gentlemen, that the skill and capacity, though dormant in us, are not yet completely dead. If you read history aright what does it tell us. We see a large number of autonomous States linked together by loose federal tie, paying tribute and acknowledging the supremacy of the central authority of the government to the Maharajadraj, Sultan, or Emperor. Our Maharajadraj, Sultan or Emperor is the British Imperial Majesty. Our autonomous States are the Native States of India and the provincial governments which we create under our scheme with self-governing powers. The central authority is the Government of India, and the Viceroy is the deputy of the Maharajadraj. The central authority is armed exactly as the old Emperors were armed with a council of elders. They are given by our scheme advisedly vast powers over the military and over the national army, which has to be created under our scheme. Gentlemen, have we weakened the British power? If the Resident of a Native State with the British power at his back can keep government going, cannot our Governors with two Executive Councilors, nominees of his, with the British power at his back, rule a Province? We have provided for democratic institutions. The Allies say that they are now engaged in crushing Prussian military despotism, that the future safety of mankind lies in

the increase of democratic institutions and we have provided for them. Gentlemen, we have not weakened the British power in any the slightest degree? We have not lost the capacity. Then comes the question, are there not various insuperable difficulties in our way, are there not barriers? They existed in the past, they existed last year in Switzerland and yet there is no difficulty. The religious difficulty is the same. Then I come to the educational test. Now remember, gentlemen, that the number of literate people in India is 18 millions, nearly the same as the total male population of England, and are we to be told that with this literate population we cannot find enough men to rule this country when only an infinitesimal fraction thereof are able to govern India in the best interests of India? Our universities are turning out graduates nearly as numerous as the British universities. Then comes the question: if we are not educationally backward, what is that stands in the way? The colour bar. I hope that the Government will not repeat the supposed mistake and land the Empire in disaster. The true difficulty seems to be that a fear is felt that in a federal commonwealth, India might in a short space of time become the paramount power. That is the real difficulty. But sufficient safeguards may be provided and the day is far off, because it is only in proportion to the contribution to national defences that any State can have representation. We are economically poor, and we cannot, therefore, contribute much, and consequently we shall take a place superior to that of the Colonies but inferior to that of England, and there is no very great danger that we will be able to swamp the rest of the Empire in the councils of the country. Revise the history of the past, review its pages and what do you find? A foreign bureaucracy is always ready to tax people for the sake of the defence of the country, for the sake of protecting its power. But the moment they come to domestic reforms, they do not know where they will be, they do not know whether the vast masses will support them and hence they say they cannot tax. What have you done? We have revised the electorate, broadened it so that no hardheaded reformer may go forth with proposals for taxation which would not be supported by the country. It is said that we shall oppress the depressed classes. May I ask whether the Government, British Government, were dissuaded in self-governing South Africa, because the Kaffir and the weak Indian population were likely to be oppressed? Their consci-

ences were not touched then. Why should it be touched now when it comes to dividing the people of this country? To me the problem is distinctly clear. We cannot afford to efface ourselves economically and from a military point of view with growing China, a growing Japan and growing Russia. Friends of to-day may be enemies of to-morrow, and we cannot have Belgium repeated here. Primary education must be spread and number of reforms must be achieved, and all this can be done only under Self-Government. Therefore it is we ask for Self-Government, and if the Britishers are true to their destiny, they will confer it at no distant date.

The Hon. Mr. Abdul Rasul.*

It is known that England is the most freedom-loving country in the world. It was pointed out in another place how all political refugees of Europe found shelter in England. When England along with other powers advocated the cause of freedom, did England think that India was not as educated as some of the other countries following? Most of you know that England along with other powers advocated Self-Government for the Balkan States. The people of India are better educated than the people of the Balkan States. Are we less educated and advanced than what Japan was fifty years ago? When Self-Government was granted to the people of Japan, we find that even the negroes in Siberia have Self-Government. The wording of our resolution is most moderate, and reforms that we now ask for are only steps to a further measure of Self-Government. That is our goal. I hope the Government will not consider our demands extravagant. It has been stated in some papers that after the War, the Colonies would have a large share in the administration of India. I do not know if that is correct or not. We have been ruled by the English people, but certainly we shall object to be ruled by the Civilians who come from the Colonies, which do not treat our people in a way that they ought to, having regard to the fact that the Indians, South Africans, Australians, etc., are all subjects of the same sovereign. We know what

our people want better than the Civilians who come from South Africa, Australia, New Zealand and England. I do not mean any disparagement to the members of the Indian Civil Service when I say that in 95 cases out of 100, they do not understand our languages. There is a great deal of misunderstanding about this question of Home Rule or Self-Government. Our rulers and Anglo-Indian editors of papers say that our object is to drive the English out of India. It is not the intention either of the Hindus or the Mussalmans to drive the English out of India. If it is to be a settled fact, that the Colonies are to have control over our affairs, we must insist on having our share in the control of the affairs of the Empire. Do not think that anybody can say that ours is an unreasonable demand. Understand that Mr. L. Curtis, who is here on the dais, has written a book called *The Problem of the Commonwealth*, and that it is also his object that we, Indians, should have a place in the Empire not as Dependency, but as a dominant partner. If so, we welcome the suggestion in his book, but if it is not so, we must strongly object to the Colonies having any share in controlling the affairs of India. The Governor-General said the other day in Calcutta that he would be dishonest if he held out any hopes that our progress would be rapid. I say equally determinedly and equally respectfully that, if our rulers do not grant us reforms, which are so reasonable, yet if we go on appealing and appealing to the British people in spite of what he, Lord Chelmsford said, our progress will be rapid. The English people have been very cautious, but at the same time if we can show to them the justice of our cause, I have no doubt the British public would come forward to grant what we want within a few years. After the Boer War, the British statesmen granted Self-Government to South Africa. When we are shedding blood in the cause of the British Empire, are we to be debarred from having that measure of Self-Government which Boers, who were enemies of Britain, have attained within a few years of the annexation of South Africa? (Loud and continued applause.)

* Speech in moving the following Resolution at the All-India Muslim League:—"The All-India Muslim League, while adopting the scheme of reforms prepared by the Reform Committee of the League and approved by its Council, submits it in conjunction with the Indian National Congress to Government for its introduction after the War as a first necessary step towards the establishment of complete Self-Government in India."

Industrial India. By Glyn Barlow, M.A. Second Edition. Price Rs. One. To Subscribers, As. 12.

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G. A. Natesan & Co., Sunkurama Chetty Street, Madras.

INDIA AND THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE

THE Rt. Hon. Mr. Lloyd George, speaking in the House of Commons, on December 19, on the policy of the New Government with reference to the War, made the following important announcement :—

Government felt that the time had come when the Dominions ought to be more formally consulted as to the progress and the course of the war and as to the steps that ought to be taken to secure victory and the best methods of garnering in those fruits. "We propose, therefore, at an early date to summon an Imperial Conference, to place the whole position before the Dominions and to take counsel with them as to what further action they and we should take together, in order to achieve an early and complete triumph for the ideals they and we have so superbly fought for."

It will be noticed that no mention was made in this connection of the part India has played in the struggle; and the absence of any reference to India from so important pronouncement was justly resented in this country. Following this, the Secretary of State for the Colonies telegraphed to the Dominions as follows :—

His Majesty's Government do not contemplate holding a session of the ordinary Imperial Conference, but a Special War Conference of the Empire. Therefore, Government invite your Premier to attend a series of special continuous meetings of the War Cabinet to consider urgent questions arising out of the prosecution of the War and the possible conditions under which, in agreement with the Allies, we should assent to peace and the problems arising out of that. For the purposes of these meetings, your Premier will be a Member of the War Cabinet. In view of the urgency and importance of the subjects on discussion, it is hoped that your Premier will attend not later than the end of February, or, if he is unable to attend, appoint a substitute.

Subsequently, H. E. the Viceroy received the following *communiqué* :—

With reference to the announcement made by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons last Tuesday To-day His Majesty's Government have invited the Secretary of State for India to represent India at these sittings of the War Cabinet set up for that purpose. I shall be a member.

I desire the assistance of two gentlemen specially selected for the purpose in consultation with you as foreshadowed in Lord Hardinge's speech in the Legislative Council, on September 22nd, 1915. It is hoped that the meetings may take place not later than the end of February.

Though this grudging concession was not very gratifying, public opinion in this country urged that at least the two Indian representatives should be elected by the Non-Official Members of the Imperial Legislative Council, and should, in fairness, be allowed direct representation in the Imperial Cabinet and not merely to assist the

Secretary of State. Accordingly, the Lucknow Congress passed the following Resolution :—

With regard to the proposal of the Secretary of State for India, inviting two specially elected representatives from India to assist him in the forthcoming Special Imperial Conference to a series of special and continuous sittings of the War Cabinet, in order to consider war questions and to prosecute the war vigorously, the Congress urges that at least two representatives of India, to be elected by the elected members of the Imperial and various Provincial Councils, should be allowed to represent India directly and not merely to assist the Secretary of State for India.

The All-India Moslem League also submitted a similar Resolution to the Imperial Government. But in spite of the insistent demands for the impartial treatment of India and the Colonies in the Imperial Cabinet, the following *communiqué* was published on January 22 :—

As already announced, the Secretary of State for India, when representing India at the Special Sitting of the War Cabinet, will have the assistance of two gentlemen specially selected for the purpose. In accordance with this decision, the Secretary of State, with the advice of the Governor-General-in-Council, has selected Sir James Meston, Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, and Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha.

In accordance with a further decision of His Majesty's Government, the Secretary of State for India will also have the assistance of one of the Ruling Chiefs of India. With the advice of the Governor-General-in-Council, he has invited His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir to accompany him, and His Highness has accepted the offer.

Now this business of assisting the Secretary of State for India, without the power of actual and direct representation, is rightly denounced in India as derogatory to the dignity of so important a unit in the Empire. However, the choice of Sir S. P. Sinha is unexceptionable. As *ex-President* of the Congress and *ex-Member* of the Viceroy's Executive Council, he enjoys in a great measure the confidence of the people and the Government. His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir, representing the Ruling Chiefs of India, is an enlightened and progressive prince. Sir James Meston is reputed to be an able and sympathetic financier and administrator, and it is hoped that he will prove worthy of his high office. But India's claim for direct representation is as persistent as ever, and we yet hope that those deputed by the Government of India will be given an opportunity to sit along with the Dominion Representatives on terms of perfect equality, and not merely to assist the Secretary of State.

TAGORE'S LATEST

BY MR. K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI, B.A., B.L.

FRUIT-GATHERING.

HIS volume of poems is a noble sequel to *Gitanjali* and is full of the reposefulness and Godward yearning of a fulfilled life. The keynote of the book* is sounded in the second poem :

My life, when young, was like a flower—a flower that loosens a petal or two from her abundance and never feels the loss when the spring breeze comes to beg at the door.

Now at the end of youth my life is like a fruit, having nothing to spare, and waiting to offer herself completely with her full burden of sweetness.

The poet shows us the Lord's love for those who yield themselves up to Him in a spirit of glad self-surrender: "You are the wise and the great who sit by my Master, but he has taken the foolish in his arms and made me his servant for ever." The readers of the divine *Tiruvachakam* of Southern India will realise how akin this utterance is to that of him "whose words are gems." The poet seeks to realise the infinite beauty and sweetness of God in innumerable ways. He calls aloud to his heart: "The desire of the bud is for the night and dew, but the blown flower cries for the freedom of light: Burst your sheath, my heart, and come forth!" He prays to God to give him the garland of love instead of the jewelled chain of worldly success. He realises how God's message to the soul is as simple as it is sweet. He says, "Your speech is simple, my master! but not theirs who talk of you." God's grace comes like the blessed and gentle rain from heaven and cannot be commanded or forced. "Shake the bud, strike it; it is beyond your power to make it blossom. . . . He gives it a glance and the life-sap stirs through its veins. At his breath, the flower spreads its wings and flutters in the wind." One peculiar and glorious feature of this book is its use of the sweetest stories and parables in the lives of our saints for the service of beauty and love, and for the revelation of the diviner elements in life. Noble incidents in the lives of Sanatan, Supriya, Narottam, Upagupta, Shrimathi, and Tulsidas are made to yield their full treasure of divine love and wisdom. It is a pity, however, that Tagore has missed the full beauty and sweetness of the story of Satyakama Jabala as expounded by Sri Sankaracharya. The poems about the dew-drop and the lamp have an infinity of emotional suggestiveness in them. They are full of keen and radiant vision and fulfilled faith.

HUNGRY STONES AND OTHER STORIES.

This consists of thirteen short stories by Tagore. (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London.) One of the stories, *The Victory*, has been translated by Tagore himself, and seven stories have been translated by Mr. C. F. Andrews. The translations not only bring out the wonderful felicities of style and sentiment in the original but have the accent of the classics of English prose. Tagore's unique supremacy in the domain of the short story is well known, and these stories are full of beauty and power in a remarkable degree. The first story entitled, *Hungry Stones* shows, as Mr. Ernest Rhys well says, "a truly unearthly power in romance". It opens up before our vision a crowded past, full of shadowy figures which are wandering in the land of dreams and which have lived passionate lives while in the land of the living. The second story called *The Victory* takes us the realm of pure romance where a court poet, supreme in his dower of sweetness of emotion and expression, is crowned with the love and praise of the beautiful princess, though he is slighted by the king and seeks release from his sorrow in death.

The next three stories deal with Indian childhood of the old and the new types. The next story called *The Kingdom of Cards* satirises in an original and inimitable way the dull and dead routine of Indian social life. It shows how three strangers got stranded on the shores of the Kingdom of Cards and upset everything and stirred everything into a new life by their *icha* (initiative and self-willed life). We must not look for any social gospel in a short story, and if any social gospel is intended by it, we must say that it errs by overstatement and exaggeration. *The Devotee* and *Vision* unbares to us the hearts of two noble women purified by suffering and uplifted by a lofty feeling. *The Babus of Nayanjore* is conceived in a lighter vein, and describes the scion of an once prosperous Indian nobleman's family and his simple, confiding nature in a humorous way. The story *We Crown Thee King* is worthy of a special mention. It shows how the influence of the women of India steadies the menfolk, and how in many cases it keeps alive the flame of patriotism in their hearts. In *The Renunciation*, Tagore ridicules some of the Hindu social customs. *The Cabuliwallah* describes how the same human heart beats in every breast. All the stories show wonderful insight into human nature and a never failing natural magic of style,

* Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London.

RECENT WAR LITERATURE*

BY MR. K. R. SITARAMAN, B.A.

If there is one result of the war which is bound to be more far-reaching in its effects than any other of its sequels, direct or indirect, it is certainly the educative value of the War. It is only a trite observation that there is not a single department of human activity or thought in the remotest corners of the globe, at the present day, which has not been materially affected by the war. The prolific output of literature of all sorts induced by, or directly bearing on, the War in all its phases, to which we are getting accustomed, is only what was to be expected in the nature of things. Serious contributions explaining in precise and terse language the causes of the War and the outlooks of the various nations directly involved; philosophic discourses on the inner problems and vital aspects of human destinies as affected by the War; scientific explanations of military situations and tactics; chatty newspaper accounts of incidents supposed to be historic narratives or episodes of the War; and frothy ephemeral publications which serve no conceivable purpose of any kind; all these equally well represented in the amazing medley of current war literature. Foremost in the rank of useful publications, we would place the Oxford pamphlets, two of which, "The leading ideas of British policy," by Mr. Gerard Collier, and "How we ought to feel about the War," by Mr. A. V. Dicey, are before us. As expositions of the British point of view in regard to the war, and authoritative information regarding the actual facts, these pamphlets are just

1. Oxford pamphlets, 1914-1915: "How we ought to feel about the War," by A. V. Dicey, D.C.L. "The leading ideas of British Policy," by Gerard Collier. Oxford University Press.
2. "Alsace under German Rule," by Paul Albert Helmer. "The American *versus* the German view of the War," by Morton Prince, M.D. T. Fisher Unwin. London.
3. "The Kaiser Unmasked," by Frank Mundell. London: Tarrold and Sons.
4. "The German Doctrine of Conquest," by E. Seilliere. Manussell & Co., London.
5. "The Nation in Arms," by Baron Von Der Goltz. London: Hodder and Stoughton.
6. "The Secrets of the German War Office," by Karl Graves. T. Werner Laurie, London.
7. "Deeds that will never Die," by J. Foster Fraser. Cassell & Co., Ltd., London.
8. "In Hoc Vince." The Story of a Red Cross Flag, by Florence L. Barclay. G. P. Putnam and Sons, London and New York.

what the busy man and the man in the street require. In the same category of useful and timely publications of educative value, we would place the pamphlets on special subjects published by Messrs. Fisher Unwin, such as "The American *versus* the German view of the War," by Dr. Prince, and "Alsace under German Rule," by Mr. Helmer.

The unvarnished tale delivered by Dr. Prince, of the incidents of German 'Kultur' in Belgium, as gathered from the accounts of disinterested spectators, is of unique interest and value. The Story of Alsace under German Rule, by Mr. Helmer, himself an Alsatian, is one of the most eloquent testimonies we can have of the results of the imposition of German Kultur on an alien nationality.

The "Kaiser Unmasked," by Frank Mundell is a frank and graphic exposition of the Kaiser's views and moods as evidenced by his own speeches. The picture is one that is now familiar to all.

The "Secrets of the German War Office," by the notorious Dr. Graves, one of its spies, is really a document of great interest.

The "Nation in Arms," by Field Marshall Baron Von Der Goltz, is one of the amazing productions of German military experts, dealing with military tactics and problems in the sternest style of scientific butchery divorced from all merely moral or human aspects. It supplies a page of unwritten history which cannot be found in official bulletins or publications.

"Deeds that will never Die," by T. F. Fraser, are stories of heroism in the war, culled from newspaper accounts and letters received from the theatres of war. "In Hoc Vince," by a Red Cross Nurse, is a touching episode, detailing one of the 'deeds of heroism' in question.

Even a cursory perusal of the various types of war books cannot help leaving in one's mind an indelible impression of the total change in points of view and 'angles of vision' in all matters concerning individuals and communities, the goal of human endeavours, and the destinies of the race. Let us hope that out of the ashes of the present wreck, better mutual understanding of peoples, and in its wake, world-peace, may follow—"all the stronger and more enduring for the purging in this last great human conflict;" and that this war may, indeed, be the war that will end war.

THE WORLD OF BOOKS.

[ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION.]

The Story of the Indian Mutiny. By Henry Gilbert. London: George, G. Harrap and Co., 1916. pp. 350: 5/- net.

The publication of this book is particularly inopportune just at this time as it revives the bitter memories of the great rising of the Sepoys against the English soldiers at a time when their descendants are fighting side by side in the Mesopotamian plains and Flemish trenches, and when their mutual attachment and loyalty are probably unparalleled. Nor are the intrinsic merits of the book such as would attract the student or even the general reader, for whom it is presumably intended. We do not find a continuity in the narrative, which takes up the story of the risings in Lucknow and Cawnpore, after finishing the description of the mutiny and its suppression in Delhi and the neighbourhood. Too often the vigour and impartiality of the book are marred by an exclusive attention paid to the deeds of bravery of the avenging Europeans; and the heroic deeds of the Sikhs, who were equally serviceable in the suppression, are given scant regard to. Nana Sahib and Tantia Topi are painted in even blacker colours than usual, though, as in the cases of Omichund and the Black Hole Story, research may bring us startling surprises. General Nicholson and his famous *movable column* of loyal native troops, and General Neill of the Madras Fusiliers, receive adequate treatment, while Canning and the Lawrences, who stood out for moderation and protested against bloody measures of revenge, receive but scant notice. It might be interesting to the reader to know that some of the English soldiers were not guiltless of cruel barbarity, which is usually ascribed only to the mutineers. On page 128, we find the following:—"Next day they were brought out in batches of ten and shot by some Sikh soldiers . . . Through inadvertance sixty-six had been locked up in a closed room, and of these forty-five were found asphyxiated. The dead bodies of all the mutineers were collected and thrown into a well by men of the lowest caste. 'There is a well at Cawnpore,' said Cooper in his report, 'but there is also a well at Ujnala.'"

The strong points of the book are the vigour of its description and its close attention to the topography of the battle-scenes, while the style never becomes dull.

A Vedic Grammar for Students. By A. A. Macdonnell, M.A., Ph.D. Oxford University Press. (Price-Rs. 5.)

Secular scholarship in Sanskrit has been considerably handicapped for lack of suitable books, both of Readers and Grammars. Of late, however, there has been a commendable enterprise in the matter of supplying the want in regard to classical Sanskrit. Professor Macdonnell's Sanskrit Grammar takes an honoured place among recent publications in this line. The work under review attempts to supply the want in regard to Vedic Sanskrit.

Leaving the orthodox school of Vedic scholarship aside, the only accessible work bearing upon this field is the Grammar of W. D. Whitney, which was by design intended to serve the purposes of those who wish to study historical grammar, which implies a working knowledge both of the grammar of Classical Sanskrit and of that of the Vedic. This work attempts to provide that working knowledge for Vedic Sanskrit, as his other grammar does for the classical.

Having been long at work to bring out his standard work of the subject in the *Encyclopædia of Indo-Aryan Research*, Professor Macdonnell is eminently qualified to do the work. Naturally he took it upon himself to produce this Companion to his Sanskrit Grammar. Though based upon the larger work, it is not an abridgment of that work; but it proceeds upon lines parallel to the Sanskrit Grammar, in order to make comparisons easy. Another feature of this small work is, that it provides chapters upon Syntax, Metre, etc., which make the work complete in itself. We have little doubt that this work meets a want and is bound, with the Companion Reader projected by the author, to advance the study of Vedic Sanskrit among lay scholars at any rate.

The C. L. S. I. Books. Memorial Hall, Madras. We have received the following useful booklets from the Christian Literature Society for India:—"Edith Cavell"; "Story of Dumban"; "The Supreme Person and the Supreme Quest"; and "Victory or Defeat" (in Tamil); Rev. Mr. Hogg's book on "Christ's Message of the Kingdom," (in English); and the Rev. Lasso's "Prayer" (in Telugu).

DIARY OF THE MONTH.

- December 18. Congress Reception Committee replies to Sir James Meston's warning letter.
- December 19. Greek Government issues a warrant to arrest M. Venizelos.
- December 20. Lloyd George's great speech in the Commons on the German Peace Offer.
- December 21. Bombay Senate condemns Patna University Bill.
- December 22. Indian Colonial Society, Madras, deposes Messrs. H. S. L. Polak and G. A. Natesan to proceed to Ceylon to report on the condition of Indian Labour.
- December 23. Dr. Ewing addresses the Punjab University Convocation.
- December 24. All-India Kayastha Conference meets at Allahabad, Dr. Sir Rash Behari Ghose presiding.
- December 25. Joint Conference, at Lucknow, of the Congress Committee and the Muslim League.
- December 26. Meeting of the Thirty-first Indian National Congress at Lucknow.
- December 27. Meetings of the All-India Temperance and the Social Conferences at Lucknow, and the All-India Christian Conference at Madras.
- December 28. Sir James Meston attends the Congress.
- The Anglo-Indian Empire League Conference meets at Jhansi.
- December 29. The Urdu Conference meets at Lucknow.
- December 30. The All-India Moslem League and Indian Industrial Conference meet at Lucknow.
- December 31. Sir James Meston attends the Moslem League.
- January 1. The Allies' Ultimatum to Greece was handed.
- January 2. Turkish massacre in Armenia. American papers comment on Allies' reply to German Peace Offer.
- January 3. Sir Douglas Haig appeals to British Labourites for increasing output of munitions.
- January 4. Turkish atrocities on Arabs.
- January 5. Lloyd George and Lord Milner arrive in Rome and take part in the Conference of French and Italian Ministers.
- January 6. The Viceroy speaks at the Calcutta University Convocation.
- January 7. The Allies' Conference record complete agreement as to the prosecution of the War.

- January 8. Mr. B. G. Tilak addresses a large audience of over 12,000 at Nagpur, Dr. Gour presiding.
- January 9. Pro-German activity in Spain results in the resignation of the Cabinet.
- January 10. H. H. The Maharaja of Mysore opens the Indian Science Congress at Bangalore.
- January 11. War Loan Meeting at the Guildhall, and the Premier's inspiring speech.
- January 12. Allies' replies to President Wilson. Cabinet changes in Russia.
- January 13. Russian successes in Riga.
- January 14. Text of Belgium's reply to U. S. is published.
- January 15. Russo-Roumanian recovery. British advance east of Loos.
- January 16. Dewan Bahadur P. Rajagopala Chariar, C.I.E., succeeds Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar in the Madras Council.
- January 17. His Honour Sir James Meston opens the Lucknow Power Station.
- January 18. The death of the Earl of Elgin, late Viceroy of India, is announced.
- January 19. The Industries Commission examines the last witness at Calcutta and leaves for Madras to-day.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE DAILY MAIL YEAR BOOK FOR 1917. Edited by David Williamson. The Associated Newspapers, Ltd., London.
- PERSONALITY. By Lily L. Allen. L. N. Fowler & Co., London.
- THE JAPAN YEAR BOOK, 1916. By Y. Takenol. The Japan Year Book Office, Tokyo.

BOOKS RELATING TO INDIA.

- YOUNG INDIA. By Lajpat Rai. Published by B. W. Huebsch, New York.
- SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR INDIA. By the Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri. Servants of India Society, Allahabad.
- CONFESSIONS OF A THUG. By Col. Meadows Taylor. Edited by C. W. Stewart, B.A. Oxford University Press, Bombay.

TOPICS FROM PERIODICALS.

An Indian Trans-Asiatic Railroad.

Mr. George Mathers, Assistant Superintendent of the East Indian Railway Company, gives us some interesting figures and data which support the feasibility of a complete overland railway line connecting Paris and Peking. Writing in the pages of *The Indian Journal of Economics* (September 1916), he gives us a short history of the project which has been in the air ever since 1872, of establishing an overland route by way of Mesopotamia to the East. The recent railway development in China coupled with the railroad schemes in Asia Minor will undoubtedly usher in a new transport era. In regard to the China side of the project, we are seeing the awakening of that nation and their demand for modern land transport facilities. The Germans and the Turks have pretty well provided in their Bagdad Railway Schemes the link between Basra and Scutari; and from Constantinople onwards to London, the railways are well equipped. The sea-route from Shanghai to London is more than 10,000 miles, via Panama more than 13,000 miles, via the United States (i.e., a rail and sea-route) nearly 12,500 miles, and through India and Constantinople to London only 9,108 miles.

The most serious disadvantage, which at present obtains in respect to the overland route, is the variance of the gauges of railways already in existence which will form part of the Trans-continental line. The policy of future construction at least should aim at uniformity of gauge, and in India the standard gauge is the one to be followed. As regards the Indian mileage forming a part of the through trans-continental route, which would require to be converted to the broad gauge, the total would be about 1,000 miles. So far as the lines connecting Baku and Bagdad with Karachi are concerned, there should not be much doubt as to the utility of adopting the Indian broad gauge. It is not perhaps too much to anticipate the early probability of through railroad connection between India and China, considering that the total mileage of those Chinese railways, which have been definitely settled or partially completed, brings Shanghai in closer overland touch with India, leaving only a span of 603 miles between Chengtu and Saidya on the Burmese frontier to be completed, and also considering the prosperity that will accrue from such a project which will tap and supply China's artery

of commerce, the Yang-tse-Kiang valley.

As regards the cost of transport in calculation, respect must be paid to the fact that the prospective traffic will be additional traffic to those lines already in existence. The writer concludes that the average cost of carrying a ton over the entire distance would be Rs. 46. And allowing the carriers a profit on the transaction, as well as 40 per cent. on cost to pay interest on capital, we have Rs. 66, as compared with Rs. 61, the cost of transportation through the normal sea-route via Suez, and Rs. 78 that of the sea-cum-rail route via U. S. A. The United States has made and is making ambitious endeavours to establish herself as the greatest carrier in Oriental trade and to divert from the old-world routes the traffic to Europe. The Hawaiian Islands have been acquired by America, and these together with the Philippines have given them an advantage which they have not been slow to make full use of. The great trans-continental railways, as well as the allied steamship lines, built for the Oriental trade by the United States have not failed in their mission, nor have they played their last card. This should be put down, and no better means than the through railroad connecting Shanghai and Europe could be devised to outclass America in this.

After the War in India.

Dr. Sudhindra Bose, of the Iowa State University, writing in the *Modern Review* for January, deplores that while Europe, America and Japan are all busy after strengthening their own national interests both political and commercial, people in India are blind to the opportunity which, he says, has now occurred to enlarge their industrial undertakings and make themselves independent of foreign markets. He says, India must expect to be the subject of aggressive commercial invasion and must get ready for the days immediately ahead of her when peace has come back to earth and Europe resumes once more its task of commerce and industry. He thinks now is the time to get back the Swadeshi movement, and we should adopt every means to mobilise our economic resources on a basis of efficiency. But improvements in general arts, manufactures, agriculture are no longer to be neglected, because they are new, untried or foreign, and whatever is most serviceable, most useful for our purpose must be welcomed with both hands.

State-Aid for Housing.

Rao Bahadur S. S. Talmaki, writing in *The Local Self-Government Gazette* (November 1916), suggests some early and practical remedies for the housing problem which is getting more and more acute in all large towns. The State should recognise to a large extent the principle that the development of building land requires to be controlled in the interests of the individual owners as well as that of the community in general. Unless the State or the Municipalities should take up the financing work of the whole thing, the housing of the poor and middle classes could never make any headway. The facilities which the housing of people stands in need of are chiefly cheap land and capital, exemption from taxes and indirect encouragement. Land values ought to be controlled by Government, and the causes which tend to raise the price of land must be checked and gradually eliminated. German experience has shown that Municipal ownership of land has generally kept down the land-values and enabled Municipalities to encourage working-class dwellings by grants of land at concessional rates to co-operative and other public utility societies. Special concessions must be shown to persons desirous of building small buildings either individually or on co-operative lines. Government land must be made available for the smaller class of buildings without any hampering restrictions; the system of levying a higher tax on agricultural land, when used for building purposes, should be abolished; and the periodic revision of assessment of land should not be made applicable to building land. Suburbs must be opened by all possible efforts, viz., the creation of cheap and speedy transit facilities and of new centres of activity there, and security from the dangers of thefts and robberies.

The Town Planning Act of Bombay, recently passed, has recognised the principle that financial aid by the State is necessary for house building schemes. The Resolution of the Bombay Government on this subject confines its activities only to the development of new urban areas, and seems to have ignored the more pressing needs of Bombay City as compared with those of the District Municipalities, and is entirely silent on the questions of the rates of interest on the Government loans and the terms of repayment. It contemplates financial aid through the Municipalities and directly to co-operative building societies.

The rise in house-rents has no small effect on the rise of prices of all the necessities of life. The housing problem has a many-sided aspect and a far-reaching effect on the life of the people. The experience of foreign countries should teach us to encourage the formation of co-operative building societies whether on copartnership or on individual lines. If the problem should be tackled in the way in which it ought to be met, the preventible causes of death could be eliminated, the sources of numerous diseases could be removed, the dreadful wastage of child-life could be prevented, light and air could be brought into the homes of even the humblest, and a domestic condition for the people could be secured, whereby their health, morals, and character could be improved and maintained.

Sanskrit and the New Renaissance.

The current issue of *The Vedic Magazine* summarises briefly an address given by Principal Vasvani on the utility of a reflective study of Sanskrit in the present times. Sanskrit is the language of grace, of polish, which is the result not of word-pruning, but of profound emotion. It is a language which lends itself easily to music, rich in its capacities, not alone for poetic expression but also for prose interpretation. The study of comparative Aryan Mythology did much to enlighten a sceptic world concerning the unknown splendours of the ancient Aryan life. "But much more is yet to be done in the way of indicating the forms of Hindu race-consciousness; and the linguistic materials supplied by Sanskrit will enrich the world's life with a knowledge concerning the poetry, folklore philosophy, and religion of the ancient Aryan." The writer goes on to say:

I am one of those who believe in the vital value of the type of civilization based on Nature-communion, that calm spirit which is the secret of Hindu art, that quiet vision which is the quest of Hindu philosophy, that sense of Divine Silence which is the inspiration of Hindu literature, that communion with the Eternal Joy in and through the struggles and successes of life, which is the yearning of Hindu religion—are a piteous need of the fever-smitten world to-day. Greek culture, did much for Europe. Reformation was in a large measure but an expression of the New Spirit awakened in Europe by the revival of learning. A greater revival of learning has begun with the modern reflective study of Sanskrit, and this new Renaissance is destined to do more for the world than even the old Renaissance, which began with the fall of Constantinople. Emerson wrote with wondrous insight: "Europe," he said, "has always owed to Oriental genius its divine impulses." And the World-Spirit summons India, summons the Aryan Parent-nation to a new spiritual ministry. Therefore, I ask you India's children to turn your thoughts to this ancient language, a language which was a spoken one even in the days of Alexander and Solomon.

Financing Indian Industries.

The Editor of *The Mysore Economic Journal*, writing in the last issue of his journal, exhorts the Government to take measures to make people understand more clearly the utility of banks and to clearly grasp the patriotism of a banking account. This is the most essential problem that has to be solved now, since European capital will not at all come in appreciable quantities in the near future in order to help in the building up of the nation's industrial life.

Foreign capital was until recently available for this country for the purpose, and much of the European enterprise in the East generally has been largely dependent on it. But for a long time to come it is a question if this help will be forthcoming even for those who have so largely used it in the past. It is fairly certain that it will not in any case be as abundant as it has been in the past. The reconstruction of the industrial life of Europe itself will require so much money that it is likely to absorb all that may be available in the shape of capital in the West. The aid of the United States will probably be sought as much for some time to come in peace-time as during the progress of the war by most of the nations of Europe. This being so, it is more than problematical if India will get anything like an adequate part of the savings—or rather what has been left of the savings, if any—of the West for building up her new industrial life. The position is one for very careful attention, as striking ground without sufficient capital has been the besetting sin of most industrial pioneers in India. A remedy must be sought for this, if progress is to be achieved in the industrial line in the years to come in this country.

Hoarding of the real type may still linger in out of the way places in India, but is fast dying out. The purpose of a campaign to attract the small investor in India should be to create that confidence in banks that will insure his taking his money to them and placing it there. Banks still are few and far between in this country. In all Mysore there is only one bank, and it was started only a short while ago. It has still to develop a network of branch offices. What is true of Mysore is true of every other province *mutatis mutandis*. It is impossible to attract the small investor unless you go to his very doors; unless you offer facilities to invest; and unless you demonstrate your superior security and advantages. That is the first part of the work that awaits the industrial development of this land. In Mysore, we have just offered a few facilities to the small investor, but that is not enough. We must educate the masses to a sense of the requirements of the country as well. They must be made to know that money is only a means to an end and not the end in itself. As a first step in this work, we may suggest that those interested in it should make the people understand more clearly the utility of banks and of banking facilities—in fact, of credit machinery generally. It is impossible to secure the co-operation of the people in this matter without their first knowing what you ask of them.

Recent Tendencies in Co-Operation.

Prof. J. C. Coyajee, writing in a recent issue of *The Bengali Co-Operative Journal*, says that the possible tendency in India would be towards the form of contributory unlimited liability, i.e., the system in which where there is a deficit in the engagement of a society to its creditors, this deficit should, after the full payment of the shares, be recoverable by a series of *per capital* levies upon the members up to the full extent of their property, direct proceedings by a creditor against individual members being forbidden. He says it is not advisable for legislation to show undue preference for any particular form of liability. All forms should be permitted by law, so that different parts of the country might adopt the particular form most suited to them, the adoption of any particular form being explained more by the economic situation developed in a particular district. India has hitherto loyally agreed to the system of unlimited liability, and so far that system has not caused any difficulties.

The rule of unlimited liability, which was the only recognised type of co-operation in its infancy, has the advantage of possessing a drastic rigour which appealed strongly to popular imagination. And it was not until 1896, that even a Schulze Congress could venture to pronounce that its members might safely use the path of limited liability. Unlimited liability is to be preferred in the beginning as securing the confidence of depositors and lenders. In Germany unlimited liability alone held the field till 1895. The system of unlimited liability has, however, proved far from popular in many countries, and its adoption would have militated against the growth of co-operation in many lands. And even in those few countries which have gone in for unlimited liability, it appears nowhere except among the basic units. America has opposed a sort of passive resistance to the introduction of this system. Limited liability might be so adjusted as to afford any possible extent of safety to the depositor or lender. The value of the share does not by any means circumscribe the obligation of the member, for the liability might be made a multiple of the share. Unlimited liability might, moreover, conceivably cause hardship to individuals, both debtors and creditors, having all the elements of a chaotic liquidation of debt, and burdening the creditor with successive suits against individual members.

The Native States in India.

Appearing in the December number of *The Round Table* and probably under the auspices of politicians of the type of Mr. Curtis, is an article which urges that a prominent place should be given to the Native States in the Government and Constitution of the Indian Empire, and says that they are a barometer of the progress of India which no student of its conditions can afford to ignore. The main interest of this article is in the proposal which recommends the selection of a few Chiefs of the best type to assist in the deliberations of the Legislative Councils, Imperial and Provincial. "There is no material in India as good as the best of the Native Princes. They may not possess the glibness of tongue, the forensic abilities, the demagogic virtues of the lawyers, who under existing arrangements find themselves the leaders of Indian opinion. But they know much more of the real India; they are accustomed to the responsibilities of actual personal rule; they realise the imperial position much more keenly; they have had experience of the limitations and shortcomings of the masses, and of their impassiveness and slowness to change; they are much more likely to be actuated by purely impersonal motives; they are, in fact, likely to be quite as valuable counsellors as many who now attain that position."

Another method of utilising the services of, and incorporating the Native Chiefs in the Government, is by an extension of the Conference system in respect of matters of general interest to the Native States. Until 1903, the only occasion on which the Chiefs of India had been called together was the great assemblage of 1877, which was a purely ceremonial Durbar; and the Durbars of 1903 and '11, were of a similar character. Lord Curzon had formed the councils of the Chiefs' Colleges, on which the Native Rulers were invited to meet together and to play a really practical part. In 1913, a Conference of Chiefs was arranged at Delhi to discuss the question of a University for the ruling classes throughout India. A further Conference was convened at Delhi by Lord Chelmsford in last October, and on this occasion the Government of India sought from the Chiefs free and frank advice on questions connected with their States and peoples.

The other phases of their article deal with the advantages and disadvantages of Native State rule. Its arbitrary nature, the dependence on

the personality of the Chief, the possibility of a relapse to weakness and chaos with a change of ruler—these evils are counterbalanced by the innate devotion of the people to a personal ruler; and the freedom from departmentalism and the possibility, not of course always achieved, of a more rapid despatch of business. The majority of the Native States are remnants of old India, the residue now fixed and crystallised from the fluid mass of strife and anarchy which flooded the country in the 18th century. Some of them like the Rajputs trace back their history into the mists of antiquity having survived the rude Moghul shocks, only to be nearly overwhelmed by the Mahrattas. Others like Hyderabad are kingdoms carried out for themselves by successful Moghul generals. Others like Gwalior and Indore are the surviving representatives of the Mahratta power. Others like Patiala and Nabha were established on the ruins of the Sikh domination of the Punjab. A few, of which Kashmir and Mysore are examples, have been created by the British Government in accordance with the deliberate policy of the time. Although the degree of advancement of the various States varies greatly, most have by now introduced a reasonable land assessment, based on a fixed demand with fixity of tenure, are ready to organise measures for combating famine, recognise the advantages of education, have established four special colleges for Chiefs, and have approximated towards higher ideals in all departments of Government, especially Police, Medical, Public Works, Irrigation and Finance.

Indian Ladies at Work.

In the current number of *The Theosophist*, Mrs. Besant gives the following details of the work undertaken by several ladies in the newly established Women's College at Benares:—

Miss Arundale settled down in Benares as the head of the women's educational work there. Miss Browning, M.A., is Principal of the College, and Miss Palmer, B.Sc., carries on her best-loved work as head of the school. The Ashrama is in the charge of Shrimati Sitabai Devi, a widow, who has it under her complete control and is an admirable head, while Shrimati Padmabai Devi, one of our best lady workers, gives her help freely and has been very successful in gathering funds for the up-keep of the institution. Miss Arundale tells me that there is now much sympathy with girls' education in the United Provinces, and that people are very much more inclined to help it than they were some years ago.

Bishop Heber and his Indian Journal.

Mr. Dinshaw J. Kapadia, writing in a recent number of *The Hindustan Review*, brings out the value of Bishop Heber's services to the country, which include his whole-hearted work for the Indian converts of the Protestant Church, as well as his efforts to open the eyes of the East India Company to the gross abuses prevalent at that time in the administration of its servants, and also to the grave disabilities under which the Indian subjects of the Company laboured during the years that he passed in India (1823 to 1826), and he travelled over the whole of the country except the Punjab, making tours of visitation, consecrating churches, administering confirmation to the native converts, establishing schools and colleges and doing other duties connected with his high calling as the 'Lord Padre Sahib of the Feringhees.' His experiences are recorded in his diary and are written in a language at once charming, elegant, precise, and clear, where contemporary generals and statesmen like Malcolm, Elphinstone, Metcalfe and Ochterlony are portrayed in all their real grandeur and efficiency.

The Bishop's peregrinations extended to Dacca, Patna, Buxar, Benares, which struck him 'as more entirely and characteristically Eastern than any which I have yet seen,' Allahabad, Lucknow, Almora on the lower Himalayas, Moradabad, Rampur, Merat and other minor places, Delhi and Agra. The Bishop was much moved by the sight of the Taj Mahal, of which he gives such a description as might be expected by a connoisseur of art. Bhartpur, Jaipur, Ajmere, Neemuch, etc., in Central India next claimed the Bishop's attention, and he gives a brief description of the character, manners, and customs of the Jats, Bhils, and Rajputs. He then entered the province of Guzarat, visited Surat, Bombay, Elephanta, etc., the hill forts of the Deccan, and lastly Ceylon and Madras. The Bishop writes, 'Our visit to Ceylon has afforded us very great pleasure and interest from its agreeable society, the beauty of its scenery, its curiosities, and far above all, from the religious state of the native inhabitants.' He did not care very much for the propagation of the Gospel. "With him the Church was before the Gospel, and he was more of a missionary than an ecclesiast." And "it had been from the first his ambition not to be the head of the Anglican Church in India, but to be the first missionary in the East." He kept his proselytising zeal within the proper bounds of moderation, and for this he was blamed by men in his profession.

Women Power.

Major Stuart Stephens, writing in the last issue of *The English Review*, deplores the enormous waste of woman-energy and regrets that the great majority of the female population of the country has not been made by strict compulsion to enter those walks of labour, from which nearly five million males have gone out to the War. And five million female auxiliaries to replace these cannot be obtained without resorting to a systematised German-like organisation, the bedrock of which is conscription for woman-power and the need of which ought to be self-evident to everyone. Conscription might be applied best and most honourably to the profession of nursing, and and this alone would give the fighting forces the proportion of nurses which is due to them, and which they are in sore need of. Again, in agricultural work though there was at first a great rush of girls from the town-centres, soon there was a thorough exit owing to the allurements of well-paid offices open to the sex in Government offices, the fascination of shop-window gazing, the fancied excitement of the munition factories, and the stories of the utterly impossible wages earned therein. In dairy work, in the care of cows, the milking and the rearing of calves, they have done well; as well as in the work on poultry farms and in the management of horses. Women's assistance will be in enormous demand very soon when nearly all the younger men will have been called away to training, and farmers find that labour conditions have become to them a matter of economic life and death. And a voluntary army of women farm-workers *en masse* is inconceivable, save under conscription. There are also many other fields of female industry which require instant systematisation by the State. In domestic service, the professional and middle classes have been delivered over to the tender mercies of an order of woman-kind, to which the setting in of the munitions boom has been a very great attraction. There exists also an urgent need for conscription in the womanising of the ever-expanding Government departments. Another most urgent reason for woman-conscription is, that such a measure would have the effect of curbing the monster wave of shameless immorality that has swept over England since the creation in it of an enormous mass of soldiery; and it would be effective in compelling them to resort to a wholesome, though hard-working, livelihood.

New Frontiers After The War.

Lieutenant-Colonel A. A. Waddell, the distinguished Indianist, writing to the last number of *The Asiatic Review*, treats us to a few ingenious attempts at recasting the map of the Balkans and Asia Minor after the War. The most authoritative among these prophesiers are, Sir Harry Johnstone, the well-known traveller and East African administrator, and Sir Thomas Holdich, a very good practical expert on the making of scientific frontiers, who in his latest book "Political Frontiers and Boundary Making" makes a very authoritative and helpful contribution to the question. Holdich confutes the academic idealists who assume that the civilised world has already attained to a cultured eminence, which admits of a purely artificial line of separation as sufficient for the nations. He is of opinion that physical geography should rank first as the basis of political agreements where territory is concerned, and the distribution of races should be only a secondary consideration in separating hostile national interests. According to him, boundaries should follow not rivers but the ridge-divides between the rivers, and in the readjustment after the war what is wanted is not so much a wholesale alteration of frontiers as a re-distribution of the populations within political ring-fences.

Holdich believes that Britain would not gain much territorially except certain easily recognised advantages in the rectification of her African frontiers, and a dominant position in Mesopotamia. Also Hungary would become absorbed in Rumania for good ethnical reasons. In the Balkans and the Near East, non-assimilating peoples should be partially deported and separated from each other in compartments, so arranged that within the limits of any one political ring-fence there should exist one homogeneous nationality. This, he says, could be easily effected by determining the position of the ring-fence and then requesting the nationalists to retire into the dominion assigned to them, or to accept a scheme of nationalisation, which would amalgamate them with the body corporate of the nationality they adopt.

Sir Harry Johnstone has ventured to illustrate by a concrete revised map his scheme of what the map of Europe and Asia Minor is likely to be after the war. It is as follows:—

In Europe, Austria and Turkey, as has been generally presumed, disappear altogether; Austria being partitioned between Germany (which by the way gets Vienna), Hungary and the new State of West Slavia, which includes Bohemia. Poland is resurrected as a national unit, with Dantzig as its port in the Baltic, thus driving in a wedge between Germany and Prussia, to which it is suggested the Hohenzollerns should be banished. Russia takes European Turkey. Italy takes the Tyrol, the Trentino and Trieste; but the Dalmatian shore of the Adriatic is given to Southern Slavia, the glorified Serbia which will stretch also to the Aegean, with its Eastern outlet through what is now Bulgaria proper; while Bulgaria is to yield part of her remaining territory to Rumania, which by the addition of Transylvania is to become nearly double its original size. Belgium is to be given a better strategical frontier on the east at the expense of Germany, and the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg is to become a Belgian Protectorate. Only part of Alsace and Lorraine, however, would Sir Harry restore to France, according to a strict racial and linguistic line of district boundaries. In Asia Minor, Russia is given the north half of that peninsula, with a protectorate over Armenia, so that she secures control of the Black Sea and both shores of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus. The southern half of Asia Minor is generously given by him to Italy, and only Syria to France, whilst Mesopotamia is to come under British sway. Sir Harry finds no spot whatever, even in Asia, for misguided and erring Turkey, notwithstanding that its Prussian inciters, who perpetrated infinitely greater atrocities, are to be spared an independent kingdom for their Hohenzollerns.

INDIA IN INDIAN & FOREIGN PERIODICALS.

THE FUTURE OF INDIAN HISTORY. By K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, B.A., B.L. ["The Hindustan Review," December 1916.]

SOCIAL CONFERENCE AT JHANSI AND VARNASRAM. By Srijiut Saroda Charan Mittra, M.A., B.L. ["The Mahamandal Magazine," December 1916.]

THE TRUE FISCAL POLICY FOR INDIA. By C. S. Rangaswami, B.A. ["The Modern Review," January 1917.]

THE NATIVE STATES OF INDIA. ["The Round Table," December 1916.]

ALHVARA, OR THE SAINTS OF SOUTH INDIA. By Mr. G. R. Josver. ["The Mysore Social Review," January 1917.]

ECONOMICS OF INDIAN AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRIES. By Keshavalal L. Oza, M.A. ["The Vedic Magazine," December 1916.]

EDUCATION IN INDIA. By Macleer. ["East and West," January 1917.]

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE.

The Congress and the Moslem League's Scheme of Post-War Reforms.

The following is the scheme of the Post-War Reforms prepared by All-India Congress Committee in consultation with the Reform Committee of the All-India Muslim League and passed unanimously at the last session of those bodies held at Lucknow in December:—

I.—PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS.

1. Provincial Legislative Councils shall consist of four-fifths elected and of one-fifth nominated members.

2. Their strength shall be not less than 125 members in the major provinces, and from 50 to 75 in the minor provinces.

3. The members of Councils should be elected directly by people on as broad a franchise as possible.

4. Adequate provision should be made for the representation of important minorities by election, and that the Mahomedans should be represented through special electorates on the Provincial Legislative Councils.

Provided that Mahomedans shall not participate in any of the other elections to the Legislative Councils.

5. The head of the Provincial Government should not be the President of the Legislative Council but the Council should have the right of electing its President.

6. The right of asking supplementary questions should not be restricted to the member putting the original question, but should be allowed to be exercised by any other member.

7. (a) Except customs, post, telegraph, mint, salt, opium, railways, army and navy, and tributes from Indian States, all other sources of revenue should be provincial.

(b) There should be no divided heads of revenue. The Government of India should be provided with fixed contributions from the Provincial Governments, such fixed contributions being liable to revision when extraordinary and unforeseen contingencies render such revision necessary.

(c) The Provincial Council should have full authority to deal with all matters affecting the internal administration of the province, including the power to raise loans, to impose and alter taxation, and to vote on the Budget. All items of expenditure, and all proposals concerning ways and means for raising the necessary revenue should be embodied in Bills and submitted to the Provincial Council for adoption.

(d) Resolutions on all matters within the purview of the Provincial Government should be allowed for discussion in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself.

(e) A resolution passed by the Legislative Council shall be binding on the Executive Government, unless vetoed by the Governor in Council, provided however that if the resolution is again passed by the Council after an interval of not less than one year, it must be given effect to.

(f) A motion for adjournment may be brought forward for the discussion of a definite matter of urgent public importance if supported by not less than one-eighth of the members present.

8. Any special meeting of the Council may be summoned on a requisition by not less than one-eighth of the members.

9. A Bill, other than a Money Bill, may be introduced in Council in accordance with the rules made in that behalf by the Council itself, and the consent of the Government should not be required therefor.

10. All Bills passed by Provincial Legislatures shall have to receive the assent of the Governor before they become law, but may be vetoed by the Governor-General.

11. The term of office of the members shall be five years.

II.—PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS.

1. The head of every Provincial Government shall be a Governor who shall not ordinarily belong to the Indian Civil Service or any of the permanent services.

2. There shall be in every Province an Executive Council which, with the Governor, shall constitute the Executive Government of the Province.

3. Members of the Indian Civil Service shall not ordinarily be appointed to the Executive Councils.

4. Not less than one-half of the members of Executive Council shall consist of Indians to be elected by the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Council.

5. The term of office of the members shall be five years.

III.—IMPERIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

1. The strength of the Imperial Legislative Council shall be 150.

2. Four-fifths of the members shall be elected.

3. The franchise for the Imperial Legislative Council should be widened as far as possible on the lines of the Mahomedan electorates and the elected members of the Provincial Legislative

Councils should also form an electorate for the return of Members to the Imperial Legislative Council.

4. The President of the Council shall be elected by the Council itself.

5. The right of asking supplementary questions shall not be restricted to the member putting the original question but should be allowed to be exercised by any other member.

6. Any special meeting of the Council may be summoned on a requisition by not less than one-eighth of the members.

7. A Bill, other than a Money Bill, may be introduced in Council in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself, and the consent of the Executive Government should not be required therefor.

8. All Bills passed by the Council shall have to receive the assent of the Governor-General before they become law.

9. All financial proposals relating to sources of income and items of expenditure shall be embodied in Bills. Every such Bill and the Budget as a whole shall be submitted for the vote of the Imperial Legislative Council.

10. The term of office of members shall be five years.

11. The matters mentioned hereinbelow shall be exclusively under the control of the Imperial Legislative Council:—

(a) Matters in regard to which uniform legislation for the whole of India is desirable.

(b) Provincial legislation in so far as it may affect inter-provincial fiscal relations.

(c) Questions affecting purely Imperial Revenue, excepting tributes from Indian States.

(d) Questions affecting purely Imperial expenditure, except that no resolution of the Imperial Legislative Council shall be binding on the Governor-General in Council in respect of Military charges for the defence of the country.

(e) The right of revising Indian tariffs and customs-duties, of imposing, altering, or removing any tax or cess, modifying the existing system of currency and banking, and granting any aids or bounties to any or all deserving and nascent industries of the country.

(f) Resolutions on all matters relating to the administration of the country as a whole.

12. A Resolution passed by the Legislative Council should be binding on the Executive Government, unless vetoed by the Governor-General in Council: provided, however, that if the Resolution is again passed by the Council after

an interval of not less than one year, it must be given effect to.

13. A motion for adjournment may be brought forward for the discussion of a definite matter of urgent public importance, if supported by not less than one-eighth of the members present.

14. The Crown may exercise its power of veto in regard to a Bill passed by a Provincial Legislative Council or by the Imperial Legislative Council within twelve months from the date on which it is passed, and the Bill shall cease to have effect as from the date on which the fact of such veto is made known to the Legislative Council concerned.

15. The Imperial Legislative Council shall have no power to interfere with the Government of India's direction of the military affairs and the foreign political relations of India, including the declaration of war, the making of peace and the entering into treaties.

IV.—THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

1. The Governor-General of India will be the head of the Government of India.

2. He will have an Executive Council, half of whom shall be Indians.

3. The Indian members should be elected by the elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council.

4. Members of the Indian Civil Service shall not ordinarily be appointed to the Executive Council of the Governor-General.

5. The power of making all appointments in the Imperial Civil Services shall vest in the Government of India as constituted under this scheme, and subject to any laws that may be made by the Imperial Legislative Council.

6. The Government of India shall not ordinarily interfere in the local affairs of a province, and powers not specifically given to a Provincial Government shall be deemed to be vested in the former. The authority of the Government of India will ordinarily be limited to general supervision and superintendence over the Provincial Governments.

7. In legislative and administrative matters, the Government of India, as constituted under this scheme, shall, as far as possible, be independent of the Secretary of State.

8. A system of independent audit of the accounts of the Government of India should be instituted.

V.—THE SECRETARY OF STATE IN COUNCIL.

1. The Council of the Secretary of State for India should be abolished:

2. The salary of the Secretary of State should be placed on the British Estimates.

3. The Secretary of State should, as far as possible, occupy the same position in relation to the Government of India as the Secretary of State for the Colonies in relation to the Governments of the Self-Governing Dominions.

4. The Secretary of State for India should be assisted by two Permanent Under-Secretaries, one of whom should always be an Indian.

VI.—MILITARY AND OTHER MATTERS OF POLICY.

1. The military and naval services of His Majesty, both in their commissioned and non-commissioned ranks, should be thrown open to Indians and adequate provision should be made for their selection, training and instruction in India.

2. Indians should be allowed to enlist as volunteers.

3. Indians should be placed on a footing of equality in respect of status and rights of citizenship with other subjects of His Majesty the King throughout the Empire.

4. The Executive Officers in India shall have no judicial powers entrusted to them and the judiciary in every Province shall be placed under the highest Court of that Province.

A.B.—As regards communal representation in Legislative Councils, the following percentages have been agreed upon:—

Mahomedan representation for the Punjab 50 per cent.; Bengal 40 per cent.; Bombay 33½ per cent.; United Provinces 30 per cent.; Central Provinces 15 per cent.; Madras 15 per cent. It has also been agreed to, that if in any province two-thirds of a community be against any measure or Bill, it should be dropped by both communities.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA.

Mr. Polak on "Indians in the Colonies."

Mr. H. S. L. Polak, in moving the resolution on Indians in colonies in the recent Congress, said:

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen,—the resolution that I am asked to propose reads as follows:—

That this Congress, reiterating the resolutions passed at the previous sessions of the Congress, on the subject of the treatment and status of British Indians in the Self-Governing Dominions and the Crown Colonies of the Empire, once more puts on record the ever-growing sense of dissatisfaction at the continued ill-treatment of Indian settlers in those Dominions and Colonies, and expresses the earnest hope that as a result of the growing feeling of cohesion among the constituent parts of the Empire due to the present world-wide war, the statesmen and people of Greater Britain will take a more liberal and Imperial view of the status of the Indian settlers in those parts.

Ladies and gentlemen, when, in 1910, India prohibited the further recruitment of indentured labour for the province of Natal in South Africa, a new chapter in the relations of India and the Dominions and the Crown Colonies was opened; and the page was turned when at the Congress in Calcutta in 1911, I had the privilege of announcing Mr. Gokhale's approaching visit to South Africa. That visit had an enormous influence upon the condition of affairs. Mr.

Gokhale's own wonderful personality made an immense impression upon the minds of a large number of broad-minded and public-spirited men in South Africa and even among the unlearned he was described as 'cooly king' (Laughter.) Ladies and gentlemen, you will understand that for the first time it was realized by a large number of people in South Africa that India did not produce coolies alone and that she can produce, if necessary, a king. (Cheers.) Mr. Gokhale's influence did not disappear after his departure from South Africa, for even when in the dark days of 1913 the Indian community passed through a period of trial and tribulation such as has never been hitherto known, there were still large numbers of Europeans in South Africa who deplored what was being done in the name of South Africa, and who either publicly or privately denounced it. And it was made possible by that visit that the settlement of 1914 was effected—a settlement that is to-day in existence and that laid down the lines upon which the Indian community of South Africa was to progress, and not only that but the main relations between India and the Dominions. The two principal points that were settled by that agreement of 1914 were: (1) that in a British Dominion there should not be direct racial legislation; and (2) that in all matters vitally affecting the interests of the

Indian community that community should be consulted in some way or another. Now, since the war—the settlement practically coincided with the war—since the war the South African Indian community has felt bound by a kind of self-denying ordinance not to press on the attention of the Union Government certain outstanding matters that were not made the subject of the settlement, for the settlement could not possibly settle every possible outstanding dispute, and amongst these outstanding points, for example, is the prohibition of Indians in the Transvaal to own fixed property in their own names. I mention this merely as an example. Indians have during the last 2½ years confined themselves to making various private representations to the Government and also to offering their assistance to the State in any possible capacity. You may have learnt that they have supplied two double bearer companies for service in East Africa, and many of those bearers have devoted not only their services but their lives to the Empire. (Hear, hear.) Notwithstanding these things, I should be absolutely lacking in a sense of proportion if I were to suppose or lead you to suppose that things in South Africa are in an absolutely perfect condition. I have the assurance of the Minister of the Interior that it is the desire of the Union Government to adopt an attitude of utmost sympathy and consideration for the Indians in South Africa, and that assurance we are bound to take at its full value. But Governments, even in the Self-Governing Dominions, do not always possess the powers that they would like to possess, while they have a knack of disappearing in the melting pot—and we had recently an instance of that. Permanent officials are permanent and some of them are tactless and unsympathetic. Then again we have to reckon with another permanent element in the situation and that is the trading jealousy of a considerable proportion of the European population. For example, notwithstanding the fact that there is a general idea of give and take in South Africa to-day, there are still Europeans in South Africa who are openly advocating the denial of trading rights to Indians. I know that in the Transvaal not only are fresh trading rights denied but even the existing rights are being refused renewal. I can give you an example of inconsistencies in a Self-Governing Dominion. It is this: the municipalities have had delegated to them power by the Government to issue or refuse to issue trading licenses in regard

to the sale of food stuffs, and some municipalities have actually issued to certain Indian traders such licences for their stores in one street of a particular municipality on the ground that these traders were thought proper persons to possess that right and they have refused to the same traders the right to have similar licences for another store in the same municipality on the ground that they were undesirable persons. Inconsistency could go no further. Although I am a South African, at least by adoption, I cannot possibly defend it or explain it.

The South African influence has not been confined to South Africa. It has extended to the neighbouring Portuguese territory. Though there, I am glad to say, under the Republican regime, there has been a decided improvement, nevertheless the economic relations between the Portuguese Government of East Africa and the Union Government are so close and intimate that one never knows when the next turn of the screw is coming. That South African influence has extended still further northwards. If one goes to East Africa to-day, one goes to a country where the Indians are in an overwhelming majority—a country which owes its very existence as part of the Empire to-day to Indian enterprise and which would never have been admitted into the Empire but for the labours and development of Indians themselves, but where a certain number of European settlers have gone and have exercised their influence in a most reactionary manner upon the local administration. You will be astonished to learn that although the Indians there are in such an overwhelming majority, they have not a single representative in the local Legislative Council. I have here a cablegram from East Africa appointing me and Mr. Jiwanji of East Africa to represent them at this Congress which reads as follows:—‘We empower you to move a resolution *re*: elective representation of British Indians for the East African Legislative Council in proportion of their numbers, and economic interest.’ It is not possible to move and pass a resolution like this at this Congress which is so busily engaged with a large number of other matters; but the point that I want to draw your attention to is this, that the East African Indians, overwhelming in numbers and economic interests though they are, are absolutely prohibited from having any voice in the administration of the country. And what do we find? The moment martial law is proclaimed, the political organisation that they built up in order

to deal with the grievances was destroyed by a stroke of pen. Mr. L. W. Ritch, who was serving the Indians there, was deported without trial. (Cries of ‘Shame’). There are actually in the jails in East Africa to-day gentlemen who did not know really what the charges are, (cries of ‘Shame’) who are first of all sentenced to be shot and who by the intervention of a high judicial officer have now had their sentences commuted to imprisonment for life. And yet they did not know what the charge was. (Cries of ‘Shame’). And they have been convicted by a martial law tribunal. When I myself tried to land in Mombassa when I was coming to India, I found that although my fellow passengers including aliens were permitted to land, I alone was prohibited, and when I enquired why, I was told it was not in the public interest to give an answer. I think an answer must be demanded. . .

The influence of South Africa extends still further. It extends to the neighbouring protectorate of Zanzibar. Up to now Zanzibar has enjoyed a considerable freedom. Indians who are there almost to the complete exclusion of Europeans have had a relatively easy time. But they are simply dreading the day when they will be brought into political association with East Africa and brought under the South African yoke. You will thus understand what has been the effect of the domination of certain elements in South Africa not only upon the vast majority of the people in South Africa, but also upon the people in far distant territories.

And yet we have an agitation promoted in this country to-day by a gentleman who is travelling in this country on behalf of an organization known as the ‘Round Table’ (cries of ‘Shame’) and propagating the idea, the political idea, that India should be governed not only by Great Britain but also by the self-governing dominions because they are self-governing. (Cries of ‘Never, never.’) I myself come from one of these self-governing dominions. I have seen with my own eyes what this self-government means in South Africa. Have I not seen during the last 10 years what has been the position of our fellow-countrymen and my fellow-subjects under a self-governing dominion? Have I not seen what is the position of the native population? Have I not seen actually during this war a widespread rebellion, not by Indians but by Europeans in South Africa? When I have seen these things, then I must admit that although there is almost perfect self-government constituted in South Africa, South Africans as a

whole have not yet risen to the full height of self-government, and even supposing they had, that would not entitle them to any share in the government of this country. I must be lacking in a sense of duty if I refrain from referring to a matter that has come to my notice within the last few days since my arrival in Northern India. I mention it because I wish to dissociate myself from the sentiments therein contained very emphatically and publicly. This is a printed document marked ‘Private’, but I am not abusing confidence because I understand that this document is now being widely circulated. It is addressed by the same gentleman to the ‘Round Table’ groups all over the world, a document which I hold in my hand but which I do not propose to read. (Cries of ‘Read.’) No, no. I will read an extract presently. This is a document containing such statements which, as an Englishman, I am ashamed to read and from which I wish to dissociate myself publicly; for I feel the gentleman who has written this document has abused the law of hospitality, and with the connivance of highly-placed Government officials has made it plain that there is a deep laid conspiracy in this country, in which undoubtedly Government officials are taking part, to bring India under the control of the Self-Governing Dominions. I want to read this particular sentence which, I think, gives you some idea of the spirit of the whole letter:—

We must do our best to convince them (*i.e.*, the Indian Nationalists) of the mischief to their own cause wrought by the deliberate campaign which is on foot here to embitter feeling against the Dominions. The cultivation of hate here, as in Ireland, is the greatest of all the obstacles to freedom, an *ignis fatuus* which only leads men into an ever-deepening morass. But anything we say will be futile unless we have taken the trouble to study their position at first hand. I must make the leaders scattered over India feel that I have been at pains to learn their aspirations from their own lips and to try and understand them. We shall do positive harm if they have reason to say that we offer opinions on questions vitally affecting this vast community without even discussing with Indians what Indians have to say on the subject.

So here you see the pretence of consulting Indian public opinion and then writing their book that was pre-determined. I say that this is hypocrisy of the first order. Bear in mind that this is written by the gentleman who, in the main, was responsible for driving your fellow-countrymen in South Africa into revolt and into agony for a period of eight years. He was the principal official concerned in South Africa with that evil which is called anti-Asiatic legislation. If I were an Indian myself, I should decline to reside inde-

finitely in an imperial penumbra while my favoured brothers and sisters are basking in imperial sunshine. I have come from one of these dominions. I would certainly never do anything that would arouse any degree of hatred on the part of India against any of the dominions because I believe that such a feeling would be unjust and unwarranted, because there are permanent elements of sympathy in South Africa in favour of the aspirations and ideals of India and in favour of proper treatment being accorded to Indians in South Africa. I have during the last two years made a large number of friends there who before were enemies or at least public opponents in Indian questions. I am confident that they at least would have nothing to do with

this propaganda, with any propaganda of this nature, which they would regard as in the nature of a stab in the back. That would be the real answer of the South African democracy. Do not be under any delusion that the sentiments expressed in this document are shared by the real people of South Africa. The democracies of the dominions are not in favour of this. They have not expressed, as far as I know, any desire to participate in the Government of India, because they have their own troubles to deal with. I should like to say before I resume my seat that so long as I have any breath in my body, I at least personally will devote all my energies to combat this evil so far as I possibly can. (Loud cheers.)

UTTERANCES OF THE DAY.

Mr. Horniman on "The Press Act."

Mr. B. G. Horniman, Editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*, in supporting the resolution on the Press Act in the recent Congress, said:—

I only propose to put before you as a working journalist, and as the president of the Press Association of India, a few facts in regard to the reasons or alleged reasons for which this Act is retained on the statute-book and a few facts in regard to the way in which this Act is being administered.

We know that when this Act was brought before the Imperial Legislative Council, the reason for its enactment given to the Council, given to country, was the existence, chiefly in Bengal, of a vast revolutionary activity which the Government had confessed itself unable to cope with. Ladies and gentlemen, that was the reason for the enactment of this measure. I have followed the history of this Act since its very inception, and I am one of those who maintained at the time and I maintain it now, that that reason for the enactment of this measure did not even exist at the time it was enacted. (Hear, hear.) I tell you why. Because the phase of revolutionary activity with which it was enacted to deal—the existence of a certain class of newspapers which were supposed to be and were no doubt conducting seditious agitation by veiled means—that particular class of papers had already, I think I may fairly say, ceased to exist partly by the operation of ordinary

laws of human nature, by the operation of the economic factors of business by which you cannot attempt to keep up supply if there is no demand and partly because the ordinary law of the land had already extinguished the chief exponents of that particular phase of journalism in Bengal. I think the Bengal delegates here will bear me out when I say that papers like the *Bande Mataram* and others had already come to grief by the prosecution brought against them under the ordinary clauses of the Indian Penal Code. Therefore, I maintain that when this Act was passed, it was unnecessary for the purpose which was put forward as the justification of its enactment. And it was passed really for very different reasons—not to suppress real revolutionary activity in the press but in order to put into the hands of the executive a convenient weapon for repressing inconvenient criticism which they could not bring under the operation of the clauses of the Penal Code. Well then, ladies and gentlemen, if the justification that was put forward did not exist at the time, very much less does it exist now.

* * * * *

Two other points that I want to put before you now are these: The first one is that the safeguards that were promised—the promises that were solemnly made in the Imperial Council—have not been kept and the safeguards did not exist. We were most solemnly assured that there were such safeguards—appeal to the High

Court, etc.—as would effectually prevent any sort of arbitrary treatment of the press under the Act. We have the deliberate judgments of two High Courts of the country that those safeguards are really entirely illusory. One of the fears expressed by the non-official members of the Council at the time of the passing of the Act, was that it would put a fresh weapon of repression in the hands of the police, and that it must always be a matter of great care before you put any fresh weapon into their hands. In reply to that, Sir Herbert Risley on behalf of the Government of India promised us that the police would not come in at any step in the administration of the Act. Ladies and gentlemen, I say—I am prepared to justify it—I say from this platform, that the police come in at every step. (Cries of 'Shame.') The whole question of the respectability, if I may put it so, of the proprietors of a newspaper or the proprietors of a press rests in the hands of the Criminal Investigation Department. (Cries of 'Shame.') And it is unnecessary for me, speaking to an audience of this character, to elaborate what that means to the character of any man in this country. Those two solemn promises, I say emphatically and deliberately, have been broken by the administration. . .

The third point is the unfair manner in which this Act is being administered as between certain classes of journals. Anglo-Indian papers in this country, with one exception, are allowed to write as they like any sort of vilification of the people of this country. (Cries of 'Shame.') They are allowed to use any sort of language bringing the people of this country into hatred and contempt. (Cries of 'Shame.') But we know, and it is not necessary for me to enlarge upon, what happens to the Indian journals that indulge in any sort of criticism of the behaviour of either race inhabiting this country. I will just give you one instance out of hundreds I could give in order that you may realize the contrast between the treatment of these two classes of journals in India. Mrs. Besant (applause) in her paper *New India* is not allowed to agitate the case of the Indian people in regard to the question of reserved compartments for Europeans and Anglo-Indians. (Cries of 'Shame.') But an Anglo-Indian paper published in Bombay is allowed to publish an article without a word of remonstrance from the Government advocating the use of physical violence as an ordinary factor in the treatment of Indian labour. Ladies and gentlemen, that is a pretty bad example of the way in which the Act

is administered, and I can assure you it is not the worst case. I have only given it to you because it came to my mind at the time. * * * There again we have a great contrast in the treatment of one kind of publication and in the treatment of another, and if I may be allowed to just detain you for a minute longer, I will give you another instance of that. (Cries of 'Go on.') In Bombay about a year or two ago, a very talented Gujarati novelist published a novel, in which in the scheme of the novel there was the character of an Indian returned from Europe who attempted—I think I am giving the correct version—to introduce into his community all sorts of Western culture which they did not want. And in the course of the novel, various characters indulged in a good deal of criticism of Western ways of living and Western ways of thinking. That novel—I do not know whether that novel is suppressed on that account—was suppressed, and I think, we may fairly presume that it was suppressed not because the writer expressed his opinions but because certain characters in his book expressed the opinion that Western culture was not desirable in an Oriental land. (Cries of 'Shame.') To-day at the present moment there is appearing in a certain Anglo-Indian journal a serial story—a novel written by an Englishman, written by a member of the educational service of Bombay, the whole tone of which from beginning to end is, if not a vilification of the people of this country, of such a nature as to imbue the readers, ignorant readers, with hatred and contempt of the people of this country. (Cries of 'Shame.') Ladies and gentlemen, the one book is suppressed and the other one is enjoying a flourishing existence in the columns of the European journal in this country.

Apart from the general principle of the freedom of the press, these are the reasons by which we ask for the repeal of the Press Act—first of all because the reasons which were put forward at the time it was passed to justify it did not and do not exist; secondly, because the promises that were made in regard to the safeguards in the Act have been broken; and, thirdly, because it is being administered in an unfair and invidious way as between one class of journals and another, as between one race and another. Ladies and gentlemen, if I have said enough to justify us in asking the Government of India to repeal this iniquitous Act, if I have done that, I am satisfied.

Hon. Radha Kishan Das on "The Arms Act."

The following is a summary of the speech which the Hon'ble Pandit Radha Kishan Das delivered, in moving the resolution on the Arms Act, on the 28th December at the Lucknow Congress. His Honour Sir James Meston was present when this resolution was moved :—

The famous Proclamation of Queen Victoria of blessed memory, which is rightly regarded by us as the Magna Charta of Indian liberty and which has been ratified by her illustrious successors and by a long line of distinguished statesmen, lays down that equally with our English fellow-subjects we shall be free citizens of the Empire, irrespective of caste, creed or colour. * * * * *

But the Indian Legislature, in its inscrutable wisdom, thought it fit, in an unfortunate moment in the year 1878, to place on the Statute-Book a measure, which painfully impresses on us the fact that we are not free citizens of the British Empire.

And, then, there is a great anomaly. So long as you live in British India, you are subject to this serious disqualification. But if you live in a Native State in India, you are as free as any one in the rest of the world to keep arms. Does this state of things reflect any credit on British India? I think it is a serious discredit.

Under the Arms Act, no Indian may possess or carry Arms without special license, whereas, Europeans, Eurasians, Negroes, Hottentots or Fiji Islanders may bear arms unquestioned. So long as the Arms Act is in force, could you by any stretch of imagination think that we are treated as equal subjects of the Empire?

Ladies and gentlemen, the Arms Act is a gratuitous insult to the inhabitants of Hindustan, who are not prepared to yield to any other nation, aye, even to the great British Nation itself in their sincere loyalty and deep devotion to their Sovereign.

So far as I am aware, history does not present another example of the complete emasculation of an entire nation in the way in which the Arms Act has emasculated and is emasculating the descendants of the valiant heroes and soldiers of Hindustan.

It has crushed and is crushing our spirit. It has very nearly done its fatal work, and unless it is repealed, without any further delay, the situation would become simply hopeless.

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Mrs. Sarojini Naidu on "The Arms Act."

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, in supporting the resolution on "The Arms Act" in the recent Congress, said :—

It might seem a kind of paradox, that I, a woman, should be asked to raise her voice on behalf of the disinherited manhood of the country, but it is appropriate that I, who represent the sex that form the mothers of men, whom we wish to make men and not emasculated machines, should raise my voice on behalf of the future mothers of India to demand that the birthright of their sons should be given back to them, so that the India of to-morrow may be once more worthy of its yesterday. To disarm the children of the soil, the Mussalmans of India, of their legitimate and much valued birthright of wielding arms, to disinherit the martial Rajput and the Sikh of the right and privilege—that coveted privilege and that inalienable right of carrying arms, is to insult the very core of their valiant manhood; to prevent, to-day, millions of brave young men willing to carry arms in the cause of the Empire, is to cast a slur on the very ideas of Empire, and so in your name, unarmed citizens of India, I appeal to the representative of the great Emperor of this great Indian Empire to plead for our rights, to support us in our claims to grant to the children of to-morrow the right that their forefathers of yesterday possessed, and who but a woman shall raise her voice for you, who have not been able in all these years to speak for yourselves with any effect? I come from a city where every man is privileged to carry arms, the African, the Rohilla, the Sikh, and never has it been said in my city of Hyderabad that all these various armed elements have ever been disloyal to the Sovereign Power. Shall not the greater portion of India, British India, take a lesson from that one Native State that knows how to trust the loyalty of its subjects? In the hour of need have we not in our millions, we women of India, sent our sons and our brothers to shed their blood on the battlefield of Flanders and France, Gallipoli and Mesopotamia? And when the hour comes for thanks, shall we not say to them, for whom we fought, when the terror and tumult of hate shall cease and life is refashioned, and when there is peace and when you offer memorial thanks to the comrades that fought in dauntless ranks, and you honour the deeds of the deathless, "Remember the blood of my martyred sons and, remembering, arm India and restore to India her lost manhood?"

Hon. Paranjpye on the Patna University.

In moving the Resolution of Protest against the Patna University Bill, the Hon. Mr. Paranjpye observed in the course of his exhaustive speech :—

Ladies and gentlemen, the constitution of the present universities, we know, is unsatisfactory. . . . But when we are thinking of amending the constitution of the present universities to make them more liberal, what does the present Patna University Bill contemplate? This bill contemplates starting a university which is a university only in name. It would be a mere department of Government. The present universities, for instance, have the following constituted authorities : First of all at the head of a university is the Chancellor. Under him there is the Vice-Chancellor who is the president of the senate in the absence of the Chancellor and who is to a certain extent an ornamental head of the university. Then there is the senate which is the chief governing body of the university. The senate of the three large universities have 100 fellows, out of whom 80 are nominated by the Government, 10 are elected by registered graduates, and 10 by the faculties; so that the popular element in the senates really consists of the 10 elected by the registered graduates and to a certain extent of the 10 that are elected by the faculties. But even with that and in spite of the 80 nominations of the Government, our universities, as I have said, are susceptible to popular influence. Then, after the senate, they have got an executive body which is called the syndicate. The syndicate is really speaking a committee of the senate elected wholly by the senate except the Vice-Chancellor, who is its president and the director of public instruction, who under Lord Curzon's scheme has become an *ex officio* member of the syndicate. Before that there was no director of public instruction as *ex officio* member of the syndicate. The syndicate was wholly elected by the senate. The syndicate is then an executive body, and although it is a statutory body under the new Universities Act, it is practically responsible to the senate although, let me say in passing, it has been found to be the gradually extending tendency of the present syndicates that they are trying to usurp more and more power into their hands, and it is a tendency which popular members in the senates are always trying to combat. Well, what does the new University Bill do? The new University Bill tries to solve the old difficulty by giving the whole power to the syndicate. The senate is to be a mere debating club . . . the

new University. The clauses in the Bill distinctly say that the senate is to be a merely deliberative body and that its decisions are not to be binding on the syndicate. The senate, therefore, may possibly be an ornamental body, but it will be a body without a soul.

The Speaker then dealt with the various objectionable provisions of the Bill one after another, and continued :—

Ladies and gentlemen, the grievance is not a provincial grievance merely, although Bihar is first in front of this danger. The future of Bihar, of course, is bound up with a proper University, is bound up with the existence of proper facilities for higher education. The whole future depends on whether they are going to get a University responsive to public ideas and capable of continuous development. But over and above that there is the wider point of view, the point of view of the whole of India. Remember that the five universities and the sixth that is now being started will not do for the whole country for all time. Even a small country like England has got 15 or 16 universities, and Germany has got over 30, and little Italy has got 20 universities. India is not going to be satisfied with 5 or 6 universities for all time to come. For the proper provision of university education, several universities—I was going to say hundreds of universities—are required. Already we are hearing of schemes for new universities for Burma, for Dacca, for the Central Provinces, and our late Governor told us that we were likely to have universities at Poona, Ahmedabad and Karachi. The Madras people are talking of a university for the Andras, a new university at Trichinopoly, etc. There are many other schemes also. Remember that all these universities that are in contemplation are bound to become matters of practical politics sooner or later; and, therefore, if we allow a reactionary bill of this type to be once placed on the statute-book, the new universities will not contain any of the few liberal provisions that are at present existing in our older universities; all the new universities will be modelled upon the new Patna University. It is, therefore, a question not only for Bihar and Orissa. It is a very vital question for the whole of India, and it is very important that this Congress should declare its emphatic protest. Bihar has already done its duty. Bihar has recorded its emphatic protest in a special session of the Bihar Provincial Conference. The other provinces ought to follow suit

and ought to encourage Bihar in her protest, and do all they can to tell the Government that it is not a bill of this nature that we want. The Bihar people wanted a university, but it is as if a man wanting bread was offered a stone and asked to satisfy himself with it. It is not in this way that we want higher education to be encouraged. The Bombay Senate, as I have said, have already recorded their protest. The bill has been sent to other universities, and I hope they will do the same. But a large gathering of the whole country assembled like this ought, I say, to record its emphatic protest. My resolution says that the bill should be so amended as to make it a thoroughly liberal and progressive measure. I myself would rather have said that the bill should be withdrawn, and a new measure, a more liberal measure, introduced into the Council (applause). Remember that our education member is an Indian with thoroughly Indian sympathies, and if we only show our decisive disapproval of the provisions of this bill, I am in very great hope that our protest will be successful, and Bihar will be given a university more worthy of its name and more calculated to further its educational progress. (Loud applause).

Mr. G. S. Arundale on Education.

Mr. G. S. Arundale, in moving the Resolution on Education in the recent Congress, said:—

I think this Resolution is a step towards the final and complete control of India over the education of her children. Behind every one of the clauses of this resolution is one fundamental fact. On the question of Home Rule, you will see written up there: 'good government is no substitute for self-government.' I say with regard to education that good education is no substitute for national education. (Hear, hear.) And this undoubtedly means, so far as I think, that the training of the youth of India must be in the hands of the teachers of their own race. That is of essential importance in the development of reconstruction that is now taking place. Everywhere else but in India this is the cardinal principle. Why should it not be a cardinal principle in India too? And it is in furtherance of that that we are asking you to pass this most important resolution. India refuses any longer to be an educational dependency of Great Britain. (Hear, hear.) India refuses to be an educational dependency of a country which, as Lord Haldane has told us, lags behind many other countries in the matter of educational progress. (Hear, hear.) We want to be in the forefront as once in ancient

days we were, and as we shall be in the forefront of the world's education in the near future. (Hear, hear, and applause.) The spirit of our national traditions and the spirit of our national aspirations must everywhere permeate our schools and colleges, and we shall not be satisfied until such spirit is broadcast everywhere throughout the land.

What are the defects of the present system? In the first place, as Mrs. Besant told you yesterday, we have been refused free and compulsory education. Mr. Gokhale made every effort which was possible, but his efforts were in vain. We have, therefore, to say at the outset that if the absence of education stands in our way, it is not our fault. It is the fault of the rulers of the country. That is the primary defect in the educational system, as we have it at present. Then we have that obstructive measure, Lord Curzon's Universities Act of 1904. That and the new Patna University Bill, which we have already spoken about to-day, show that reaction is rather the order of the day than reform, and, therefore, it is all the more necessary that we should lift our voice for truly national education to be spread throughout the country. Then let us take up other defects. Look at the constitution of our Indian educational service. I would rather call it the European educational service. There are so few Indians in it. There ought to be a majority of Indians in that service, not a majority of Europeans as at the present time. Then, again, we all know how young Europeans appointed by an ignorant Secretary of State are sent out to this country to take precedence over those who are far abler and far more experienced than any European at any time could possibly be. We want to abolish it. We don't want men like Prof. Jadunath Sircar and Dr. J. C. Bose to take a second place to young Europeans without the slightest Indian educational experience. Then, take the European professor at the present time. In olden days, a European professor or a European teacher was far better than he is to-day, because it was not so easy to get to England as it is at the present time. Nowadays he can take furlough every year and go to England. In those days he could not go often; he had to be here, he had to identify himself with the interests of the people here, and the result was that he was a friend of the people far more than the present professors are the friends of the Indian people to-day. What we ask of all our teachers is that they should love India above all else.

Then, we all of us know that the curriculum is entirely overloaded, and the minds of students are being shamefully ill-used. The result is, that the mind has become the master of students instead of being their servant. Everywhere the mind takes the first place and everything else besides mind take the second place or no place whatever. For example, is patriotism taught in the schools as it ought to be? Patriotism among our young men is far too much synonymous with sedition. There are no seditionists among our young men at the present time. They are all patriots, and as patriots they should be treated, and as patriots they would be treated if only Indians had the control of Indian education. Where, for example, is the training of India's youth in the defence of the motherland? We have a resolution on that. What we require is that physical development and proper military training should be given precedence over everything else, even over intellectual instruction, for that comes second as it did in the Code of Manu, to whom our European masters might very well turn for instruction.

Finally,—my time is very short—let me try to suggest to you that you must look with impatience upon the way in which our young men are repressed at the present time. Every effort at self-expression is repressed in the most reckless manner. In Great Britain, the young men at the present time are urged to leave their colleges, are urged to go to the battlefield and to fight for the defence of their motherland. It is unnecessary here that the Indian youth should so be asked; they are still in the fortunate position of being able to go on with their studies. But they ought to be allowed to take an intelligent, suitable, active share in the growth of their motherland, to help her to gain that freedom which is her birthright. I would simply paraphrase the statement of Mr. Tilak, which he made when he was proposing a vote of thanks to me when I lectured on 'Home Rule' recently. He said, "We do not want arguments, Home Rule is our birthright, and we want it. That is all." I say, National education is our birthright, and we want it. (Loud applause.)

FEUDATORY INDIA.

Kashmir Educational Conference.

The Second Educational Conference of the Kashmir and Jammu State was held in the office of the Home Minister, at Jammu, on the 13th, 15th and 16th December. It was presided over by Rai Bahadur Major-General Dewan Bishan Das, C.I.E., Minister in charge of the State Education in Kashmir, who welcomed the delegates again to the Conference after a lapse of a year and quarter since the first Session was held. He referred briefly to the educational activities of the State since they met last, and said that of the thirty subjects on the agenda of last year's deliberations, some of the more important only had been given effect to in the year. He continued:

A number of them, I am glad to announce, have been brought into practice or action. Our second curriculum has been made simpler, the use of vernacular as the medium of instruction is being extended and an inter-school tournament has been started in Srinagar, and thanks to the exertions of my friend, the Rev. C. S. Tyndale-Biscoe, and the energetic assistant inspector for Mohammedan education, Sheikh Hamid Ullah, it has met with complete success. Steps for training lady teachers in our girls' schools by providing scholarships for widows and advanced girls have been taken.

The suggestion for limiting the strength to forty students, and the appointment of trained and better qualified teachers, have not been carried out as yet; and this was due, said the President, to the paucity of funds. He concluded with a reference to His Highness' deep interest in education.

After this, the various subjects noted in the agenda were then taken up, and resolutions were passed after considerable discussion. Various schemes for the improvement and extension of education were adopted. Some of them related to the necessity for extension of primary education, others for the diffusion of religious education. Technical and scientific education was proposed to be combined in the new system of primary education. Education up to a certain standard was to be imparted in the vernaculars. Special attention being paid to physiology and hygiene, geography and Indian history. Physical culture was duly considered. The question of female education was discussed at length. Various committees for different educational purposes were also appointed to advise and carry out the reforms adumbrated in the Conference.

The Conference dispersed with a vote of thanks to the chair.

Native States and British India.

The Hon. Mr. Ambika Charan Mazumdar, President of the recent Congress, in the course of his address made the following instructive comparison between the Native States and British India :—

India possesses an area of 1,800,000 square miles with a population of 316 millions, of which over 700,000 square miles, or more than one-third of this area, with a population of over 70 millions, or close upon one-fourth, belong to the independent Native States. Now these States are entirely managed by Indian administrators, and it has to be admitted that some of them are marching ahead of British India in certain directions, particularly in respect of education, judicial reforms and industrial development, which are the most sacred functions of a constitutional government. It must be borne in mind that not a few of these distinguished administrators, who have achieved such brilliant results in the administration of these States, are sometimes drawn from His Majesty's subjects in British India. They have shown that if commanded by their Sovereign, they were fit to hold any portfolio in the Government of India. If these distinguished administrators had their lot cast solely in British India, many of them would have in all probability ended their careers as deputy-magistrates, a few as district officers, and fewer still as officiating commissioners of divisions.

Indore Maharaja's Generosity.

It is announced, says the *Tribune*, that H. H. the Maharaja Holkar proposes to make a princely gift of rupees two lakhs out of his privy purse to be utilised in a way which his subjects consider will prove most beneficial to themselves. Last year he ordered the introduction of the scheme of compulsory and free primary vernacular education into the whole State, and in this year's Budget large sums of money have been allotted for the purpose and the services of an eminent and experienced educationist have been engaged. The old Veda Shala has been re-organised into a Sanskrit College to give impetus to the revival of the study of ancient Sanskrit literature. In almost all important towns, Municipal Government has been introduced. Improvement of city water supply has been effected at a huge cost. Legislation for the amelioration of the social conditions of his subjects has been passed, and restriction on intoxication by higher taxation of excisable commodities has also been recently resorted to, to add to the material and moral progress of the people. The present munificent gift crowns these all.

Hand-Loom Industry in Bhopal.

Among the various interesting exhibits at the Baroda Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition, the exhibits of the Ruffikia Weaving Institute of Bhopal, observes a contemporary, attract great attention. These articles were recently exhibited at the Mysore Dasara Industrial Exhibition and were awarded a gold medal. Her Highness the Begum takes great interest in the revival of hand-loom industry, and it was at her initiative that this Institute was started at Bhopal under the supervision of Mr. Brown. Mr. Brown has come to the Baroda Exhibition not only with his exhibits but also with handlooms and expert weavers, who are carrying on their works in the Exhibition grounds. Naturally, this practical demonstration proves greatly attractive, and the public attention is directed to one of the old handicrafts which threaten to be forgotten.

The Travancore Government and Ayurveda.

The Government to Travancore are now encouraging the scientific study of Ayurveda in His Highness' territory. There are several Government Ayurvedic schools and colleges in Travancore now, where up-to-date studies are being fast introduced. A passed student of such a college, Mr. K. G. Gopala Pillai, has been just sent to Bengal with stipend of Rs. 40 per month for a course of post-graduate studies under Mahamahopadhyaya Kaviraj Gananath Sen Saraswati, M.A., L.M.S., of Calcutta.

About two years ago, the Government of Mysore, too, sent three passed students of the Government Ayurvedic College, Mysore, with stipends of Rs. 25 per month to each of them, to take similar post-graduate courses under the learned Kaviraj, who can be well congratulated on his all-India fame and great researches in Ayurveda.

Representative Assembly in Kaparthala.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kaparthala has, following the example of certain other Indian States, inaugurated a Representative Assembly in his State. The event, it is stated, "has roused considerable local enthusiasm." The Assembly will consist of the representatives of the three principal religious denominations of the State. The powers at present seem to be very limited; and the Assembly will discuss only such subjects as are officially laid before it. His Highness proposes to extend the privileges of the Assembly, if the results of the first session should prove satisfactory.

INDUSTRIAL & COMMERCIAL SECTION

The Swadeshi Movement.

The Hon. Babu Ambika Charan Mazumdar said with reference to the Swadeshi Movement in his Congress Presidential Address :—

If the ill-fated Swadeshi Movement had been directed in its proper channel and not checked as an unhealthy growth, the question of the industrial development of India, which has now attracted the anxious attention of Government, might have admitted of a much easier solution. The war has disclosed that, in 1905, the Indian Nationalists declared hostilities not against Great Britain, but against Germany and Austria, and that if the authorities in India had taken a more dispassionate and far-sighted view of the situation, German and Austrian trade in India would have died ten years ago and without a naval blockade. The fault, however, did not lie wholly with the Government, but the people had also to bear a share of the responsibility. However that may be, the question of rebuilding Indian industries out of their ashes is not free from serious difficulties, and unless Government is prepared honestly and resolutely to come forward to make atonement for its past sins of commission and omission, it may never be solved. Much is said about the phenomenal progress of Japan, and Sir Thomas Holland has recently thrown a flood of light upon her industrial development. But what is the secret of her success? Amidst all the disquisitions and speculations, which have gathered round the question, there looms large one fact which can neither be overlooked nor disputed. Japan possesses a National Government, which India does not. In Japan, there is no clashing of interest between the people and the State, but in India, although the interests of the Government may not collide with those of the people, its industrial policy is to a large extent controlled by considerations independent of the interests of India. Gentlemen, I pause here for a moment to thank the Government of the United Provinces which is the only administration that has as yet taken any practical interest in the development of some of our industries.

If, however, for any reason the Government finds itself handicapped in the way of building up new industries on its own account, as in Japan, it can, at any rate, do much to help and encourage such industries. It can add a portfolio of industries to the member in charge of commerce and carry on an investigation through experts as to which industry is best suited to what part of the country, regard being had to the production of

raw materials and facilities of communication and labour. Then, as Indian capital starts any business on a sound and substantial basis, the Government may come forward to purchase a portion of its shares in order to secure both an effective control over it and an abiding interest in its success. And, above all, it may guarantee to such a concern a certain rate of profit or dividend for a period sufficient to enable it to stand on its own legs, while it may render no inconsiderable help by becoming its customer for its own purposes. It may also remove all unjustifiable excise duties and grant railway concessions. If the Government will do all this, it will discharge its function as a benevolent State and remove the shyness of Indian capital in an unequal competition with its formidable foreign rivals. If this cannot be done, the Government will be well advised not to waste its money over academic conferences and commissions to serve no other purpose than that of raising false hopes and aggravating public discontent.

Mr. Gandhi on Real Economics.

Speaking under the auspices of the Allahabad University, Mr. M. K. Gandhi said :—

Under the British ægis we have learnt much, but it is my firm belief that there is little to gain from Britain in intrinsic morality, that if we are not careful, we shall introduce all the vices that she has been a prey to owing to the disease of materialism. We can profit by that connection only if we keep our civilisation and our morals straight, i.e., if, instead of boasting of the glorious past, we express the ancient moral glory in our own lives and let our lives bear witness to our past. Then we shall benefit her and ourselves. If we copy her because she provides us with rulers, both they and we shall suffer degradation. We need not be afraid of ideals or of reducing them to practice even to the uttermost. Ours will only then be a truly spiritual nation when we shall show more truth than gold, greater fearlessness than pomp of power and wealth, greater charity than love of self. If we will but clean our houses, our palaces and temples of the attributes of wealth, and show in them the attributes of morality, we can offer battle to any combinations of hostile forces without having to carry the burden of a heavy militia. Let us seek first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness, and the irrevocable promise is that everything will be added unto us. These are real economics. May you and I treasure them and enforce them in our daily life.

Bengal's Home Industries.

Lady Carmichael presided recently over a large and influentially attended meeting held at Government House, Calcutta, for the purpose of establishing an Association for the promotion of home industries in Bengal, with a view to the further development of small cottage industries. Her Excellency, in the course of the opening address, said that it had always been a regret to her that there had been no way of getting cottage industries made known to the people and of helping the workers to dispose of their goods at a fair price. She had been very keen for some time that an opportunity should be given to the people in Bengal to see the smaller or cottage industries. Reasons for encouraging local productions had become very marked since the beginning of the war, for the war had shown how the country was being flooded with foreign goods to the detriment of goods that could be produced here. The war had stopped the influx of German and Austrian goods, and it was, therefore, all the more necessary to help the production of what could be made here before other countries came forward to secure that trade, and that was a further reason for taking some steps now.

The following resolution was unanimously adopted:—

"That this meeting resolves to form an Association for the promotion of home industries in Bengal, to be named the Bengal Home Industries Association, founded by Lady Carmichael, 1916."

A strong executive committee consisting of officials and non-officials was formed, and it was also resolved that a public meeting of the people of Bengal be held at an early date to further the object of the Association.

Indian-Made Sewing Machines.

Messrs. G. M. Bahri and Co., of Ludhiana, are to be congratulated on having chalked out a new line as manufacturers of sewing machines, says the *Tribune* of Lahore. The machines are, it is stated, turned out in the company's own factory at Ludhiana, which employs about 48 men at present. Mr. G. M. Bahri was formerly agent for a German firm of sewing machines for many years, and has now started his own factory. The parts of the machines are chiefly made locally, the exceptions being rubber material, etc., which cannot be had in the country. The average output, we are told, is at present only sixty per month, but there is without doubt a vast field for the enterprise.

The Industrial Conference.

The following is a list of papers received for submission to the 12th Session of the Indian Industrial Conference held at Lucknow in December last:—

- (1) The early history of co-operative credit, by Babu Sheo Charan Lal, Gwalior.
- (2) Paper manufacture, by Mr. Ahmed Hassan, Lucknow.
- (3) Paper industry, by Mr. H. D. Singh, Lucknow.
- (4) Rusa oil industry, by Mr. H. R. Pitti, Akola.
- (5) Glass manufacture, by Rai Sahab Lala Panna Lal, Ambala City.
- (6) Importance of modern inventions and discoveries, by Mr. N. M. San, Bombay.
- (7) Possibilities of perfume industry in India, by Mr. J. P. Srivastava, Cawnpore.
- (8) A few suggestions for improvement in sugar productions in United Provinces, by Babu Muktar Singh, Meerut.
- (9) The Swadeshi movement, by Mr. M. B. Sant, Secretary, Industrial Conference, Amraoti.
- (10) Plantain fibre industry, by Mr. J. M. Banerjee, Madhupur.
- (11) First three essentials of industrial development and need for a business education, by Mr. S. Gill, Auditor, Lucknow.
- (12) Value of research, by Dr. Harish Chandra, Ph.D., Dehra Dun.
- (13) Insurance drain on India, by Mr. W. T. Halai, Bombay.
- (14) Development of minor industries in India with special reference to wood-working industries, by Mr. H. E. Kinns.

Labour and Ceylon Planters.

At a mass meeting in Colombo of proprietors and companies, on the 15th December, presided over by Mr. T. N. Christie, it was resolved, (1) that this meeting is of opinion that the proposed legislation would not effect the desired remedy and earnestly urges Ceylon planters to reconsider the position on receipt of full account of views as expressed at this meeting; (2) that, in the opinion of this meeting, it is desirable that a small Commission from Ceylon should visit Malaya to ascertain facts and enquire into the merits of the labour laws and the position there; (3) that the Ceylon Association be asked to appoint a small committee, to include planters at home to work in co-operation with Ceylon.

The Uses of Bamboo.

With reference to the bamboo in India, a correspondent sends to the *Statesman* a note mentioning the following uses to which it is put in this country:—

We eat the tender shoot of the bamboo as it first appears through the ground, it makes a most excellent vegetable and greatly improves a prawn curry. Tell your servant to ask for *bans ka role* in the bazar after the early rains.

We make the walls of our houses with bamboo mat and cover the floor with bamboo matting and roof with bamboo shingles. We fence our gardens with bamboo fencing and carry our milk in bamboo choongas. Bamboos supply us with spear, shaft, and fishing rods. The leaves are an excellent fodder for horses and cattle, both green and dry. Masts of small craft are fashioned from bamboo, also oars and punkah poles. Bamboo pulp makes first class cardboard and writing paper. Bamboo is freely used for fuel, and made into charcoal for smithy work is much valued.

The list, adds the correspondent, is by no means exhaustive.

State Aid for Industries.

The Hon. Rai Sitanath Rai, in the course of his presidential address to the recent Industrial Conference, said:—

It is now recognised everywhere that the part which the State can play in the economic development of a country is very great. The old *laissez faire* doctrine gradually lost its hold on the minds of thinkers by about the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and Germany and Japan have recently given the quietus to it. In most of the civilised countries of the modern world, the State does everything in its power to promote national industry. The economic development of Japan has been systematically fostered by the State. Besides subsidising struggling industries, the Government some years ago set up model factories and pioneered many industries which have now become the source of immense wealth to the country. In Hungary, where the conditions are in many respects similar to those of India, the State has rendered immense help to industry. In addition to the maintenance of a protective tariff and the direct support given to indigenous industries by the guarantee that all requirements of the State and public authorities should be supplied by home industries, the Government has made various legislative provisions for the encouragement of industry. The main provisions of Act III

of 1907 relate to (1) exemptions from taxation and road dues; (2) reduced rates for railway transport and concessions in respect of customs and excise duties and of expropriation; (3) the delivery of industrial salt at a price below that normally charged; (4) the encouragement of the building of workmen's dwellings; (5) the development of industry by a guarantee that all public contracts should be placed with Hungarian firms; and (6) encouragement of industry by direct grants of money. As might be expected, these measures have resulted in a great expansion of production and trade.

Indian Industries.

Replying to a question in the House of Lords, Lord Islington said that the Imperial Institute aimed at being a clearing house for information with regard to raw material produced in the Empire. He emphasised specially that steps were being taken in India to develop raw material. A large representative committee had been appointed for India, charged to enquire into the promotion of inter-imperial trade. It had appointed a special sub-committee to investigate special trades. One of the main objects of the enquiry was to find imperial outlets for products which formerly went to Germany, especially the hides from which the best leather was produced. The committee had made great progress, and was preparing a scheme which, it was hoped, would result in hides being made into leather in this country more largely than before.

Lord Islington hoped that the Government of India would largely contribute, and the Dominions make larger contributions.

Indian Trade Commissioner in London.

The London correspondent of the *Times* of India strongly urges the speedy appointment of an Indian Trade Commissioner in London, and says:—"Sir William Clark, now head of the Intelligence Branch of the Board of Trade, who suggested the appointment of Mr. Gubbay three years ago, will surely be ready to give all possible assistance. It is understood that the Secretary of State will shortly assent to the proposals made by the Government of India for the creation of an establishment. It is especially needed in view of the re-adjustments which must follow the war, for which preparation should be made. Past failure proves not that the need does not exist, but that it has been met inadequately by the parsimonious arrangements of former years."

AGRICULTURAL SECTION

Canal Cultivation and Water-Logging.

One of the defects of irrigating lands with canal water, observes a Punjab journal, is the silting up of canals and in some cases water-logging. Various methods are suggested to prevent this, and most of them are naturally costly. In the Punjab, efforts have been made to limit the loss of water by lining the channels. During the year 1915-16, much could not be done in this direction owing to the lack of canal closures on account of the very dry season which required canal water being supplied continuously. Owing to the war and the consequent financial stringency, works of this kind, unless they were absolutely necessary, could not be undertaken even where channels could be closed for a time. In future years, however, canal-lining will, we hope, be carried on until we are in a position to judge of its effects. On the Lower Chenab Canal, measures were taken for the prevention of water-logging by the drainage of certain tracts near Hafizabad. Nearly 7,000 acres of rice lands that were swamps for many years, were, it is said, reclaimed by this process, and it is believed that this work is of a permanent character and will benefit the cultivators.

Shakespeare Gardens.

Shakespeare is above all parties or nationalities. Neutrals or enemies, all can co-operate in paying homage to the genius of so universal a man. It is, therefore, no wonder that the pretty idea of Shakespeare gardens has been taken up with enthusiasm in the United States—so much so that Dr. Edward B. Southwick, Chairman of the Shakespeare Tercentennial Garden Committee, has decided to keep his committee together as a permanent organisation. Shakespeare gardens now flourish in Bridgeport, Connecticut, Demarest, New Jersey, Far Rockaway, New York, Kingston, and last but not least Central Park, New York City, where the first and perhaps choicest of these gardens is to be found. Dr. Southwick anticipates that Shakespeare gardens will spring up all over the United States, and mentioned to an interviewer that there are already two in Bridgeport. One possible reason for the popularity of the idea in America is that it does not offend against neutrality, since Shakespeare is claimed equally by the English and by the Huns.

Sugar Cultivation in Assam.

The Chief Commissioner, of Assam, visited the Government experimental sugarcane farm at Khagrabari, near Nalbari, in the district of Kamrup, recently. It may be remembered, says a contemporary, that three years ago this experiment was initiated, it being considered that the soil in north Kamrup was suitable for the cultivation of sugarcane on a large scale which, if successful, would admit of a considerable enterprise being started in the province of Assam.

Anyone now going to the farm will see a magnificent expanse of 270 acres of sugarcane of the finest quality in full bearing. It has been said in connection with this farm by an expert that Assam is now the possessor of what every country growing sugarcane desires, but not another country possesses, that is to say, a Government experimental sugar industry station working on a commercial basis. The expert, in question, says that our great competitor Java has tried for years to attain this object, as also Mauritius, Cuba, Hawaii, Jamaica, South Africa, Brazil, etc., and that all have failed in what Assam has succeeded.

Improving Indian Cotton.

The future of American cotton, observes the *Pioneer*, is a question of such great importance that we should like to see very rigorous Government control extended to its cultivation. This would involve seed selection, an embargo on cultivation on unsuitable soils, penalties for admixture with inferior varieties and possibly restrictions on the raising of *desi* cotton, where the danger of hybridisation was serious. Such drastic measures, valuable though they would be to producers as a class are, however, impracticable at present. The most Government can do under existing conditions, and the least it should attempt, is to provide a staff strong enough to keep the situation well under control. The Punjab colonist now believes in the Agricultural Department and is willing to accept advice from quarters which a few years ago he regarded as useless. Financial considerations are, of course, the difficulty in the way of indefinite enlargement of staff, but it would not be unreasonable in view of the vast interest at stake to impose a small cotton cess on the area under American cotton from which the requisite establishment could be partly paid.

Literary.

THE ALL-INDIA ONE SCRIPT CONFERENCE.

The All-India One Script and One Language Conference was held in Lucknow on the 29th December, with Mr. M. K. Gandhi in the chair. Mrs. Besant and the Hon. Mr. Madan Mohan Malaviya took prominent part in the proceedings. All the speeches were in Hindi except those delivered by Mrs. Besant and two Madras speakers who also took part in the deliberations of the day.

The proceedings were opened by B. Shyam Sunder Das, President, Nagri Pracharni Sabha of Benares, who in a brief but eloquent speech explained the objects of the Conference, *viz.* to spread the use of Devanagiri Script and Hindi Language for national purposes, and proposed Mr. Gandhi to the chair. The proposal was seconded by Mr. Purushottam Das Tandan, M.A., LL.B., of Allahabad, chief secretary of the All-India Hindi Sahitya Sammelan. Mr. Gandhi then took the chair.

The Resolution, of which a translation is given below, was moved by Mahatma Munshi Ramji, Governor, Gurkula Kangri:

In the opinion of this Conference, it is essential for the promotion of unity and the dissemination of national ideas in the country that a common national script and language should be adopted for use in connection with objects in which the whole country is interested and that the Nagri script and the Hindi language are the most suited for the purpose. This Conference urges the leaders in the different provinces of the country to help in the spread of the use of the Nagri script and the Hindi language in connection with such objects, and with a view to equipping the present and future generations for national work to introduce the teaching of Hindi through Nagri in schools in their provinces.

Mr. Gandhi and all the other speakers referred feelingly to the need of a common language and script, and the large audience of 10,000 people who attended, accepted the Resolution with acclamation.

THE LATE PROFESSOR RANGA CHARIAR.

We deeply regret to record the death of Rao Bahadur Ranga Chariar, M.A., retired Professor of Sanskrit and Philology in the Madras Presidency College and Registrar of Books. In him Madras has lost a scholar of considerable distinction. An account of his life and career and his services to the cause of Oriental research work has already appeared in these columns. We offer our heartfelt condolences to the bereaved family.

BENGAL LITERARY CONFERENCE.

The Tenth Bengal Literary Conference met at Bankipore, on the 24th December, under the presidency of Hon. Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee. There were three thousand delegates and visitors, among whom were about three hundred ladies.

Sir Ashutosh discoursed on "Bengali as National Literature." He believed that the Literary Conference had done much service to the cause of the mother-tongue during the last ten years. The regeneration of the country depended on the culture and improvement of the language, and he invited his countrymen, especially scientists, to write their original papers in Bengali, so that readers of other nations would be obliged to learn that language in order to read the original papers of savants. This would raise the status of the Bengali language in the estimate of the world in the same way that Russian and Greek had been raised. The President urged literary men to sink their differences and join hand for the regeneration of the language.

A Committee consisting of Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee, Principal R. S. Tivedi, Babu H. N. Dutt, Dr. Abdul Gaffur Siddique and Mr. C. R. Das was then formed to draw up articles and the memorandum of Association.

The second day's proceedings began under the presidency of Mr. C. R. Das, with a prayer for the success of the British arms in the war. Mr. C. R. Das, as president of the literature section, read his address dealing mainly with Vaishnav literature. Babu Bejoy Chandra Majumdar, of Sambalpur, president of the history section, dealt with the study of history with special reference to anthropology. Ray Yatindra Nath Chowdhury, of Baranagore, delivered his address as president of the philosophy section. In the afternoon the Conference assembled in its four sections. There were twelve papers read or taken as read. Sectional meetings were held on the third and last day of the session. It was also proposed to publish the presidential address throughout the country among the Bengali-speaking people, and Prof. Jadunath Sarker undertook to translate the same into English.

AN INDIAN CHRISTIAN ORGAN FOR INDIA.

There is a movement on foot to start a daily newspaper which is to be the organ of the Indian Christian community throughout India. The organ is to be carried on by a business co-operation of all Christians. A co-operative scheme of two thousand shares of Rs. 50 each has been formed.

Educational.

THE EDUCATION OF THE VAISHYAS.

The proceedings of the Vaishya Conference opened on 23rd December, in Delhi, in a beautiful pandal erected in the Queen's garden. It was presided over by the Hon. Babu Moti Chand, C.I.E., of Benares. Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Har Narain Shastri invoked Divine blessings on the Conference, and in the course of his remarks said that the second visit of the Vaishya Conference to Delhi, after a lapse of 18 years, was peculiarly appropriate and would prove auspicious. Rai Bahadur Lala Kanhaiva Lal, Superintending Engineer, offered a hearty welcome to the members and the delegates in a brief speech in the unavoidable absence of the Chairman. The President's speech was delivered in Hindi.

In the course of his address, the President emphasised the importance of education, both male and female, and showed that the backward condition of the Vaishyas was due to illiteracy. He also touched on the need for a serious and well-directed reform in the marriageable age of boys and girls together with an observance of the wholesome rule of Brahmacharya. He quoted facts and figures to show the great need for a well organized system of industrial education. Both he and the Chairman of the Reception Committee were unanimous in their belief that the cause of England and her Allies was bound to win in the end, and that it was our duty to help in the attainment of that purpose in every way, even by enlisting in the army.

Letters and telegrams of sympathy from various gentlemen from all parts of India were read, and the Updeshak and the Joint Secretary of the Maha Sabha presented their reports.

On the second day, various resolutions were passed dwelling on the necessity of curtailing unnecessary expenses on ceremonial occasions and of avoiding some pernicious customs that had crept into the social fabric of the community.

Lala Harihar Narain, of Motihari (Behar), and Lala Chandra Lal, of Naini Tal, proposed and seconded a resolution on the spread of Sanskrit and Devanagari. A clause was further adopted recording the opinion of the Conference, that it was desirable to have compulsory primary education.

THE STUDENTS' CONVENTION.

The first Session of the Madras Students' Convention commenced its sittings in the Gokhale Hall, Y. M. I. A. Buildings, Madras, on Wednesday the 27th December when a large concourse of student delegates and visitors from several Mofussal stations were present. Being the first of its kind in the Presidency, it evoked considerable enthusiasm among the student population. A few of the professors of the local colleges were also on the dais, when Mr. P. A. Subrahmanya Iyer, Head Master of the Hindu High School, read an address of welcome as Chairman of the Reception Committee. The address pointed out the necessity for such an organisation and emphasised the value of co-operation among the widely scattered units of the Madras University. Dr. Sir S. Subrahmanya Iyer, the President, in a stirring speech counselled his young hearers to use the Convention "worthily and well."

Use it, then, this Convention in a noble way, he said, and you may be able successfully to end the ugly feature of school and college strikes that we meet with in these days. You may be able also to find in it an excellent medium for rendering such service to our Motherland as you are capable of, and thus have a channel for your pent-up energy most valuable for our common regeneration. You may also through it check, if only ever so little, the spirit of unhealthy competition between school, and school, college and college. . . . Love your own college by all means, but let not your love be measured by your hatred of other colleges. Serve your own college by all means, but do not try to throw dust on the work of your brother's college. And thus united in this Convention, bound by the ties of love and comradeship, cemented by a lofty patriotism for our glorious Motherland, you may be able—I sincerely pray for it—to introduce into twentieth-century India, full of foreign influences, those ancient ideals which made India what it was—the happy land of a happy people, land of the Gods who loved her dearly and who love and serve her marvellously even to-day.

THE MAHRATTA EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE.

The Tenth Mahratta Provincial Educational Conference met at the Old Palace, Satara, on the afternoon of the 26th December, Shrimant Sadashive Rao, brother of the Maharajah of Devas (junior) presiding. There was a large gathering of delegates from the various Mahratta States of Bombay, the Deccan and Central India. The President exhorted his fellow-castemen to avail themselves of the facilities within their reach to educate their backward brethren and to try to ameliorate their present depressed condition by doing away with many evil customs, such as the dowry and the Gosha systems, and drink.

Legal.

THE BENGAL MUKHTEARS' CONFERENCE.

Babu Purna Chandra Chatterji, of Berhampore, Bengal, presided over the fifth Session of the All-Bengal Mukhtears' Conference, which met at Midnapore on the 26th December. The meeting was attended by delegates representing almost all the districts of Bengal. In the course of his speech, the President said:—

A mukhtear is not the creature of the whims of the modern legislature; he is associated with the legal history of the country from the days of the Moghul Emperors of India. I cannot but admit that mukhtears are classed, as the matter stands at present, not with the recognised legal practitioners but with the ordinary laymen who can defend a case simply on the sufferance of the Court. Clause R. of Section 4 of the Criminal Penal Code is really objectionable, as it implies a negation of our professional status even in the face of distinct recognition by the Hon. High Courts of all provinces. My first question is, why should we be placed in the category of "other persons" mentioned in the Code? Do we come to this profession as undefined other persons? Are we not duly qualified? Do we not pass the strictest examination in law? Is not the profession of a mukhtear as honourable as that of the pleaders and vakils? The permissive status of a mukhtear, as defined in the Statute-Book, is, I think, not only an anomaly, but a contradiction in terms—a queer self-contradiction. The legislature requires that a mukhtear must have the permission of the Court to plead for his client. I respectfully make submission that mukhtears should have the privileges of pleaders in conducting cases on behalf of the parties in all Criminal Courts. Also the property of Section 10 of the Legal Practitioners Act must be so amended as to authorize the Revenue agents passed and certificated after the year 1880 to be enrolled in a Munsiff's Court. Under the old Civil Procedure Code, they actually enjoyed the privilege of appearing in the Civil Courts. I find no reason why these powers have been cut down.

The following telegraphic appeal was then sent to the President of the Indian National Congress at Lucknow:—

The mukhtears assembled at a Conference, at Midnapore, request the favour of National Congress to take up the mukhtears' cause in removing the permissive nature of Section 4, Clause R. Criminal Procedure Code, enabling poor litigants of the country to engage independent lawyers at a moderate cost.

The Subjects Committee then discussed various matters appertaining to the well-being of the community, and at the two succeeding days' Conferences, Resolutions embodying matters of interest to the mukhtears were also passed.

THE DEFENCE OF INDIA ACT.

The Lucknow Congress passed the following Resolution protesting against the application of the Defence of India Act:—

That this Congress views with alarm the extensive use made of the Defence of India Act and Bengal Regulation 3 of 1818, and urges that in the application of the Defence of India Act which is an emergency measure, the same principle should be followed as under the Defence of the Realm Act of the United Kingdom and the same procedure adopted in dealing with persons sought to be proceeded against under the Act; that after arrest a statement in writing of the charges on which the arrest is made or an order of internment is intended to be passed should be handed to the person arrested; that a statement by way of explanation should be taken from an arrested person in writing if he so desires but that statements in the nature of a confession should not be taken except under the safeguards provided in the case of accused persons under the Code of the Criminal Procedure; that as soon as possible and before an order for internment is made after arrest, all papers and statements in connection with the case should be laid before a committee consisting of a lawyer judge of the High Court, a non-official practising lawyer and a judge belonging to the Indian Civil Service for consideration and that proper facilities for legal assistance be afforded to persons arrested under the Defence of India Act; that in the case of proceedings under the Bengal Regulations 3 of 1818, and similar regulations in other provinces, the same procedure may be followed so far as practicable.

That this Congress strongly protests against the unjust orders passed by the Government of Bombay and the Central Provinces and Berar, prohibiting Mrs. Besant from entering the said provinces, and earnestly urges the Government of India to allay public feeling by advising the Governments concerned to cancel the orders in question.

In moving the above, Mr. I. B. Sen pointed out that the Congress was in complete agreement with the avowed objects of the Act which was intended for the prevention of political crimes.

But the difference was about the method by which the Government was trying to achieve the object. Was it needed, he asked, to apply against a gifted lady like Mrs. Besant? She visited Bengal and was now at Lucknow. Had the Governments of Bengal and the United Provinces lost anything by allowing her to come to Calcutta and Lucknow?

In the Conference of All-India Moslem League also a similar Resolution was passed. The Resolution viewed with dismay the present administration of the Defence of India Act and recommended the appointment of an Advisory Committee in every province to consider the case of every person intended to be dealt with under the Act. The Hon. Moulvi Abdul Kasim, who moved the proposition, was very ably supported by Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal.

Personal.

THE MORALS OF THE INDENTURED LABOURERS.

Writing in a recent issue of *East and West*, a writer makes the following observations on the morality of the labouring population in the colonies and on the necessary improvement that should be effected.

"The most potent causes of the high rate of suicides among Indian labourers in the colonies are the hardships to which the labourers are exposed, their ill-treatment by employers and quarrels about women. . . . In the opinion of Messrs. McNeill and Chinnam Lal, 'there is no doubt that the mortality of an estate population compares very unfavourably with that of an Indian village, and that the trouble originates in the class of women who emigrate.'"

As H. E. the Viceroy said, a proper sex ratio ought to be maintained among the emigrants. The existing rule requires that for every 100 men 40 women of over ten years of age must be shipped; and Messrs. McNeill and Chinnam Lal recommend that this ratio should be raised to 50. It is admitted, however, that a mere modification of the sex ratio will not improve the morals of the emigrants. It may ensure more concubines and perhaps fewer suicides. Indeed, even if a ratio of 100 per cent, or an equal number of men and women, be insisted on, the morality of the population may not come up to the standard prevailing in India, if the women who go out from here are not respectable and do not care to live as wives, though some of the evils that now exist may disappear. Many of the young emigrants may prefer to return home after saving a modest amount of money and to marry in India, instead of living with undesirable concubines, or even wives, in the colonies. How to secure the emigration of respectable women only is a difficult problem to solve. It seems that the system of restricting the industrial service of women to three years out of the five years of indentured residence was intended for this purpose, but it was not fulfilled expectations. Moreover, when the system of indentures is itself abolished, the device intended under it to induce respectable women to emigrate will disappear. Messrs. McNeill and Chinnam Lal recommend, in the first place, that no minimum limit of age should be fixed for the emigrating women. If small girls are included in the percentage, efforts will not be made to recruit grown up single women of the undesirable sort. It is probable that the girls will find husbands and thus the percentage of married couples will rise. Secondly, there is no reason why known prostitutes should be allowed to migrate at all. It is scarcely probable that they will turn over a new leaf in the colonies. Thirdly, some special inducements may be offered to married women who emigrate, or a certain percentage of such women may be insisted upon. Lastly, Messrs. McNeill and Chinnam Lal recommend that married quarters should be fenced off and be out of bounds for single men on the estates.

MR. S. RAMANUJAM OF MADRAS.

In another section will be found an interesting appreciation of Mr. Ramanujam's mathematical genius by H. E. Lord Pentland in a recent meeting of the Madras Mathematical Conference.

The following are extracts from the report of Mr. G. H. Hardy, M.A., F.R.S., of Cambridge, to the University of Madras:—

I shall confine myself in this report to the work which Mr. Ramanujam has done since his arrival in England in April 1913, and to work which has been published, or is completed and on the point of publication. I need hardly say that he has in his possession, as he had before he came to England, a mass of unpublished material containing hundreds of most curious and interesting formulas, some definitely proved and others only conjectured. Many of the most remarkable of these results will no doubt be published in due course, as the process of sifting them continues.

It is already safe to say that Mr. Ramanujam has justified abundantly all the hopes that were based upon his work in India, and has shown that he possesses powers as remarkable in their way as those of any living mathematician. His work is only the more valuable, because his abilities and methods are of so unusual a kind, and so unlike those of a European mathematician trained in the orthodox school.

This paper embodies the results of a great delay of Mr. Ramanujam's Indian work. This work was done when he had very little knowledge of the progress made in Europe during the latter half of the nineteenth century, and it was inevitable that many of his results should have been anticipated by European mathematicians, in particular by Hermite, Kronecker, Weber, and Greenhill. None the less, the paper is of the greatest interest and contains a large number of new results.

Mr. Ramanujam's elaborate memoir on 'Highly composite numbers' contains an account of the longest and perhaps the most important connected piece of work which he had done since his arrival in England.

Mr. Ramanujam shows how, by reasoning of an elementary but highly ingenious character, we can obtain surprisingly accurate information as to the structure of highly composite numbers.

Mr. Ramanujam has, since this paper was published, obtained a number of further results of the same kind. The problem is a very peculiar one, standing somewhat apart from the main channels of mathematical research. But there can be no question as to the extraordinary insight and ingenuity which he has shown in treating it, nor any doubt that his memoir is one of the most remarkable published in England for many years.

My account of Mr. Ramanujam's work has been necessarily fragmentary and incomplete. I have said enough, I hope, to give some idea of its astonishing individuality and power. India has produced many talented mathematicians in recent years, a number of whom have come to Cambridge and attained high academic distinction. They will be the first to recognize that Mr. Ramanujam's work is of a different category. In him, India now possesses a pure mathematician of the first order, whose achievements suggest the brightest hopes for its scientific future.

Political.

THE HOME RULE LEAGUE CONFERENCE.

The first Conference of the Home Rule Leagues was held, on the 30th December, at the Theosophical Convention Pandal, Lucknow. Mrs. Besant, Founder and President of the Madras League, presiding. Among the visitors there were Messrs. Tilak, Khaparde, Belvi, and Karandikar of the Bombay League. The attendance was as large as ever a gathering of young men and old had ever met together before in any important public cause. Mrs. Besant opened the proceedings with a brief statement regarding Home Rule and what it stood for. She made a special reference to the resolution that was adopted the previous day by the Congress on Self-Government for India and the scheme it embraced. Mrs. Besant brought out very clearly and succinctly the four important points which that resolution embodied, namely, elective majorities in the Provincial and Imperial Legislative Councils, the control of the Councils over the purse, elected Presidents, and the widening of the electorates. She spoke of the Hindu-Moslem unity that was established at this the Lucknow Session of the Congress and observed that unity was the beginning of liberty.

She then requested Mr. Tilak to speak a few words. Mr. Tilak, who was given a very hearty ovation, spoke at some length about one aspect of Indian politics, namely, the Hindu-Moslem problem which has now been solved. The concession which had been made to our Mahomedan brethren in regard to the proportion of Hindus and Mahomedans in the Legislative Council, he said, was nothing too much. In proportion to the concession that had been made to the Moslems, their enthusiasm and warm-hearted support would be greater. He, like Mrs. Besant, before him, urged the audience to active effort to give effect to the resolution which had been adopted by the Congress.

Mr. C. J. Jinarajadasa gave an account of the work of the English branch of the Home Rule for India League, which was established within a week of his arrival in London about June 7, 1916. The branch consisted of many Englishmen and women and was taking a keen interest in the work of the League. As part of a propaganda work, they had so far issued six pamphlets regarding India's case for Home Rule. The first of them was circulated widely among the Press in England, and the *London Times* had done them

the greatest honor by attacking the League in its columns and giving the widest publicity to India's case. During his stay in England, he had done a lot of lecturing work, visiting important cities in England, Scotland and Wales.

Mr. G. S. Arundale, the Organizing Secretary (Madras League), spoke about the work that had been already done. Since the founding of the League in Madras, on September 2, 1916, the number of members had risen to over 5,000, of whom 1,000 were to be found in the City of Madras alone. There were 300 students as Associates in that city, and he hoped that in other cities also students would join the League in large numbers. The Publication Department had already issued over a lakh and a half of publications. The Home Rule shop in Madras had not only paid its way but left a small margin of profit. There were branches in various centres of India which were doing good work. The Bombay branch contemplated the starting of a Home Rule Reading Room and Library, and the Karachi branch had, in addition, a Home Rule shop. He hoped that by the time we would meet in December next, we would have a hundred thousand Home Rulers. He spoke of the cordial relations that existed between the League and the Poona League, of which Mr. Tilak seemed to be the life and soul, and said that as a guarantee of friendly co-operation, they had a branch of their League in Poona.

Mr. C. P. Ramasamy Iyer, General Secretary (Madras League), said that he looked to the Home Rule League and its branches acting as conciliation boards, which would smooth over the difficulties and differences which might exist between any communities and bring about among them cordial and brotherly relations. However much they might wrangle among themselves at home, it was not desirable that they should bring it into the street.

Mrs. Besant, in winding up the meeting, made some observations and urged those who were willing to join the League, but had not done so, to become members.—*Young India*.

RE: DISALLOWED RESOLUTIONS.

A question from the Hon. Mr. Patel in the Bombay Legislative Council elicited the reply that H. E. the President regarded the publication, by a member of the Legislative Council, of any question or resolution not admitted by him, as a breach of etiquette.

General.

THE GOANSESE CONGRESS.

The Second Goanese Congress was held on the 26th December at Bombay, and was attended by delegates from various Muffasal towns of the Bombay Presidency. Dr. B. Pais, Chairman of the Reception Committee, gave an account of the history of the Goan Union since its inception, welcomed the delegates on its behalf and concluded with a motion that Dr. Dias should be elected President. Dr. Dias delivered an interesting speech, in the course of which he emphasised the value of domestic economy and urged the members of his community to realise the value of unity and co-operation in commercial life. The subjects that engaged the special attention of the Congress were those relating to the social, moral and intellectual advancement of the community.

THE LOHANA CONFERENCE.

At the fourth Lohana Conference held at Bhavnagar, on the 27th December, the following Resolutions were passed:—

That this Conference humbly and respectfully gives sincere expression to its unfailing and unswerving loyalty and its deep attachment to the person and the throne of His Majesty the King-Emperor, under whose benevolent rule disorder and anarchy have been replaced by abiding peace and prosperity and under which we have made brilliant progress, social, industrial, commercial, political and educational; that the Conference offers its hearty prayer to the Almighty for the complete fulfilment of the lofty principles of morality and freedom which have prompted the British Empire to join hands with the Allies in the present titanic world-war, and for the prompt and brilliant success to the British and Allied arms, and it further resolves that their community, which has shared along with others the burdens imposed by the war, is ever ready to offer such further sacrifices as the exigencies of the war may necessitate in the future.

THE UTKAL CONFERENCE.

The twelfth session of the Utkal Conference was held at Balasore, on December 29th and 30th 1916, under the presidency of Raja Srinivas Rajmoni Raj Deo of Mudasa. Resolutions praying for the revival of salt manufacture on the sea coasts of Orissa, the establishment of an engineering college at Cuttack, the amalgamation of the Ooriya speaking people, an Ooriya member on the Imperial Council, the amendment of the Patna University Bill and the advancement of Ayurvedic instruction in Orissa, were adopted.

THE JAIN CONFERENCE.

The Jain Conference opened at Lucknow, on December 27, at the Ajitashram. All local Jains, 150 mofussil delegates and many non-Jains attended. The presidential address by Babu Manick Chand, of Khandwa, discussed several important questions affecting the Jain community. At a general meeting on the 29th, a number of resolutions were passed. Baba Ugar Sen, Vakil, Hissar, offered Rs. 10,000 for education, and Mr. Latthe, of Belgaum, hisopie. A committee was formed to carry out the scheme. On the 25th, the Jivodaya department of the All-India Jain Association and the Bombay Humanitarian fund held a joint meeting. Mr. Henderson, Editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*, presiding. Mr. M. K. Gandhi, Messrs. Vibhakar, Nemavati and Dayachandra Jaini delivered lectures on *Ahimsa*, Humanitarianism and Vedantism respectively.

ALL-INDIA ARYA KUMAR CONFERENCE.

The All-India Arya Kumar Conference commenced its sittings at Lucknow, on the 26th December, Professor B. B. Chatterjee presiding. There was a large gathering of delegates and visitors from about fifty different cities in the Province.

Resolutions expressing high admiration of the heroism of Indian soldiers, exhorting young men to help the British Government to take up social service work, to study the Vedic Dharma, to maintain social purity, to open *dal akharas* and gymnasiums, to develop the commercial and industrial interests of the country, and to work on co-operative lines, etc., were unanimously passed.

THE PARSI CONFERENCE.

The Sixth Annual Zoroastrian Conference opened in Bombay, on the 16th December, for discussing and focusing attention on important questions relating to the advancement of the Parsi community. The Hon. Mr. Pheroze C. Sethna, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, in welcoming the delegates outlined the aims and objects of the Conference. Dr. Sir Temulji Nariman, the President of the Conference, then delivered an interesting speech dealing with various questions of vital interest to the stability and progress of the Zoroastrians. He animatedly discussed social and educational problems and pointed out that their greatest need at the present moment was to preserve the vitality of the community and guard against physical deterioration. He spoke at some length on the sanitation and housing problem, deprecated overcrowding and pleaded for a more scientific system of education for Parsi children.

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POST-WAR REFORMS: A SYMPOSIUM.

[We are publishing in this issue the third instalment of the Symposium on Post-War Reforms commenced in the December number of *The Indian Review*.—Ed. I.R.]

Dr. Sir S. Subrahmania Iyer, K.C.I.E.

In my humble judgment, the constitutional changes urgently called for in the interests of India cannot, in any right sense, be spoken of as Post-War problems. Those changes have, as I have said more than once prior to this, been long due. If they and the war, now being waged in Europe, have any connection with each other, it is that the war has shown, beyond the possibility of a doubt, that the reasons for the non-concession of the required changes, tacitly maintained, have absolutely no foundation. The staunch loyalty of the people and princes of India to the Empire at this crisis and the noble services rendered by the Indian army must show, if anything can show it, that India has thrown her lot with that of the Empire indissolubly.

It follows that the withholding of those constitutional changes, which will give to India her rightful place in the Empire, would be, not because of any *bonâ fide* belief on the part of our Rulers that the grant thereof is inexpedient and disadvantageous to the Empire, but through palpable unwillingness to act justly in the matter. I have long held that to expect that changes in question would come into existence as the result of a mere sense of duty in the minds of the Rulers is futile. Is it possible to conceive of a more telling piece of evidence of the spirit which pervades those who hold in their hands our destinies than the astonishing Report of the Public Services Commission, just published, containing recommendations that are sure to shock every unbiased mind in the country—recommendations so open to objection in many ways and specially, for example, as if given effect to likely to entail heavy additional cost by way of increased emoluments to the members of the favoured services, while it has long been the cry of the people that

the burden under this head is already too heavy to be borne by a country on the throes of poverty.

It is scarcely necessary to say that immense vested interests of different kinds operate against any spontaneous action on the part of our Rulers in the direction of freeing India from the state of dependence it is now under. Such liberation can only take place as the result of unavoidable pressure brought to bear by us on them. And until the name of Home Rule becomes a household word even in every village from one end of it to the other and unless the demand for such rule becomes so irresistible as to make even the bureaucracy to admit it to be that of the people of all India, there is really no hope for her salvation.

Consequently the duty, which every Indian owes to the Motherland at present, is to strengthen by everything he can do the work of the Home Rule League, which is the one agency that will effectively contribute towards the attainment of our end. For my own part I would not waste time in the unprofitable task of drawing up schemes as to the machinery that should be at work after the grant of Home Rule, when the very question of the grant of such Rule is still in the boiling pot. The declaration that we are to have that indispensable change, and when it will be granted, should precede the preparation of detailed schemes. I would, therefore, concentrate all our energy on educating the country at large as to the necessity for Home Rule—the one root of all future good. The task, no doubt, is a gigantic one, but the rapidity with which the propaganda is spreading shows that the forces are at work which can no longer be kept back or suppressed by mere repression. The desire for self-domestic government has been roused by a spark as has been felicitously and truly said, from the fire lit by the celestials, and that fire is not to be extinguished by weakly human hands and selfish efforts.

Shaikh Mushir Hosain Kidwai, Bar.-at-Law.

There can hardly be any man in the British Empire with any sense of justice and fairplay, who would deny the need of changing the angle of vision in respect of the relations of India with Great Britain and its Dominions and Colonies.

But it is very disappointing to see that absolutely nothing has been done during the last two years and more by the Government to give any practical sign as to the degree of the change of the angle. Of course, ministers responsible as well as irresponsible ministers, whose words and promises have been found to have no meaning, have talked a good deal in public speeches and perhaps also in private conversations of the services rendered by India in this most critical affair of Great Britain, but as far as any practical action is concerned, whatever has been done is extremely disappointing.

It is true that the British Democracy here seem to have, for the time being anyway, carried home to their minds the services rendered by India—they seem to be grateful. But those who know how public opinion is manipulated in this country, and how powerful cliques with selfishness and vested interests are at work to prejudice again the minds of the masses, can have no confidence that the present-day gratefulness will prove lasting. It cannot be gauged how the present goodwill of the British masses will have an effective influence in framing the future policy of the bureaucracy that holds sovereign power over India. It is time now to put the friendly feelings of the people of this country to the test. You can mould the iron only when it is hot.

The so-called national paper of the British Isles could not allow the cabled report of the memorandum, submitted by the members of the Imperial Legislative Council of India to the Viceroy, to be announced without adding an insidious remark, that among the signatories of the memorandum the military caste and the province of Punjab remain unrepresented, as if India wanted reforms at the point of the bayonet and by the support of militarism, as if a constitutional government should yield to the demands of military men, as if education and enlightenment are not necessary elements to understand and appreciate memorials adumbrating complex reforms.

There is no doubt that if we want a definite change in the system of government in India, we shall have to make a tremendous, united, organised and strong effort to achieve our object. We should never forget that the bureaucracy in India

is all supreme; that it will do its best, move heaven and earth, to remain supreme even after the war; and that as long as it remains supreme, there cannot be any real reforms.

I have read the memorandum submitted by all the enlightened and progressive unofficial members of the Imperial Legislative Council to the Viceroy.

I think the suggestions are very practical though very moderate. In fact, they are too moderate. *India must be self-governing.* I will take up categorically the reforms suggested by the memorandum:—

(1) There is no doubt that to-day a Cabinet of 23 or even 33 of pure Indians can be formed in India to take up the reins of Government in their hands and to conduct the affairs of India more successfully than the present Cabinet of the British Parliament has conducted the affairs of Great Britain.

Why should then only one-half the members of the Executive Council be Indians?—why not all?

(2) All the Legislative Councils should be established on democratic and constitutional principles, in which elected members only should sit. I personally do not believe in minority representation being ever "effective" under a constitutional system when the majority of votes always carries a resolution.

If the Muslims and Hindus can come to some understanding between themselves as how to secure the interests of separate communities without causing any injustice to any particular community and without jeopardising the interest of the whole nation, so much so good. Otherwise this new cause of communal separation and irritation should be given up once for all.

I think that those of my co-religionists who hold that Muslim interests can only be safeguarded by co-operating with the Anglo-Indians or officials as against Hindus, do not know the real worth and significance of that democratic faith which they profess. The Mussalmans of India are undoubtedly in the minority, but once freed from those un-Islamic fetters which have been put upon them by their retrograde leaders and once instilled with those basic principles of every constitutional system—liberty, equality and fraternity—principles which are fundamentally Islamic, it will be Muslims who will be in the forefront in the administration of India and in its Parliament.

(3) The minimum of the members of the Imperial Council has been kept too low when we consider the number of members in the British

Parliament with a much smaller constituency than that of India.

(4 & 5) The Imperial Council in India should possess all the powers as regards the affairs of India, which the British Parliament possesses as regards Great Britain.

(6) I think that to make the connection between the Central Government and the other parts of the Empire more substantial, different parts of the Empire should send their own representatives to be in the British Cabinet as the Secretary of State for that part of the Empire. India should send an Indian for the place.

The remaining suggestions become almost redundant when once the principle of absolute equality and self-rule is established. It will be for the Imperial Council to frame rules and regulations for the administration of the whole country—its army, navy, provincial autonomy, etc., etc.

This is one of my old suggestions that the administration of India should be modelled on the lines of the United States of America. Provinces should be considered as separate States, and they should be united by an Imperial Council with its headquarters at Delhi.

As far as the existing Indian States are concerned, all the interference of the "paramount" power and the domineering by the Residents in any internal affairs of the State should be stopped, and all the Treaty obligations should be *faithfully* respected. There is no reason to drag in those States in the administrative machinery of the whole of India. They should remain separate entities bound only by treaty obligations to that part which is called British India. The system of government of the Indian States should be modelled on the system in vogue in England, viz., that of constitutional monarchy.

Oudh should be restored to the Oudh Royal family or to an enlightened Indian ruler, like the Rajah of Mahmudabad, as I suggested about eleven years ago in the *Morning Post* of London; and Berar to Hyderabad.

But to secure these changes by constitutional methods, the only way is to organise a powerful agitation in the British Islands.

And it is time now to make preparation for it. The one paper *India*, as at present in England, is not sufficient for the gigantic work that has to be done. The British Committee of the Congress also is not sufficient.

There are only two ways of effecting a change in the system of the government of a country:—

(1) Military. (2) Constitutional.

The first is not thinkable for India and so there is no need of "securing the co-operation or signatures of military men or even backward provinces and peoples."

The second is the only possible method, but unless a well organised and united effort is earnestly and selflessly made by the whole Indian nation, Home Rule for India will remain only a dream. What I am afraid of is that after the war the effort of the Bureaucracy and the Civil Service clique, to keep the reins of the Government and the luxurious berths and billets in their own hands, will be more desperate and therefore more dangerous. The time for the cry of "Home Rule for India" is now.

Why can an autocratic Tzar proclaim Home Rule for Poland during the war, and a constitutional King not do the same for India? Why could not Poland wait? Why must India wait? A declaration by the British Parliament giving absolute Home Rule to India should be made now, that Anglo-India is not strong enough to thwart the scheme—now that the British Public is alive to the services rendered by India.

Anglo-Indians used to predict that India would revolt on the first opportunity. They have been belied. If the principle of Home Rule for India is conceded now, there will be no sedition left in India, and that Anglo-India-bogey will be killed once for all.

The self-consciousness of India itself had awakened for a long time. The birth of the Congress was a potent sign of it. Now the world knows that India has not only brains but also arms. It was India that saved Paris from the first rush of the Germans. It was India that faced the Germans and even beat them in the German Colonies. Indian brains had already competed successfully against British brains in Britain's own educational institutions, so much so that some universities found it necessary to handicap Indians still more.

Now Indian soldiers have demonstrated their supremacy as fighters also on European and non-European fields. Why should Indians now allow themselves to be treated as inferiors—much less as slaves? Why? Why should not their aspirations be respected at least as much as those of Serbia or Belgium, or any other country in Europe, or anywhere on this terrestrial globe? Why?

National Liberal Club,
LONDON,
3rd December, 1916.

The Rev. Dr. J. Lazarus.

Post-War Reforms have become a necessity now. Much was expected of the Public Services Commission. The belated Report has since been issued. But what has it brought? Nothing but deep disappointment which is universal. We asked for bread and we have been given a stone. How could it have been otherwise? The majority in the Commission consisted of Anglo-Indians and others not enamoured of the aspirations of Indian leaders. Half the Commission ought to have consisted of Indians. And the President, in cases of equality of votes, might have exercised his judgment and cast in his vote for the one or the other party.

The War has terribly altered conditions and points of view. It has brought out the loyalty of the mistrusted Indians. Indian rulers have vied with one another in their magnanimous response to the calls made on their persons and purses. The blood of our soldiers has been freely and plentifully shed and that for a war which is not waging in India itself. The report was drawn up ere the trumpet-call sounded in India. Its recommendations are out of date. Not only so, they are mainly intended for Britishers coming out to serve in India.

Nothing short of Home Rule can satisfy Indian patriots. They could administer public trusts much better and far more successfully than foreigners. They deserve it and therefore demand it. They respect parental supremacy but long for the grown-up child's freedom. Witness the success and boldness with which political and social reforms are introduced in our Protected States. A foreign mind cannot sympathise with the Indian any more than an angel can enter into the feelings of a human being. The foreigner cannot forget that he is white, while the Indian is not. What has been possible for Japan in fifty years cannot be impossible for India in a hundred.

We want a Parliament of our own at Delhi, or rather at Nagpore, which is about the real centre of India. Let Governors and Viceroys be sent out from England or even chosen in India by royal letters patent. But all other members of this Parliament or Assembly as well as those of the Provinces should be elected and not nominated. There may be a higher house of princes, but with their powers limited, not as in the present House of Lords. The Indian Parliament would then arrange for the recruitment of the various services for which, of course, their fellow-subjects in the United Kingdom and the Colonies will be entitled to compete on equal terms, the

tests being naturally held in this country.

In proof of our cosmopolitan spirit, any foreigner naturalised in India, and making this country his home till death, should be permitted to enter our Parliament, or hold any high office for which he may be fitted.

Until such time as India is left entirely to itself, the Executive as well as Imperial Councils should consist of an equal number of Indian and Foreign members. The charge brought by non-Brahmins, and this only in South India, that the Brahmins would monopolise, as they largely do at present, the highest offices, is untenable. Let the non-Brahmins shake off their intellectual sloth, and take to study in right earnest, and they will be as successful as their more enterprising brethren. Nepotism is universal, but it can be triumphantly fought against by competitive examinations. An Indian Christian rose to be Dewan in a Brahmin-ruled Protected State!

All colour and race-prejudice must be abolished without mercy. It is Indians who make *puja* to colour and then blame the astute foreigner who profits thereby. To take but a single instance: Pachaiyappa's College has invariably preferred a foreign Principal to an Indian. It must not be forgotten that it is not so much colour as the character behind it that counts in the long run. Let Indians show that they can exercise strict discipline and administer an office or department efficiently and impartially. Such qualities are, however, sure to bloom and flourish under more favourable conditions.

It is a fiction to say that we cannot and do not represent the masses. The masses are proverbially slow. It is only recently that their education was made compulsory even in England. Home Rule in India will take up universal primary education as one of its first reforms. As soon as we have Home Rule, many a Todar Mall will arise and re-establish and regulate the finances and industries of this huge Empire. It is want of liberty that checks our growth in every direction, save slavery and stagnation.

Liberty is badly needed in religion as well as politics. We want the imported Christianity of Europe to go back to that continent and continue its contradictory appeals to the cause of righteousness through its learned divines and leave India to choose the religion best suited to its genius and traditions. The cry must be taken up for Home Rule, or radical reforms leading speedily thereto, from one end of the country to the other by all Indians, irrespective of race or creed.

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur V. K. Ramanujachari.

I unreservedly accept the suggestions made by the nineteen members of the Imperial Legislative Council.

As to our capacity to carry on self-government in the best interests of the country, I have no diffidence. We have always had self-government of the federal type in every department of our national life. In politics, India was a friendly federation of kingdoms under a nominal head called Chakravarti, each king being independent in regard to the affairs of his own kingdom. The Hindu society has been a group of many communities, each autonomous within its own sectional life, but pursuing a common ideal along with the others. Religions have been organised on the same model. Hinduism is a group of many diverse theologies and dogmas following the same ideal and pervaded by the same spirit.

Some of our political opponents urge against us that we are not a homogeneous people. We are not, and there is no use in denying the endless diversities existing among us. But we do not ask that we should be governed as one people as the British people are. While we have the unity of the whole, let us have the freedom and integrity of its parts within it; and this the memorandum seeks to obtain. There need be no fear that one section or community will tyrannise over another. It will not interfere with its internal affairs, while common interests being under the control of the representatives of all the communities will be perfectly safe.

I accept the principles, and do not consider it necessary to go into details.

The Hon. Munshi Narayan Prasad Ashthana.

In reply to your circular letter inviting opinions on the question of "Post-War Reforms" with special reference to the Memorandum signed by the famous Nineteen, I have to say that so far as the memorandum goes, I am entirely in accord with it. The reforms sought by the said memorandum are very moderate in character, and although in a way they might be said to transform the present system of administration, yet they are necessary for a free and manly development of the Indian nation under the protection of the British Crown. Unless and until the people in India have full control over the purse and over the policy of administration, no improvement in national status is possible. If the Supreme Legislative Council is given powers to decide all questions of policy and is given complete

control of the Indian revenues, all complaints against education, discouragement of arts and industries, and heart-burning over racial distinction would cease. The disabilities of requiring a license to carry arms, of being ineligible to enrol as volunteers and of being barred from getting commissions in the regular army, have had an injurious effect on the martial spirit of the people, and have turned a sturdy nation into a luxury-loving and easy-going people.

Any reform to deserve that name should be towards giving the Indians an effective voice and participation in the government and administration of the country. Such schemes as will make the Government look popular without conceding to the people real measure of Self-Government will not do. In my opinion the memorandum should not have stopped where it does. It should have prayed for the immediate introduction of universal free and compulsory education, for the separation of judicial and executive functions, for a total repeal of the Arms Act instead of asking for a less restrictive measure, for the examination of the Indian Civil Service to be held in India, for the repeal of all statutory disabilities applying to Indians in this country as well as in the Colonies and for a representation, in the Imperial Parliament. The claims of India and of Indians for those demands is thoroughly justified by their past improvement, their present attitude, and future expectations; and I, for one, am sanguine that the claim is only to be put forward before the British public and its justice will be admitted. On this ground alone I am in favour of the suggestion which has been made to send out a deputation to England to advocate the cause of Indians and the reforms. Much will depend upon the work done by such a deputation at the opportune time. If the opportunity thus presented is not taken advantage of, the "angle of vision" might again change and become as narrow as it was before the War, for, after all it is an "angle" which changes with the changing eye of vision. If the Indians are ever present before the "eye" and persistently advance their cause, the eye is surely not to be closed or even to look askance, but if indifference or lukewarmness is shown in the matter, the "eye" may simply overlook the interests, and then it would be too late to mend.

England which has fought for the national honour of itself and other weaker nations, England which has respected written words with the same scruples as any legal code; England which has led India for a century and a half in

the land of progress and light, she will not deny to her millions the right of equal and free citizenship in the Empire. The Colonies are already awakening to their rights and liabilities, and India should, therefore, be prepared to undertake her own share of Imperial liabilities in the shape of maintaining an effective navy, giving preference to the goods of the Empire, and reciprocating in every way with those whom Britain has welded into one organic whole. I hope and trust that the day is not far when the mother of Parliaments will call upon India to nourish and cherish another daughter of hers with all the rights and privileges appertaining to such an institution.

Mr. Parmeshwar Lall, Bar.-at-Law.

Now that the frenzy of the National week is over and we have returned to our normal avocations, it is time to think coolly of the Reforms that our country may get after the war. I may say plainly that I am not of a very sanguine disposition. That our people need reforms in the system that governs them is absolutely true. That they desire it is also certain. That they will make efforts to get reforms and even Home Rule may also be conceded. But whether with all this they will succeed in getting the reforms they need is the question. The Bureaucracy has done its work now—it only retards the further progress of the people of this country. But the Bureaucracy has got the ear of the English people. The tale they can tell is pleasing to the English ear—it flatters English vanity. Our tale must, in the necessity of the case, be unpleasant. It is bound to lesson English self-esteem. Can it succeed? On this question of the Post-War Reforms, we cannot do better than take the advice Jehangir Petit gave to the Congress. If we have not the strength to follow up Jehangir Petit's advice, we need not complain. "By themselves are nations made," wrote Hume. This is as true now as it was in the early eighties of the last century.

We may send a deputation to England. We may even hold a session of the Congress there. We may even succeed in capturing a few English papers. But can we counteract the influence and the interest the Bureaucracy have already in that country? What does Home Rule for India mean to England? No more fat jobs for Englishmen in India—no more Indian trade laws regulated for the benefit of the English producer—no more India a profitable market for the English trade. Will the Englishman of the future, crushed and mauled on all sides when he emerges from the war, be prepared to sacrifice all this for—the good of Indians! The English have many great qualities,

but a prolonged study of English history has not convinced me that the English have even been a race of philanthropists—for the matter of that no nation has been such.

The English have given Home Rule to South Africa. True. They have given Home Rule to Canada. True. They have given Home Rule also to Australia and New Zealand. True. But were the conditions the same in those countries as with us and did they get Home Rule as the result of agitation carried on in the Press and by means of lectures? The Chairman of the Reception Committee, at Lucknow, in his admirable speech told us only half the story. But we know the other half. If we too want Home Rule, to me there seems no other way except the one pointed out by Jehangir Petit.

Our work lies in India. It is here we have to work. National salvation, as much as the spiritual salvation of the individual, has to be worked out by oneself and does not—cannot, come as a gift.

The Hon. Mr. K. S. Bhat.

The Memorandum concisely states the main demands made by the Indian National Congress in the last quarter of a century and more, and the reforms suggested are such as have been endorsed by responsible public opinion all over India. In fact, a large number of the Indian educated community want to go much further and the Memorandum represents the irreducible minimum that should be accepted as the basis of reform after the War. Having been subscribed to by 19 non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council and having received the approval of the leaders in the Congress and the Muslim League, it may appear superfluous for lesser individuals to signify expressly their support to the Memorandum. But I appreciate your idea of publishing a symposium of views on this subject as I feel it to be important that all necessary steps should be taken to impress upon the British public the strength of the feeling in this country in support of the Memorandum. It is desirable also that every organisation, every local board and every municipality and the non-official section in every Legislative Council should adopt and communicate to the Government here and in England a resolution indicating its adherence to the Memorandum.

It is not difficult to point out one or more items that might well have been given a place in the Memorandum. Superstitious people may say that number thirteen is unlucky and that the

number ought to have been increased. A reform in educational policy, insistence of due consideration being paid to Indian Public opinion in the appointments of Viceroys and Governors, the total abolition of colour distinctions in the administration may, for instance, have been included. All may not agree with the "Nineteen" in the exact number of members for the several Legislative Councils. But I believe that the Memorandum is complete and ought to be accepted without qualification. A grant of items 1 to 6 and 10 is bound to influence reform of other matters in the right direction.

It is to be expected that the Memorandum will be vehemently opposed by the party interested in the maintenance of the present method of administration. But let us have faith in the promises and the messages of sympathy solemnly given to the Indian people from time to time. It cannot be denied that British statesmen have, in the preoccupation by the war, failed to avail to the desired extent of the outburst of fervent loyalty in this country for the service of Empire, and recent events have damped the enthusiasm of our people for the war, but as the British nation has set right the initial errors of judgment of its statesmen in connection with the war, it is bound to correct the ways of the Indian administration soon after the successful conclusion of the War. The war has put the strength of the several links of the Empire to the test, and England in any scheme of Imperial reconstruction cannot afford to ignore her duty to her Indian peoples. It is our duty, on the other hand, to agitate this question in a manner so as not to embitter the relations between the Government and the people or embarrass the Government in any manner in the continued vigorous prosecution of this war. Let us do all that we are expected and permitted to do to help England to win this war and when she sets her house in order again, let the claims of India for better government be insistently urged in every way in England and here. Let a monster petition signed by our millions be presented "at the bar of the House of Commons" and our demands influentially placed before the British public to awaken the British conscience to the unfulfilled pledges and the urgent need of granting us the reforms formulated by "Our Nineteen."

The Hon. Mr. B. Venkatapati Raju.

The reforms, which are not the stepping-stones to lead to the pedestal of Self-Government within the British Empire, will not satisfy the real needs or rightful aspirations of the Indian people. There may be difference of opinion in the rate of progress or the steps by which progress is to be accomplished.

The end aimed at by us all is government of the people, by the people and for the people, as all governments ought to exist only for the good of the people governed.

The true test of proper government is, whether people (1) are enjoying peace and security; (2) are properly educated; (3) are really prosperous; (4) are well advanced in the civilised arts and industries; (5) are thoroughly capable to defend and rule themselves; and (6) are supremely happy. The Indians are at present enjoying peace and security, and are advanced in various directions but not to the extent they are capable.

The policy enunciated by the people's representatives in the Imperial Legislative Council will serve the best interests of the country, as the interests of all communities being well safeguarded and protected in their just, wise and statesmanlike suggestions.

To effect any useful reform, there should be retrenchment and economy in every direction.

The expenditure that is being unnecessarily incurred on costly services should be reduced by substituting Indian agency wherever possible. The Military expenditure should be curtailed, and a million Indian volunteers should be trained in the modern arts of warfare: military, naval, and aerial, for the defence of the Indian Empire.

Permanent servants of the Government should have no controlling voice in the policy of the Government.

The High Court Judges should be, thoroughly independent of the Executive, appointed by the King-Emperor from the English barristers and Indian lawyers, and the whole judiciary, both civil and criminal, should be under their direct control, both in the matter of appointment and removal.

The Executive Government should consist of English and Indian statesmen, unconnected in the permanent service and having the confidence of the Legislative Councils, which must be thoroughly representative and devoid of all official element, with an English statesman of vast experience appointed by the King-Emperor at its head.

A large proportion of the Indian revenues should be earmarked for expenditure on education, sanitation, communications and improvement of agriculture, industries and commerce, and such productive purposes.

Other minor reforms advocated by the National Congress will necessarily follow, as progressive governments will always be ahead of the popular movements.

In short, the whole administration should be so moulded on the lines of the administration of self-governing colonies that, in the words of Macaulay, "the people of India would be free and able to govern themselves, rather than that they would remain the bondsmen of Great Britain and the obsequious toadies of British officials."

Unless and until this is done, the self-respecting Indian people will not be content or happy.

Hon. Rai Bahadur Ram Saran Das, C.I.E.

The scheme does not advocate any radical change. It only seeks extended applications of the principles already approved by the Government, and the utility of which has been recognised after years of experiment. The Government themselves, in 1909, very graciously introduced an Indian element in our Executive Councils. This experiment has, in the opinion of successive Viceroy, proved successful. The scheme of reforms only seeks to increase further this Indian element. Again, in the Bengal Legislative Council, the Government has already provided for an elected majority. The scheme seeks to extend this principle to all Legislative Councils in India. The present enlarged Councils have, it is admitted, proved useful to the Government. If the experimental measure of a little enlarged Councils have proved successful, it is highly desirable that these Councils should be further enlarged, so that the representation of all classes of people be secured sufficiently to assist Government in the work of administration. The Government have themselves advocated the grant of autonomous powers to Local Governments, and they have planned schemes of decentralisation. The memorandum only repeats that Lord Ripon granted to Indian people some measure of local self-government. This experiment has been pronounced so successful that there can be no doubt that the time

has now come for the grant of complete local self-government. There are similar other proposed measures of Reform, which appear to me to be more or less incontrovertible.

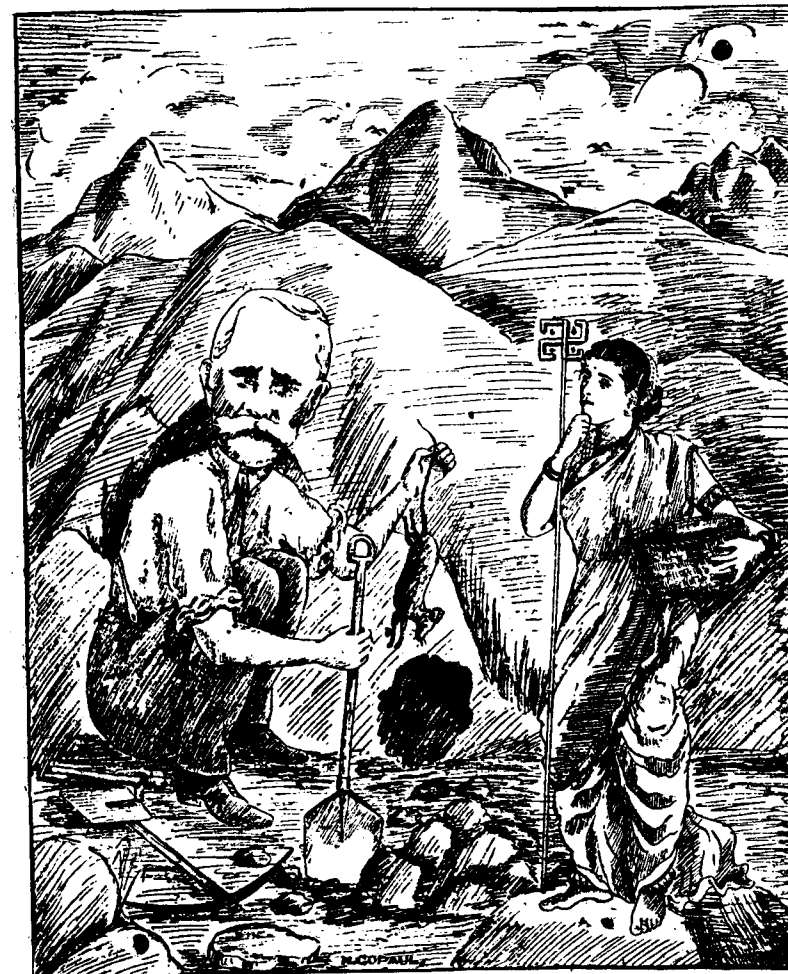
And I cannot imagine the existence of two opinions among my own countrymen, as regards the broad principles underlying any of the principal recommendations made in the memorandum. As regards the suggestion made in the memorandum that the right to carry arms should be granted to Indians on the same terms as to Europeans, that Indians should be allowed to enlist as volunteers, and that the commissions in the army should be given to Indian youths under conditions similar to those applicable to Europeans, I, for one, think that these reforms, if they are needed in our own interest for the satisfaction of what we regard as our legitimate aspirations, will be far more conducive to the interests and well-being of the Empire as a whole. If these reforms are carried out, India could become a far greater and stronger asset to the Empire than it is now.

I am sure this scheme proposed by the Members of the Viceroy's Council is acceptable to all well-wishers and lovers of the British Empire; for there can be no other means by which India could be made more closely attached to England. In my humble opinion, the memorandum presented by the elected members of the Viceroy's Council and approved by all India will prove of immense good to the British Empire, not only in India but throughout the world.—*From a speech at the Lahore Demonstration Meeting on Post-War Reforms, February 4, 1917.*

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Public Services Commission Report



MOUNTAIN IN LABOUR

Indian Lady:—What, my Lord Islington! We thought you would pile on our heads heaps of gold. Has, after all, your labour resulted only in bringing forth a mouse.

THAT So much country has been traversed, so much labour wasted, so many lakhs spent on account of the Public Services Commission which resulted in catching a mouse.

Political Philosophy in the Mahabharata

BY PROF. J. C. COYAJEE, B.A., L.L.B.

THE Mahabharata is not only a great epic but an encyclopædic account of the various philosophical opinions prevalent in ancient India. As the historian of Indian Literature has said, its "didactic element far outweighs the epic. The Mahabharata chiefly embraces instructions as to duties of kings and of the military class." Successive generations have enriched it with their political experience, aspirations and ideals. As a result, it is a valuable starting point for the student of the history of political philosophy in India. It has been observed that in many other sciences, the old Hindu mind anticipated a great deal of later thought; and this can be shown to be true even in the field of theoretical Politics and Economics. The scientific precociousness of the Indian mind is one of the greatest riddles of history.

It is in the fitness of things to begin our study with the account given by the epic of the institution of sovereignty. One is surprised to find the Social Contract theory so much to the fore in ancient India.

The origin of the state has been traced by the Mahabharata in such an interesting manner, and with such a remarkable anticipation of Hobbes and even earlier theories about the state of Nature and the origin of sovereignty that a short study might well be devoted to it here. The Mahabharata says that sovereignty first began in the Krita age. "At first there was no sovereignty, no king, no chastisement and no chastiser. All men used to protect one another righteously. As they thus lived, righteously protecting one another, they found the task (after some time) painful. Their error began to assail their parts. . . . Their virtue began to decline. When their perceptions were dimmed and when they became subject to error, all of them became covetous. . . . Lust of acquisition got hold of them. When they became subject to lust, another passion named wrath soon soiled them. Once subject to wrath, they lost all consideration of what should be done and what should not. Unrestrained sexual indulgence set in." As Hobbes put it, man became "poor, nasty, brutish and short." From this state mankind was redeemed by Brahma's institution of sovereignty in the person of Prithu, son of Vena. Brahma, also, at the same time, formed the Science of Politics.

It would be superfluous to point out the close parallel of this account with the theory of Hobbes. In the Indian theory, we could, of course, not expect to find a social contract, for the institution

of sovereignty must be a divine act. But for the rest, the resemblance is of a striking nature.

Earlier thinkers than Hobbes had speculated on the state of Nature. Wycliffe was one of these, and in some points his view approaches that of the Mahabharata. He believed in the state of innocence under the divine law, which he considers the true form of aristocracy. He also believed that royal power depended on divine grace being an institution from God direct. As Carlyle says, "all the Fathers maintain that in their original nature, men were free and equal. . . . In the original order of things men would have been free and equal. Gregory the Great insists on the same conception. . . . Man, then, as God made him, was free and equal. The subjection of man to man is something which belongs not to his original nature but to his present condition." These ideas are very similar to those found in the Mahabharata. There the question propounded is this: "Whence is it that one man rules the wide world teeming with brave and energetic and high-born men." It is to explain this subjection and its origin that the Mahabharata brings in the idea of a state of Nature existing in the Krita age. It is of the highest interest to the student of the History of Politics to find the same notion in the Mahabharata, in Cicero, in Seneca, in the Fathers and in Hobbes. As Carlyle observes, "Cicero's treatment of the subjection of man to man seems to anticipate the attitude of Seneca and the Fathers to the institution of slavery and to the other institutions of civilised society." Seneca seems to approach the closest to the account given in the Mahabharata of the decline of the state of innocence. According to him, "avarice rent the first happy society asunder;" while the epic observes of mankind that "all of them became covetous," and that "lust of acquisition got hold of them." The theory of the state of Nature and the Social Contract theory have already had a long genealogy in Europe, but their enunciation in the Mahabharata heightens even their venerable antiquity.

In one place, indeed, the Mahabharata proceeds to speak quite explicitly of social compact or compacts. But we must not identify this compact with the compact as explained by Hobbes. With Hobbes the social compact was directly the origin of sovereignty, with the Mahabharata it only preceded the origin of sovereignty. The epic goes on to say, "It hath been heard by us that a few amongst them, assembling together, made certain compacts, saying he who became

Use of The Defence of India Act.



Sir Michael O'Dwyer:—Sirs, we fear you. These are times of war, You shall not enter the Punjab. Trespassers will be severely punished.
Messrs. Pal and Tilak:—Whoever wanted to enter your door? Who told you we would?

(Messrs. Pal and Tilak are prohibited from entering the Punjab.)

The Andhra Patrika.

harsh in speech, or violent in temper, he who seduces or abducts other people's wives or robs the wealth that belongs to others, should be cast off by us. For inspiring confidence among all classes of the people, they made such a compact and lived for some time. Assembling after some time they proceeded in affliction to the Grandsire saying, 'Without a King and Divine Lord, we are going to destruction. Appoint some one as our King.' Here we should distinguish the social compact imagined by the Mahabharata from that found in Hobbes. The former was a partial compact, as it was entered into only by a few members of the society. Moreover, it was not the origin of sovereignty but only of what we would call Natural Law, for sovereignty did not arise till it was instituted directly by the Divinity. This implies that the earlier social compact and the law based on it had failed to secure tranquility and justice.

In the same portion of the Mahabharata we see another version of a social compact, by which the people receive protection from the king and render, on their part, obedience. The Grandsire having nominated Manu to royalty, that personage with due modesty expressed doubts as to his own power to govern a kingdom. But these doubts were removed by the promises made to Manu by mankind in consideration of his undertaking to protect them. "The inhabitants of the Earth then said unto him: For the increase of thy Treasury, we will give thee a fiftieth part of our animals and precious metals and a tenth part of our grain. When our maidens also become desirous of wedding, we shall, when the question comes up, give thee the most beautiful ones among them. Those amongst men who will become the foremost of all in the use of weapons and in riding animals and other vehicles, shall proceed behind thee like the deities behind India. With thy strength enhanced in this way, and becoming invincible and possessed of a great prowess, thou wilt be our king and protect us happily like Kuvera protecting the Yakshas and the Rakshasas. A fourth part of the merit which men will earn under thy protection will be thine." Here we find an explicit statement of the social compact theory and in no faltering terms. In the main it follows the lines of the theory of Hobbes, but we find a notable addition in the Mahabharata. The social compact, as conceived in India, deals not only with temporal but with spiritual matters. The king is to advance the good of his subjects, temporarily and spiritually, and in consi-

deration thereof is to receive not only worldly goods but also high spiritual merit. Another point of difference from the theory of Hobbes is, that the social compact of Manu is only a later incident supervening on the divine institution.

Can the social compact be dissolved under any circumstances? The Indian philosophers furnish an affirmative answer to the question. The social compact granted to the king the royal position in consideration of his protecting the subjects. As soon as he ceased to protect his people, the compact was dissolved; for, as the lawyers would say, the consideration ceased to exist. "What use is there of bulls that would not bear burthens, or of kine that would not yield milk, or of a wife that is barren? Similarly what need is there for a king that is not competent to grant protection? As an elephant made of wood or a deer made of leather, as a person without wealth, or one that is eunuch, or a field that is sterile, even so is a Brahman that is void of Vedic lore and a king incapable of granting protection. Both of them are like a cloud that does not pour rain. That person who always protects the good and restrains the wicked, deserves to become a king and to govern the world." Moreover, when anarchy prevails through such dissolution of the social compact, any other person can rise to royalty, if he can protect the people. And this is so even if he is not a Kshatriya but a Brahman, a Vaisya or even a Sudra. "Be he a Sudra or be he the member of any other order, he that become a raft on a raftless current, or a means of crossing where means there are none, may become the king. But the condition is essential, that he should be able to protect the subjects—if he succeeds in protecting the people by righteously wielding the rod of chastisement."

It is, of course, open to any one to suggest that on this point the views of the Mahabharata are more similar to those of Rousseau than of Locke. The state of anarchy and royal weakness did not dissolve the social compact, but only the allegiance to the individual sovereign. No right of revolution is asserted in the epic against the *de facto* government, implying a return to the state of Nature. The existence of the State is not interrupted, for allegiance is transferred from a king who cannot protect to one who can. We remember Lord Morley's assertion that, "Rousseau distinctly denied the existence of any element of contract in the erection of a Government; there is only one contract in the State, he said, and it is that of association." The Mahabharata, too,

makes ample provision for a change of Government, but will not allow the destruction of the State.

The theory of institution of sovereignty, as propounded in the Mahabharata, has a double aspect. While the rationalising instincts of the writers led them to frame a social contract theory, their theological bias emphasised the theory of a divine institution of sovereignty. It is noteworthy that the same epic gives us two closely allied variance of this divine institution. In the one, the Divine choice falls on Manu, in the other on Prithu, son of Vena. It is for learned Sanskritists to decide which is the earlier version, and to clear up the causes of this multiplicity of accounts. It has already been shown that there is a discrepancy in the two accounts, and that the version which makes Manu the first king tries to combine the theories of divine institution and of a social compact. Indeed, the idea of an elective sovereignty, too, is sometimes present in the epic, for it says that, "those men on earth who desire prosperity should first elect and crown a king for the protection of all." The old poem has often an extremely practical outlook and is well aware that whether the kings were made by divine institution or social compacts, they were kept on the throne by the public will. "One that is honoured by his own people becomes an object of regard with his foes also, while one that is disregarded by his own is overridden by foes." It has been said that you can find every economic theory in Adam Smith, and in the same spirit we can say that we can find all theories as the origin of sovereignty in the Mahabharata. We are told that "those men on earth who desire prosperity should first elect and crown a king for the protection of all."

As has been said before, there are two distinct accounts of the divine institution of sovereignty in the Mahabharata. The hero of the first version, which is of a highly poetic nature, is Prithu, son of Vena. The account of the coronation of Prithu vies in solemn grandeur with the opening lines of the second book of Milton's great epic "Vishnu and the deities, with Indra and the Rishis, and the Regents of the World," and the Brahmins assembled together for crowning Prithu. The Earth herself, in her embodied form, came to him with a tribute of gems and jewels. Ocean, that lord of rivers, and Himavat, the king of mountains, and Cakra bestowed upon him inexhaustible wealth. The great Meru, that mountain of gold, gave unto him heaps of that precious metal. We remember the close parallel

between this passage and Milton's immortal description:

High on a throne of royal state, which far
Outshone the wealth of Ormus and of Ind;
Or where the gorgeous East with richest hand
Showers on her kings barbaric pearl and gold.

The hero of the second version is Manu; and in that account an attempt is made to reconcile the theory of divine institution of royalty with the theory of social contract.

The theory of the divine institution of sovereignty, as laid down in the Mahabharata, goes beyond other similar theories in some important respects. In the first place, it would appear that not only is royalty instituted but individual kings are set up by the divine power. Thus Vaicravana is made to say, "I never, without being ordered (by the self-creator) bestow sovereignty upon any one. Nor do I ever, without being ordered, take it away from any one." This gives us the idea not only of a divine institution of particular sovereign but of a divine deposition. We here almost reach the Islamic theory that God gives the throne to whom He will and takes it away from him whom He wishes to depose. Another distinguishing feature of the account given in the Mahabharata is, that a divine essence seems to be contemplated as residing in the king. "No one should disregard the king by taking him for a man, for he is really a high divinity in human form. The king assumes five different forms according to five different occasions. He becomes Agni, Aditya, Mritu, Vaicravana and Yama." We are further informed that "a person, upon the exhaustion of his merit, comes down from heaven to earth, and takes birth as a king conversant with the science of chastisement. Such a person becomes endued with greatness and is really a portion of Vishnu on Earth." This brings us into contact with the old Hellenic views of royalty in the heroic age.

We have now seen how the Mahabharata gives several alternative versions, both of the theory of the divine institution of sovereignty and of the theory of Social Contract. Such multiplicity of accounts was only to be expected in a philosophical work, which is the result of many generations of national thought. We have also seen how an interesting attempt has been made in the Epic to combine the theories of social contract and divine institution. Later on, we shall find it very suggestive to compare the political theory of the early Christians with that laid down in the Mahabharata.

War-Relief in Belgium and Northern France

BY MR. SAINT NIHAL SINGH.

NEVER before in the world's history have relief operations been carried on under more difficult conditions than during the last two years in the portions of Belgium and France under German occupation. Nearly all the necessities of life required by the 10,000,000 persons, who remain there, have had to be imported from abroad, overseas and oceans sown with mines, infested with submarines, and blockaded by navies. To create a fleet of 50 ships and, 2,665 capital boats, needed for the purpose at a time when the shortage of tonnage was being acutely felt all over the world, was, in itself, a gigantic task. To secure the funds required for purchasing food for a mass of famishing people, who would stretch from Calcutta to Delhi if they stood in a straight line—Rs. 1,500,000 a day—would have taxed the energies of any organizer, even in normal circumstances. Moreover, the work has had to be done in war-scarred countries, where much life and property have been destroyed, commerce has been suspended, industry has stagnated, and railways, telegraphs, and other means of communication have been commandeered by the military authorities.

I. BELGIAN RELIEF.

The call to stave off starvation from famine-threatened Flanders came from Brussels in October, 1914. Antwerp had then fallen, and it was quite certain that the tide of German aggression would, in a short time, sweep over King Albert's country. Belgium is highly industrialised, and has to depend upon imports for most of the food that it consumes. The naval blockade of the Allies had cut off the external supply, while the advancing armies had ruined the crops that stood in the fields. Belgium, therefore, faced famine. The villages might have held out for a time, for the farmers in all lands keep a supply of food-stuffs stored for future use. But the cities, which, in normal times, do not take thought of the morrow, would have starved in a few days. Dire necessity drove the Belgian leaders to appeal to Mr. Brand Whitlock and the Marquis de Villalobar, the American and Spanish Ministers accredited to King Albert's Court, who had stuck to their posts in Brussels, to move the world to avert famine from this country, which, less than two months before, had been one of the most prosperous lands on the face of the globe.

As soon as Mr. Whitlock learned of Belgium's need, he approached his countrymen in London, who had been engaged in helping stranded Americans to get back home from Europe, and besought them immediately to organize relief adequate for the necessities of a whole nation plunged into the vortex of despair.

As the result of Mr. Whitlock's appeal, the American Commission for Relief in Belgium was organised in October, 1914. The American Ambassadors in London, Paris, and Berlin, the American Ministers in Brussels and the Hague, the Spanish Ambassador in London, the Spanish Minister in Brussels, and the Netherlands Minister to Belgium at Le Havre, were appointed Honorary Chairmen. Mr. Herbert Clark Hoover was made Chairman.

The Commission's first task was to obtain an undertaking from the Germans that the supplies sent into Belgium from the outside would not be appropriated by them nor diverted out of the country to Germany, and this promise Germany kept. Mr. Asquith, speaking at Guildhall some time ago, stated that he was positive that none of the food that had been sent to Belgium had found its way into the German maw.

Mr. Hoover lost no time in hurrying sorely-needed supplies to Belgium, and set out immediately to mobilise the charity of the whole world to feed and clothe the Belgians. Accurate and full accounts of conditions in the districts occupied by the enemy were compiled and, through the courtesy of the press, were circulated in the United Kingdom, the United States of America, and other countries. The appeals that were published made the world loosen its purse-strings as it had never done before. Shiploads of food-stuffs and clothing were despatched.

To ensure that the work of collecting charity would be performed efficiently and continuously, the Commission determined to decentralise the effort. Local committees were established in many lands. These organizations were requested to send the gifts in kind, converting money into food and apparel, where that could be conveniently done. They were asked to use their influence with the railway and steamship companies to get them to transport the goods either free of cost or at special rates. Moreover, the people, it was thought, would give with more confidence if they were

reasonably certain that their charity would go forward in the form of supplies to be consumed and worn by the people they were trying to help, instead of being eaten up by expenses incurred upon establishment.

According to the latest figures available, one hundred principal committees and over 2,000 sub-committees were engaged in collecting food, clothing, and other necessities.

Taking the monetary value of the gifts in kind and adding it to donations received in cash, almost Rs. 51,000,000 were contributed by philanthropists in various parts of the world for the relief of Belgians during the year ending November 1, 1915, the figures for the second year of the work not being available as yet. The wheat, flour, maize, rice, peas, beans, meat, bacon, lard, potatoes, milk, miscellaneous foodstuffs, and clothing sent to Belgium during the first twelve months, totalled about 100,000 metric tons in weight. Cash donations amounted to about Rs. 25,000,000 during the same period.

I have compiled the following table to show the value of various gifts, and the sources from which they emanated:—

Gifts of money.		Gifts of food.	
United States	Rs. 1,037,251	Rs. 13,706,969	
British Empire	" 21,818,227	" 4,148,461	
Other sources	" 2,086,428	" 760,085	
Gifts of clothing.		Total.	
United States	Rs. 5,578,922	Rs. 20,323,142	
British Empire	" 1,632,510	" 27,599,198	
Other sources	" 61,110	" 2,907,623	
		50,829,963	

These figures are impressive, and do credit to the charitable instinct that prompted the philanthropists all over the world to make the gifts. But the food, clothing, and money received from charity were utterly inadequate to provide relief for a whole nation in distress. The Commission realised, at the very beginning of its work, that the world's philanthropy would have to be supplemented with official subsidy. It, therefore, appealed to King Albert's Government.

Driven out of his capital and dispossessed of practically all the country over which he had ruled, His Majesty's resolution to withstand oppression, and to fight for his rights, had gained in strength as adversity had been heaped upon adversity. His heart bled for his helpless people who were being ground under the iron heel of the foe. His Government, stationed, for the time being, at Le Havre, entered into negotiations with the British and French Governments, and obtained

a loan of Rs. 15,000,000 a month, and placed that amount at the disposal of the Commission for Relief in Belgium. These arrangements were completed in February 1915, and up to the end of October of that year, Rs. 158,000,000 had been given to the Commission by the Belgian Government. This was more than three times the total amount provided by the charity of the world during the first year of the Commission's work. The total receipts of the Commission for its work in Belgium, therefore, amounted to almost Rs. 209,000,000 during the year ending October 31, 1915. This sum did not include the profits realized by it on the sales effected during that year.

The basic principle, on which the Commission has carried on its operations in Belgium, has been to relieve distress without demoralizing the people by undermining their instinct to be self-supporting. Food, clothing and shelter have been given gratuitously only to those persons who were left totally without means to obtain them. All others have been made to pay for their supplies according to their capacity to do so.

It is estimated that 1,500,000 persons have daily stood in the bread line in Belgium since the close of 1914. Besides these, 1,600,000 unemployed persons have been in receipt of supplemental allowances. About 3,500,000 persons have been able to pay for the supplies imported into Belgium by the Commission, or raised in the country.

Committees composed of representatives of the municipality, and the various sects and political parties, exist in all parts of Belgium, to enquire into the circumstances of applicants for relief, and to grant full or partial aid, as he may deserve. Anyone adjudged incapable of supporting himself, or of being supported by relatives, is given a card providing for a regular ration of supplies sufficient to keep him well nourished. The holder promises not to part with the food so that to ensure that it shall be consumed by him, and not sold to serve someone else. Each time a ration is given out from one of the public canteens that are maintained in all congested areas, the card is punched.

In the cities, separate canteens have been established for feeding children. Little ones under three years of age are fed separately from the others. Parents are required to bring their babies regularly for inspection, so that the food that is given them may be prepared to suit the different stages of their growth, and their physical condition. More than 160 baby canteens now

exist in Belgium. In Brussels alone, 12,000 infants are being fed daily at the 30 establishments of this description.

The middle-class people in straitened circumstances can buy a good meal for from an anna and a half to two and a half annas, from the "economic restaurants" that exist in many centres.

Up to October 31, 1915, clothing to the value of over Rs. 6,200,000 was received at the Central Clothing Establishment in Brussels, and 3,972,489 garments were distributed. About 15,000 persons are employed there sorting, mending, and cleaning the garments that are sent in by philanthropists all over the world. So efficient is the organization that it is possible to state exactly the individual to whom each garment that has passed through the Central Clothing Establishment has been given.

The Commission provides temporary shelter for Belgians rendered homeless by the war. Asylums have been established for children who have lost their parents, permanently or temporarily. Generous aid is given to agriculturists, lace-workers, refugees, destitute foreigners, doctors, pharmacists, artists, war-cripples, the League against Tuberculosis, and for the restoration of damaged churches.

Much has been done to rehabilitate the currency of the country. About Rs. 1,500,000 is sent every month by relatives and friends abroad to their loved ones in Belgium. Arrangements have been made to have all such money sent through

the Commission, in gold or silver. The Commission uses the gold and silver to pay for foodstuffs purchased abroad and turns over the amount to the individuals, to whom it has been sent, in the form of paper currency engaging to receive notes in payment of the supplies sold to these people. In this way the paper money of Belgium is being given as much value as is possible in the circumstances.

Out of the profits arising from the sale of supplies, subsidies have been given to building and loan societies and savings banks, and to communes, to enable them to continue their educational and public work. Effort has been made to find work for the unemployed, and thus keep them from becoming public charges.

II. RELIEF IN NORTHERN FRANCE.

The work in the occupied districts of Northern France is much less complex than it is in Belgium. The inhabitants left there number 2,700,000—mostly women and children—who have been rendered destitute by the war and have to be supported. Communal and industrial life are at a standstill.

The French Institutions give the Commission Rs. 18,750,000 a month. This grant enables it to provide all the necessities of life to these civilian victims of war, without supplementing the subsidy by charity.

When the war is over, and the world has time to weigh matters, it will, I am sure, place a high value on the efforts made by neutrals.

Feudatory States and Provincial Governments

BY MR. C. ACHYUTA MENON.

(Late Secretary to the Dewan of Cochin.)

WHILE the majority of the Feudatory States of India are under the direct control of the Imperial Government, a fairly large number of them are still under the immediate supervision of Provincial Governments. This distinction in treatment is not based upon any consideration of administrative convenience or efficiency of control, but is merely an accident of history. Neither geographical situation nor political importance nor treaty conditions are underlying factors of the distinction. Those who

have had any experience of the States under the control of Provincial Governments have long felt the desirability, for various reasons, of having that control transferred to the Supreme Government, and the Conference of Ruling Princes, at Delhi, which promises to become a permanent institution, renders the change all the more necessary.

The Conference, in which all the Ruling Chiefs without distinction are invited to participate, is held under the direct auspices of His

Excellency the Viceroy and the personal advice and guidance of his Political Secretary.* That the authority supervising the Conference and dealing with its resolutions should have the direct control of all the States is obvious. Provincial Governments, not being in touch with the Conference nor with the conditions prevailing in most of the important Feudatory States, do not possess the same personal and expert knowledge to deal with the States now under their control in an equally satisfactory manner. To ensure at least uniformity of treatment and continuity of policy, it is highly necessary that the control of these latter States should be transferred to the Imperial Government.

Apart from this general consideration, which however is of no small importance, several other reasons may be assigned to show that the change in question will better serve the interests of these States in a variety of ways. Provincial Governments have not, like the Government of India, a trained staff of Political Officers to deal with the affairs of Feudatory States nor a well defined policy to guide their Political Agents. Their policy is shaped more or less by the personal idiosyncrasies of their Agents, who are generally chosen from among the ranks of Collectors and District Judges, and as the latter's experience of Feudatory India is as limited as their knowledge of the Imperial Government's policy towards it, their work mainly consists in an attempt to reproduce in the States, to which they are accredited, the conditions prevailing in the British Districts with which they are best acquainted. As the average Civilian has boundless faith in the infallibility of the methods and measures of British Administration in India, this is the line of action that may naturally be expected of him. But, on the other hand, the desire of Feudatory India and its people is to work out their administrative and political progress on national lines under the guidance and protection of the paramount power, and as the declared policy of the Supreme Government is in substantial accord with this desire, there is a better chance of their realising their ideal under the ægis of that Government.

The Government of India, though essentially bureaucratic, are less so than Provincial Governments owing to the constant infusion of fresh blood from democratic England. They take larger and more liberal views of public questions,

* The first Conference of the Ruling Chiefs and Princes of India was held at Delhi on the 30th of October last.

and the prestige and privileges of Ruling Chiefs and the political aspirations of their subjects receive more sympathetic treatment at their hands. When His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir wanted to constitute a Legislative Council in his State, not only did the Government of India readily accede to the proposal, but they even deputed their Political Secretary to Bikanir to assist in its inauguration by his advice and countenance. Proposals of this kind do not meet with such ready acceptance at the hands of the Provincial Governments. A douche of cold water is the specific they ordinarily administer when Indian States manifest any popular symptoms. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that, if the attitude of the Government of India towards Feudatory States in such matters is that of a godfather, the attitude of Provincial Governments is that of a step-mother. If one or two States under the control of the Provincial Governments can boast of the semblance of a Constitutional Government, they do so not on account of, but in spite of, the normal attitude of these Governments.

Questions arise now and again, relating chiefly to boundary, riparian rights, customs and excise, and involving conflict of interest between Feudatory States and Provincial Governments, and the power of adjudicating the same rests with the latter. This is obviously not a desirable state of things. I do not for a moment mean to insinuate that the members of Provincial Government are swayed by any conscious bias in deciding such cases. But a judge, however conscientious and however well known for his impartiality, is not, and should not, be allowed to dispose of cases in which he is himself a party. The interest of the Imperial Government in such matters being less direct and personal, the States naturally repose more confidence in their fairness and impartiality. It is generally felt that if Mysore had been under the control of the Madras Government, the decision in the dispute between that State and the Tanjore District in regard to the Cauvery Scheme would not in all probability have been quite the same as that arrived at by the Government of India.

The Vocational Guidance of Youth*

BY PROF. T. V. SIVAKUMARA SASTRIAR, M.A., L.T.

THIS is an important and valuable contribution to the literature on the subject of the vocational guidance of youth. The author is a specialist, one who is actually director of the vocational bureau at Boston, and a recognised authority on the problem with which he deals.

Do we equip our pupils for life? Does the teacher help to determine what should be the future career of his pupils? What does the school do to give its pupils, at the end of their school course, the right start for after-life? These practical problems, vital as they are in the interests of society, have excited in us little or no interest yet. In a country, where every well-to-do parent is ambitious of seeing his son a graduate of the university, however low, or non-scholastic his aptitudes and inclinations may be, where, outside the learned professions and the Government service, the openings are few, where a false sentiment unduly restricts the choice of occupations, and where the lower orders are content to follow their hereditary occupations and trades, it will be a long time before the scope and significance of these problems come to be long appreciated. But in centres of crowded and busy lives, where the struggle for existence is keen, as in the great American cities, they are pressing problems that compel earnest and careful attention.

The question of the relation between school and society, between schoolwork and after life, had, till recently, received but scant attention; the schoolmaster, it has been truly said, has, so far, only been teaching from a text-book, and shutting his eyes to the consequences. If, at all, he keeps an eye on the more talented and promising few, whom he helps to mount up the educational ladder, perhaps only to crowd the already crowded professions, while the less talented many, especially if they are poor, are no concern of his. Very little attention is paid to them at school, and they receive no preparations or guidance before they enter life. They stop at the end of their elementary school course, and drift into some occupation by chance. If, indeed, the aim of education is social efficiency, we, certainly, cannot be said to be contributing to it, when so many are left untrained and unequipped to take care of themselves at the most critical period in their lives. Mental

* *Youth, School, and Vocation*, by M. Bloomfield : George G. Harrap and Company, London.

calibre is different with different individuals, and lack of aptitude for scholastic subjects is necessarily so far to an individual becoming a socially efficient citizen. Vocational education should, therefore, receive not less attention than cultural education. For lack of the former, there is a great waste now going on of youthful talents and energies. It is the duty of society to conserve all the available intellectual and moral wealth of its members. It should concern itself with the average many, rather than, as it does now, with the exceptional few. Home and school should co-operate in developing the life-career motive, and in helping the young to make an intelligent choice of their life-work. There is no doubt that at present, with the majority, there is hardly any direct preparation at school for their occupations in after life. What is coming to be recognised as all important is, that the potentialities of our youths should be ascertained, and that they should be advised and equipped for their life-work. It is a responsibility incumbent upon society, and for a due discharge of it, the co-operation is needed of the parent, the teacher, the manufacturer, the businessman and the social worker, of people who have charge of different occupations and trades, who could, therefore, make available a body of practical information regarding them. For lack of help and guidance, which agencies such as these are alone competent to give, young boys, who are compelled by circumstances to begin life early, drift into casual employments with but vague ideas of the pay and prospects open to them, and with certainly no correct ideas of the demands the work will make upon their body or mind. People are absolutely ignorant of the health conditions of the several occupations, and most may not be aware that occupations, apparently the most mechanical, yet require some small measure of intelligence for success and efficiency. Some kinds of work affect the eye, some the lungs, some require a particular kind of memory, some need concentrated attention on one point, while others demand what is called expanded attention—where attention has to flit from item to item in quick succession. So work that may be safely allowed in the case of some individuals may have to be forbidden in other cases. There is need, therefore, for emphasis being laid on the need for practical vocational guidance and training to supplement the course of instruction imparted in elementary schools; and the purpose of this book is to call attention to this imperative need.

INDIA AND THE WESTERN WORLD

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BY

MR. F. J. RICHARDS, I.C.S.

EAST is East and West is West, yet the twain have been in fairly continuous contact for nearly three millenniums: a fact which is usually ignored by ordinary writers of history.

The known details of this age-long intercourse up to the fall of Rome are succinctly summarised by Prof. H. G. Rawlinson, of the Deccan College, Poona, in a handy little monograph* published by the Cambridge University Press, a book which should be in the hands of every student of Indian or European History.

Human History (even the present War) turns mainly on the inter-relationship of four spheres of civilization:

- (1) The Mediterranean area, of which Northern Africa and Western and Northern Europe are appanages.
- (2) The Tigris-Euphrates Valley, with which Persia and Arabia are closely associated.
- (3) China.
- (4) India.

It is with intercourse between India and the first two areas abovenamed, that the monograph deals. Roughly the subject may be divided chronologically into four periods: (1) Semitic, (2) Persian, (3) Greek, (4) Roman. Prof. Rawlinson groups his facts into seven chapters, and summarises them in an eighth.

With pre-historic evidence the monograph does not deal. This is unfortunate, for the affinities between the Palæolithic, Neolithic and Megalithic remains of South India and Europe are well established.

The first Chapter covers roughly what may be called the Semitic Period, closing with the capture of Babylon by Cyrus in 538 B.C. The evidence is scanty and somewhat conjectural, but it is none the less interesting on that account. The evidence of the Hebrew Scriptures and Buddhist Jatakas is perhaps the most satisfactory; David and Solomon, Hiram of Tyre, the merchantmen of Elath and Ezion Geber (Akaba), and their

* *Intercourse between India and the Western World*, by H. G. Rawlinson: Cambridge University Press.

cargoes of gold and ivory, apes and peacocks, there is nothing mythical in these; while the stories of Noah's "shore-sighting" bird, and the "Judgment of Solomon," and the doings of Indian merchants in Babylon were familiar to Buddhist writers. The philological evidence of Sanskrit and Tamil in Hebrew, Assyrian and Greek is less convincing. The Brahmi script undoubtedly came directly from a Semitic source and not, like Kharoshthi, through a Persian medium. Professor Rawlinson doubts Dr. Fleet's theory that the week of seven days, named after the Sun, Moon and Planets, was imported from Constantinople in the fourth century along with Greek Astronomy, and would trace it to direct Semitic influence.

Chapter II is entitled the Persian Period, but the evidence cited is mostly Greek (Herodotus and Ktesias). The Panjab became a Persian satrapy in about B.C. 510, and from that time till the invasion of Alexander in 329 B.C., the influence of Persia on India must have been profound. The dominance of Hellenism in the minds of Western scholars has undoubtedly led them to undervalue the part that Persia has played in Human History. The debt of post-exilic Judaism to Achæmenid Persia is immense, and though no doubt the Maurya Chandragupta imbibed his imperial ideas from Alexander the Great, the testimony of the Seleukid ambassador, Megasthenes, (Chapter III), makes it very clear that the tone of the Mauryan court and Mauryan administration was intensely Persian. Greek influence is conspicuous by its absence.

The Greek and Semi-Greek Dynasties of the Panjab (Chapter IV) became so thoroughly Indianized that they can hardly be held to belong to the "Western World." The revolt of Parthia in about 250 B.C. put a term to the activities of the Seleukid monarchs, and with the Parthians astride of the overland route intercourse between East and West was relegated to the sea. The Ptolemies of Egypt (Chapter V) were not slow to appreciate the opportunity. An attempt to restore the Canal from the Nile to the Red Sea failed, but a more convenient desert-road with eight

watering-places was established from the Nile at Koptos to the port of Berenike, and in 274 B.C. the journey was curtailed by five days by the construction of a port at Myos Hormos in the bay of Ras abn Somer. Under the Ptolemies trade with India flourished, but that trade was not direct. Indian goods were transhipped at either Aden and Mocha, and the Alexandrians of this period had not first-hand knowledge of what lay beyond. The first voyage of Eudoxus was a venture into the unknown, but the circumstances under which he afterwards attempted to reach India *via* Cadiz and West Africa seem to indicate that some impediment, of which we know nothing, prevented the Ptolemaic merchantmen from sailing through to India.

The Romans were more successful. In 30 B.C. Egypt became a Roman Province, and in the century that followed the value of Eastern imports was estimated at a sum equivalent to over a million sterling of our money, half of it going to India, mostly in specie. Augustus, on his accession, was greeted with embassies from India. The chief Indian monarch is variously named "Pandion" and "Porus." The former name, if correct, must surely refer to a Tamil Pandya King. Prof. Rawlinson, however, inclines to the theory that "Porus" is the correct form, and that it should be identified with the Kushan Emperor, Kadphises I. No loyal Madras will, however, relinquish the Pandyan theory without convincing evidence. Perhaps the two names refer to two distinct kings.

In about 45 A.D. the Roman sailors began to avail themselves of the Monsoon winds, and in the *Periplus* (about 80 A.D.) we have first-hand evidence of the Indian Coasts. The Civil Wars that followed the death of Nero (68 A.D.) gave a temporary set-back to Roman enterprise, but Trajan and his successors revived the eastern trade, and the record of the Geographer Ptolemy proves that the Romans knew the Asiatic Coast-line as far east as Tongking, and Indonesia as well. To this period belongs the famous papyrus of a Greek force with Kanarese interpolations.

In the third century A.D., Christian writers began to take interest in Indian religions, and the writings of Clement of Alexandria prove that they were well informed. But in the following centuries, with the disintegration of the Roman Empire in the West, trade dwindled, and the growth of the Sassanian Empire of Persia finally swept Roman Commerce from eastern seas.

The cultural influence of this intercourse of

over a thousand years is briefly told. To the West, India owes all that is artistic in her ancient coinage. India's debt to Greek Astronomy is frankly admitted. The ugly sculpture of Gandhara reflects the degraded workmanship of third century Rome, though Prof. Rawlinson is reticent as to the Greek influences in the more delicate and refined workmanship of the Buddhist Monuments of Peninsular India. The affinities of Indian Medical Science with the Medical Science of the Greeks are curtly dismissed, and no data are provided on which a judgment may be based. Scholars are divided as to whether Indian Drama is of Greek origin or indigenous, and the balance of opinion is against Greek influence.

On the other hand, the derivation of Pythagorean Philosophy from Indian Buddhism is stoutly denied by Hellenists, and Prof. Rawlinson is probably right in assigning the doctrine of Transmigration, which Pythagoreanism and Buddhism so conspicuously possess in common, to beliefs held by early peoples, with whom both Greeks and "Aryans" came in contact. The case of Neo-Platonism is different, for here the connecting links with India are clearly established, and Gnosticism and Manicheism are alike inspired by Oriental influences. Prof. Rawlinson rejects the theories that trace the Christian doctrine of the Logos to Vedic sources and the legends of Krishna to the Gospels; monasticism, he observes, was practised by the Jews of the first century B.C.; he is constrained, however, to regard the early Christian practices of asceticism, relic worship and the use of the rosary as of eastern origin.

The monograph is not without faults. The arrangement of facts is somewhat chaotic, and it is difficult to trace any specific subject, such as Metempsychosis, food prohibitions, asceticism, folk tales, etc., through the various Chapters. For this cause there is a good deal of needless repetition and overlapping. The index, however, is fairly complete. Some of the writer's statements are more than questionable: for instance, Hiuen Tsiang returned to China by the overland route and not by sea (page 148), and the Vedic Aryans were not renowned for seamanship (page 4). Insufficient stress is laid on the predominant importance of South India in contrast with the North, and the spelling of South Indian names, e.g., Tinneveli (p. 14), Kaviri (p. 121), is, to put it kindly, unusual. These matters are, however, trivial, and the monograph should be a wholesome corrective of many fallacious fancies that now-a-days masquerade as history.

The Industrial Development of India

BY

THE HON. BABU BHUPENDRANATH BASU.

THE following memorandum was laid before the Industrial Commission by the Hon. Babu Bhupendranath Basu at Calcutta:—

OBSTACLES.

Besides the difficulty of capital and the paucity of men with technical and business knowledge, there are peculiar difficulties in Bengal with regard to labour. The Bengal peasantry are comparatively prosperous on account of the fertility of the soil and abundance of rainfall, fixity of tenures and fixity of rent. Bengal labour has to be paid higher than labour from any other part of the country, and even the allurements of higher wages does not always bring the necessary number of Bengali labourers. The Bengali is an extremely intelligent workman, but it is difficult to get him for factory work. He has got his own caste and guild systems, and he gets in his own occupation sufficient work for his immediate needs. The attachment of the Bengali rural population to their ancient land, which has given them sustenance for many generations, is equalled by their aversion to crowded life in unhealthy cities. Real prosperity for industry in Bengal can only come, amongst other things, with the growth of a substantial labouring population. The means of achieving this, so far as the various functions of the State are concerned, are indicated further on.

As land is the best and safest form of investment, it ought to attract a large amount of capital for investment, but it leads to the pitting of the intelligent and keen money lender against the needy but ignorant cultivator, and there being no usury laws or any other check on money lenders, the rates charged are very high, sometimes ruinously extortionate.

THE FUNCTION OF THE STATE.

These difficulties have never been seriously grappled with by the State. The genius of the British people have been individualistic and their prosperity has depended largely on the policy of *laissez faire*. The Englishman thinks only when the actual difficulty has arisen. These let-aloneist ideas have also dominated the acknowledged policy of the Government of India. No satisfactory reasons have so far been put forward to indicate why the State in India should not do something on the lines of what has been done in other similarly situated countries. To take a single appro-

priate example, the case of Hungary throws a good deal of useful light on some healthy forms of State assistance for the promotion of industry. The agricultural population of India is about 75 per cent. In Hungary, in the year 1900, the agricultural population was 76.83 per cent. and the industrial only 5.26 per cent. Among the labouring classes, the percentage of agricultural labourers was 78.46. Of the imports 75 per cent. consisted of manufactured goods and of the exports 85 per cent. represented agrarian produce. Hungary had to compete with Austria, against which there was no protective tariff, and she suffered from an absolute lack of skilled workmen. Legislation was first undertaken in 1881 for State aid, and a fairly comprehensive law was enacted in 1890. In 9 years ending with December 1898, 1,609 new establishments were started with a total capital of 206,706,814 crowns. Apart from the laws giving facilities to the growth of industries, the direct encouragement given to new industries in the year 1899 was as follows:—

28,096 crowns for value of machinery.
43,600 crowns for education of apprentices in different trades.

10,600 crowns for purchase of raw materials.
12,200 crowns for shoe-makers, tailors, porters,
22,400 crowns for institutions for display of new tools and machines.

12,50,000 crowns for commercial schools.

What has been successfully achieved in Hungary may also be done in India, and this brings us to the part Government ought to take in the development of new industries in India.

BUREAU OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY.

The first requisite is information: when people desire to start a new industry, they do not know where to go to for the necessary information. In my experience, the first promoters of a match factory in Calcutta brought out their machinery from England which proved valueless, as match-making on a large scale had greatly decreased in England. They had to indent fresh machinery from Sweden and that exhausted their capital, and the enterprise came to an end. The first promoters of a hosiery factory in Calcutta imported their machinery from England: the machinery is still lying useless: its manipulation was difficult and its produce unsuited to the Calcutta

market. There must be a bureau of industrial information and industrial statistics, under a Director of Commerce and Industry in each Province; bulletins must be published written by sound men who have studied their subjects in their actual application in other countries, and these bulletins should be periodically and freely circulated through existing libraries, District Boards and Municipalities. The bulletins must be of practical value, like the bulletins issued by the American Government. Consular reports of foreign industries submitted to Parliament should be published in India and freely distributed. There is a vast field in which the activities of the Department of Commerce and Industry can expand with advantage in the matter of making suitable information readily available. And from this point of view, it is necessary to let the people know about the services the departments, like that of agriculture and commerce and industry, are willing and able to render.

INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS.

While there is such a thing as protection for a special industry by direct subvention or indirect help, there are certain measures which tend to help all industries in common. Such is the one regarding information outlined above. Such is also the founding of industrial schools for an intermediate order of men—the overseers and department managers. Real technological institutes in this country do not exist, and the present engineering colleges touch only a fringe of the large work which still remains to be done. The same may be said regarding commercial schools and colleges. That is one of the means of increasing men who understand in all its aspects the organization of joint stock enterprise and who have got some knowledge regarding the relation of the industrialist to his banker, to the carrier, to the broker and all the other people engaged in occupations subsidiary to trade and industry. It may be argued that technical and commercial education are mere catchwords, and that these schools will not produce either industrialists or businessmen. But we have the model of successful countries before us in this matter, and it must be said that there will be no industries until greater effort and expenditure are directed to these ends. If we admit for the sake of argument the fear that the product of these institutions will run to waste for want of occupation, it is still not so bad as it looks, because after all there is considerable waste at the present moment in the youth of this country. How many thousands of our

literary products are thrown into the waste paper basket, because there is no need for them and then emptied in tattered fragments into the highways of the world? They are put away somewhere, and of some nothing more is heard except at times of a suicide in some penal settlement or of madness in some distant jail. It could not be worse. It may be confidently expected that with larger activity of the State in technical and commercial education, the result will certainly be better.

If industrial schools are started with a definite objective and fit in with industries in existence, or industries which may with advantage be introduced and developed in the locality, they would serve a very useful purpose. These must be located in or near industrial centres, and the teaching there should be of a practical value by the right kind of men. A single teacher who has been acquainted with the various processes of industry, after several years of practical work, can do much more valuable work than any number of purely diplomaed people. The recruitment for these teachers should be from all countries possible, where the industries in question are prospering.

PIONEER AND DEMONSTRATION FACTORIES.

A more useful manner of imparting industrial training would be by free apprenticeship in model pioneer demonstration factories. There will be opportunities of understanding something of the commercial side of the enterprise. There will be opportunity here of turning out trained labour; and, lastly, those who are about to venture on similar enterprises could from the State factory, run not on purely commercial lines, always receive useful suggestions and information.

COMMERCIAL SCHOOLS.

In addition to the industrial schools and to a certain extent supplementing their work, we must have commercial schools also, not that commercial schools will make commercial men just as law schools do not make lawyers, but a knowledge of the general principles of business enterprise, the methods of finance, the organization of modern commercial and industrial concerns, all these which would be useful in later life could be taught there with advantage. If the State will help industry, let them give us trained industrialists and young men with some knowledge of the principles of a business.

INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH.

There is one further matter in which the State can and must assist and that is in the matter of

higher industrial research. The results of industrial research are not available in a day, and a good deal of outlay is necessary before results could have any practical value. No private agency working on commercial basis could be expected to do this work, and the State must do it, in my opinion, in collaboration with the universities. In the meanwhile, the State can provide consulting laboratories, where industrialists can send over materials for analysis and general opinion.

RAISING THE WORKINGMAN'S STANDARD OF LIFE.

With regard to labour, I have noted some of the difficulties. The part that the State can play in bringing in existence a really labouring population is to adopt means to raise the standard of life, so that our workmen may appreciate the advantages of better living, of education and better provision for their children. There should be free schools for workmen's children in industrial centres, and municipal authorities, in whose jurisdiction industries are located, should supply cheap and sanitary dwellings for the workmen; medical assistance should be available to them on terms within their incomes; without education and a healthy life to be brought about by an all-round improvement in sanitary conditions, the efficiency of labour in this country could not be improved. I would also advocate special rates for the carriage of certificated workmen from their homes to the industrial localities, and in order to avoid overcrowding in cities I should suggest special rates for working people on the local trams. If better homes were provided, they would be induced to bring over their families with them in industrial centres, and there will thus be a genuine factory population alert and efficient in their work.

DIRECT STATE AID TO INDUSTRY.

I do not think direct State aid, by way of subsidy, would be desirable. The only case in which an exception may be made would be in the case of industries requiring large sums for experimentation. Even here so long as other forms of indirect assistance can suffice, this plan of subsidy should not be resorted to, because it is likely to be demoralizing both to those who are helped and to the officials concerned. Advances by the State are to be resorted to freely in agriculture for improved methods or for introducing new crops, machinery and manures.

HOW IT MAY BE GIVEN.

If two or three substantial zemindars or local magnates are prepared to stand guarantors, it is

a question whether the State should not help in the way of capital by means of a loan for ten years. But the means of recovery, and the unpleasantness attaching to it in case of unsuccessful ventures, seems to militate against what appears a rather attractive suggestion at first sight. Nor would I advocate guarantee of dividends for joint stock enterprises except in case of carrying companies as the Government have been doing in the past.

INDIRECT STATE AID.

There are, however, indirect forms of assistance which I would like very much to press on the notice of the Commission. The foremost is the question of industrial banks. These may be started under the auspices of the State. Even here I should not suggest any direct use of Government money. The capital for these banks should be secured by sale of bonds, interest on which should be guaranteed by the Government at 5 to 6 per cent. The Government may invest funds from the paper currency reserve, and the standard reserve on these bonds within certain limits. These industrial banks should be private corporations working in close touch with departments of industry. They should confine their work in a manageable area even if it exceeds the limits of a province. They should have full-time men with business experience as directors and technical men and chemists in their employ for information and advice. Such institutions, the details of which could be worked out by experts, would be of very great value.

I would further suggest indirect help to industry in the following manner:—

(1) *Facilities for Insurance.*—British Companies have been known to create difficulties; in the case of Swadeshi steamer companies they have demanded higher rates for insurance of goods carried by them.

(2) *Freight.*—Special rates should be given in the case of machinery for a new enterprise: this may be secured by subsidy to steamship companies.

Land Carriages.—Special rates should be given for the transport of manufactured goods, raw materials, fuel and other necessities for factories.

(3) *Facilities as regards sites for factories,* working men's houses, railway sidings may be granted.

(4) *Income Tax.*—Until joint stock enterprise begins to earn 4 per cent., it should be exempted from income tax if it is a pioneer manufacturing enterprise.

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(5) Partial or total exemption from municipal taxation for locations in regard to new industries and working men's houses.

(6) Supply of cheap power and establishment of Government power-stations or taking over electric supply companies by the State.

(7) Drawbacks on duties on machinery and raw materials in case of selected industries.

(8) State demand for articles manufactured in India: these being given preference in case of inferior quality, better methods may be suggested and insisted upon.

(9) Monopolies for the manufacture of certain articles provincial or otherwise for limited periods.

(10) Facilities for the purchase of machinery, through State agencies; at present accurate information is not available as to where the most suitable machinery may be imported from; the parties are frequently imposed upon by middlemen. In order that the benevolent intention of the State can be carried out, attention must be paid to the machinery through which this work would be done. And if the State will take greater interest than it has done in the past, the organization of the Department of Commerce and Industry becomes a matter of great importance.

The present practice of putting in a member of the Civil Service, who has had no previous training, experience or knowledge in any new post of sufficient importance and requiring special knowledge, will not do. The Director of Industries must be a living force and not an atrophied and hide-bound official. A practical businessman, and one known for his interest in and sympathy with Indian industrial enterprise, should be a director. And whoever the Director may be, Indian opinion will regard his work with grave misgivings if he is not associated with a body largely composed of independent Indians—an advisory board before whom he should place all his work. The agricultural department suffers from the appointment of non-agriculturists and civilians who are constantly transferred. We want practical men in the department willing to listen to suggestions of Indians of standing and experience through the board. It is also desirable that there should be less red-tape and formalities in the work of the department. All suggestions for a better state of things would result in failures in the absence of these precautions and without removing these difficulties.

HENRY DEROZIO AND HIS TIMES

BY

MR. ABINASH CHANDRA GHOSE, B.A.

IF the indomitable few who succeeded in bringing about an intellectual and moral revolution in Bengal at the dawn of European education and science in this country, the name of Henry Vivian Derozio stands out prominent. Among a mass of incoherent dogmas, under which orthodoxy was shrouded at the time, the path to independence of thought and action was choked outright, and there was practically no way out of the misty delusion. The question of progress or liberalism was altogether put out of court. Rank ignorance and an interminable mass of weedy superstitions stood in the path of all reforms in India. The time was opportune for Derozio to put in his appearance, and he availed himself of it quick enough. Had it not been for this apostle of progress, the march of education in India under Western lines would have been as tardy as ever. Derozio took the reins and guided the young brains left to his charge to their

proper destination. The life-history of such a remarkable man is, indeed, well worth a study, and a few snapshots from its pages will, it is hoped, prove highly interesting and instructive to those who care to look through the vista of ages for the progress of reform in Bengal.

Henry Derozio received his baptismal certificate in St. John's (old Cathedral) August 12, 1809, from the Rev. James Ward, who, it might not be known to the reading public, at the same font, on January 3, 1812, baptised William Makepiece Thackeray, the celebrated novelist.

It was in a private seminary in Calcutta that Derozio received all his education from the age of six, in 1815, the year of his mother's death. But the education received in the seminary was mostly of an elementary character, and Derozio had to supplement it by a continuous course of studies on higher subjects at home till a very late hour of the night every day.

If the writer in the "Calcutta Review" (1850) is to be believed, Henry left school at the age of 14 and almost immediately after joined the mercantile firm of Messrs. James Scott & Co. as an apprentice, at the request of his father, who was then holding the responsible position of the Chief Accountant of the place. But the office-stool proved a carriage-trolley for Pegasus, and after a couple of years he resigned the job to join the Tarafore Indigo Factory at Bhagalpur, then under his uncle's supervision. There was no lack of water and wood, meadow and pasture, closes and open fields, with the magnificent buildings of the Factory "bosom'd high in tufted trees," to crown the landscape. Plenty of leisure, solitude, tranquillity of mind, surrounded by the thickets and woods, which Pliny thought indispensable to political meditation, no poet's career was ever commenced under more favourable auspices. It was here in the midst of a wild, rural country scene, with the ripple of the river in his ears and its music in his heart, that the boy-poet began to weave his wreath of song.

Later on, he returned to Calcutta, and through the influence of Dr. John Grant, to whom he dedicated his first volume of lyrics at the age of 18, he obtained the appointment of sub-Editor of the "India Gazette" in 1826, and then, in November of the same year, he entered the Hindu College as a teacher on a salary of Rs. 150 a month.

Though colour is sometimes considered to be a bar to progress, yet true merit cannot long remain undiscerned. It was admitted on all hands even by so astute a critic as the visitor of the College, Dr. H. H. Wilson, that Derozio possessed a mind extraordinarily comprehensive and acute. Indeed, there was a weight and a downright earnestness about him. By his spirit-stirring teaching, his urbanity of manners and suavity of disposition, his open, generous chivalrous nature, his extensive knowledge of books, and his readiness at all times to impart knowledge, Mr. Derozio acquired an ascendancy over the minds of his pupils. Though he spoke a foreign tongue and professed a foreign faith, yet his teachings were all aglow with intense patriotism for the country of his birth. Honesty, truthfulness, free-thinking and self-sacrifice were what he tried to impress upon his pupils from the very outset; and his success was abundantly manifested by later events. He played the rôle not of a teacher simply, but of a reformer as well. In and out of Calcutta at that time in every Hindu household, a fierce controversy was raging over Rajah Ram Mohan Roy's

religious doctrines, and those who had learnt to think for themselves found their occupation chiefly in establishing theistic associations and theological classes to counteract the tendencies of the age. Derozio advised his pupils to join these institutions unreservedly. But these were not the only places where the young minds found full scope for the development of their faculties.

The progress that this young band made at the time was simply immense. To quote one of the leading newspapers of the day, "They made a tremendous progress by actually cutting their way through ham and beef and wading to liberalism through tumblers of beer." Under the direction of Mr. Derozio, they established, in 1830, a journal named the "Parthenon," which was stopped by order of Dr. Horace Hayman Wilson. In setting up the paper, their words were: "Hindu by birth, yet European by education and all its concomitants, they need some organ for the communication of their sentiments, some tablet where they may register their thoughts." The publication was avowedly the production of the senior students of the College; and as the propagation of such liberal sentiments as the "Parthenon" contained alarmed the parents and guardians of these students, its suppression was effected speedily.

In 1828, Derozio established the first Debating Club known as the Academic Association. Its meetings were regularly held night after night in the Singh's garden-house, latterly known as the Wards' Institution at Maniktala, where afterwards for many years the eminent antiquarian scholar, Raja Rajendra Lala Mitra came to reside. They were presided over by Mr. Derozio, and Mr. Umacharan Bose acted as secretary. Among the many who used to pay visits to this institution occasionally were Sir Edward Ryan, Col. Benson, Private Secretary to Lord William Bentinck; Col. Beatson, afterwards Adjutant-General and David Hare. The prominent among the members, numbering about hundred, were Messrs. K. M. Banerjee, Ram Gopal Ghose, Rasik Krishna Mullick and Dakshinaranjan Mukerjee. With the exception of Mr. Banerjee, the rest were his pupils from the Hindu College. But the holding of the meetings was viewed with alarm by the orthodox community from the very start. As could be easily imagined, the teaching of Mr. Derozio not only sapped the very foundation of the religious belief of the students but in no time brought about an intellectual and moral revolution in Hindu society. In May 1829, several of the boys in upper classes had courage and spirit to express

their views on all subjects and, particularly, on the subject of religion. The tenets and practices of Hinduism were openly ridiculed and condemned. The degraded condition of the Hindus formed the topic of many debates. The degradation of the female mind was also viewed with indignation; and at a very large meeting it was unanimously resolved that women should be taught. The situation gradually grew hot for Mr. Derozio. The junior students followed suit, and as a necessary consequence, the horror of the orthodox Hindus became intensified and many withdrawals of pupils from the College took place. In such circumstances, Ram Kamal Sen, the grandfather of Keshab Chunder Sen, apprehending dangers, called a meeting of the committee on Saturday the 23rd April, 1831, and moved that the prospects of the College would be marred if Mr. Derozio was not removed. The majority voted in favour of the removal of Mr. Derozio. Dr. Horace Hayman Wilson and David Hare expressed their opinion against the proposal, as they knew full well that Derozio was an exceptionally able and efficient teacher. But the seed had been sown; aye, it had germinated and could not be smothered. It was not possible any further to stay the progress of the great moral revolution. Could the decree of the Vatican stay the progress of the Reformation? Such undertakings are, indeed, too great for the puny efforts of man. Derozio, hearing of the resolution of the Committee, tendered his resignation in a letter to Dr. Wilson, dated the 25th April, 1831.

A few months after, on the 17th of December, 1831, Mr. Derozio was stricken with cholera, which brought his brief span of life to a close. During the six days of his struggle, Messrs. K. M. Banerjee, Ram Gopal Ghose, Mohesh Chunder Ghose and a few others amongst his pupils watched him by his sick-bed and shared all the cares and anxieties of poor Derozio's mother and his sister, Amelia. It was a source of great consolation to his friends that shortly before his weary eyes closed in death, his last words were an appeal to the great Fountain of all Mercy, and such as became a dying Christian. He left a name unstained by immorality, honoured by his countrymen, and distinguished in the literature of his country.

The sketch would be incomplete if no reference is made to his poems. In his time when he sought the muses, Byron and Moore had been a great favourite with the reading public. Derozio found out that to break away from

fashionable models would mean, for a youthful and inexperienced writer as he was, only disaster. So, from the very start his poems were all aglow with the Byronic hue. Excess of ornament in the absence of originality sometimes mars the effect of a good poem. Derozio had this in an inordinate degree. Though his poems are lit up with sparkling thoughts, yet their effects are very often lost in ringing music and rich colouring. And just as in "Childe Harold," the poet threw his own self into the lines, so we notice in the Eurasian poet's effusions, his feelings, hopes, struggles and disappointments in abundance. But these are faults which, with the passing of time, would have been remedied. In his sonnets to the Moon, the reader could not but appreciate his wonderful power of linking the feelings of the animate with the inanimate. The poet that could achieve this must be eminently fitted for singing the tune through his pipe.

But what made him shine out as a poet was his sustained effort, "The Fakir of Jangheera." A wealth of fancy and glitter of Oriental imagery characterised the plot from its start to its finish. Prof. W. T. Webb, in the course of an article in a leading journal, in December 1883, noticed the feat as "sufficiently remarkable for an East Indian lad of 17 or 18 years." And this is followed up by Sir Courtenay Ilbert, the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, in his Convocation Address in 1885, who spoke of him as "the gifted Eurasian Derozio."

The part which poetry plays is to lift us above the reach of petty cares and sensual desires; and to make us feel that there is something nobler and more permanent than the ordinary pleasures of the world. The keynote of Derozio's success lay pre-eminently in that. But leaving aside the fact of his undoubted devotion to the muses, it must be acknowledged on all hands that, in the history of the progress of reform in Bengal from its earliest times, the name of Henry Vivian Derozio will always figure, not only as a trusted leader and friend to his pupils, but also as the man who first showed the Indian youths to struggle out of the gloomy conservatism of centuries into a clearer light.

MICHAEL MADHUSUDAN DUTT: The famous Bengali Poet.—A Sketch of his Life and Works. Price As. 4.
G. A. Natesan & Co., Sankurama Chetty Street, Madras.

Mr. Gandhi on the "Satyagrahashrama."

[We have received several enquiries from our readers regarding Mr. Gandhi's new organisation, the Satyagrahashrama. We are glad to be able to give the following account of the Ashrama from a special report of the speech that Mr. Gandhi delivered some time ago in Madras. The report has since had the benefit of Mr. Gandhi's revision and may, therefore, be taken as an authoritative exposition of the aims and objects of Mr. Gandhi's Satyagrahashrama.—Ed. I. R.]

Many of the students who came here last year to converse with me, I said I was about to establish an institution—*Ashrama*—somewhere in India, and it is about that place that I am going to talk to you this morning. I feel and I have felt during the whole of my public life that what we need, what any nation needs, but we perhaps of all the nations of the world need just now is nothing else and nothing less than character-building. And this is the view propounded by that great patriot Mr. Gokhale (cheers). As you know in many of his speeches, he used to say that we would get nothing, we would deserve nothing unless we had character to back what we wished for. Hence his founding of that great body, the Servants of India Society. And as you know, in the prospectus that has been issued in connection with the Society, Mr. Gokhale has deliberately stated that it was necessary to spiritualise the political life of the country. You know also that he used to say so often that our average was less than the average of so many European nations. I do not know whether that statement by him whom, with pride, I consider to be my political *Guru*, has really foundation in fact, but I do believe that there is much to be said to justify it in so far as educated India is concerned; not because we, the educated portion of the community, have blundered, but because we have been creatures of circumstances. Be that as it may, this is the maxim of life which I have accepted, namely, that no work done by any man, no matter how great he is, will really prosper unless he has a religious backing. But what is religion? The question will be immediately asked. I, for one, would answer, Not the religion which you will get after reading all the scriptures of the world; it is not really a grasp by the brain, but it is a heart-grasp. It is a thing which is not alien to us, but it is a thing which has to be evolved out of us. It is always within us, with some consciously so; with the others quite unconsciously. But it is there; and whether we wake up this religious instinct in us through outside assistance or by inward growth, no matter how it is done, it has got to be done if we want to do anything in the right manner and anything that is going to persist.

Our Scriptures have laid down certain rules as maxims of life and as axioms which we have to take for granted as self-demonstrated truths. The *Shastras* tell us that without diving, according to these maxims, we are incapable even of having a reasonable perception of religion. Believing in these implicitly for all these long years and having actually endeavoured to reduce to practice these injunctions of the *Shastras*, I have deemed it necessary to seek the association of those who think with me, in founding this institution. And I shall venture this morning to place before you the rules that have been drawn up and that have to be observed by every one who seeks to be a member of that *Ashrama*.

Five of these are known as *Yamas*, and the first and the foremost is,

THE VOW OF TRUTH.

Not truth simply as we ordinarily understand it, that as far as possible we ought not to resort to a lie, that is to say, not truth which merely answers the saying, "Honesty is the best policy"—implying that if it is not the best policy, we may depart from it. But here Truth, as it is conceived, means that we have to rule our life by this law of Truth at any cost. And in order to satisfy the definition I have drawn upon the celebrated illustration of the life of *Prahlad*. For the sake of truth, he dared to oppose his own father, and he defended himself, not by retaliation, by paying his father back in his own coin, but in defence of Truth, as he knew it, he was prepared to die without caring to return the blows that he had received from his father or from those who were charged with his father's instructions. Not only that: he would not in any way even parry the blows: on the contrary, with a smile on his lips, he underwent the innumerable tortures to which he was subjected, with the result that, at last, Truth rose triumphant, not that *Prahlad* suffered the tortures because he knew that some day or other in his very life-time he would be able to demonstrate the infallibility of the law of Truth. That fact was there; but if he had died in the midst of tortures, he would still have adhered to Truth. That is the Truth which I would like us to follow. There was an incident I noticed yesterday. It was a trifling incident, but I think these trifling incidents are like straws which show which way the wind is blowing. The incident was this: I was talking to a friend who wanted to talk to me aside, and we were engaged in a private conversation. A third friend dropped in, and he politely asked whether he was intruding. The friend to whom I was talking said: "Oh, no, there is nothing private here." I felt taken aback a little, because, as I was taken aside, I knew that so far as this friend was concerned, the conversation was private. But he immediately, out of politeness, I would call it over-politeness, said, there was no private conversation and that he (the third friend) could join. I suggest to you that this is a departure from my definition of Truth. I think that the friend should have, in the gentlest manner possible, but still openly and frankly, said: "Yes, just now, as you properly say, you would be intruding," without giving the slightest offence to the person if he was himself a gentleman—and we are bound to consider everybody to be a gentleman unless he proves to be otherwise. But I may be told that the incident, after all, proves the gentleness of the nation. I think that it is over-proving the case. If we continue to say these things out of politeness, we really become a nation of hypocrites. I recall a conversation I had with an English friend. He was comparatively a stranger. He is a Principal of a College and has been in India for several years. He was comparing notes with me, and he asked me whether I would admit that

we, unlike most Englishmen, would not dare to say "No" when it was "No" that we meant. And I must confess that I immediately said "Yes." I agree with that statement: We do hesitate to say "No," frankly and boldly, when we want to pay due regard to the sentiments of the person whom we are addressing. In this *Ashrama* we make it a rule that we must say "No" when we mean "No," regardless of consequences. This then is the first rule. Then we come to the

DOCTRINE OF AHIMSA.

Literally speaking, *Ahimsa* means non-killing. But to me it has a world of meaning and takes me into realms much higher, infinitely higher, than the realm to which I would go, if I merely understood by *Ahimsa* non-killing. *Ahimsa* really means that you may not offend anybody, you may not harbour an uncharitable thought even in connection with one who may consider himself to be your enemy. Pray notice the guarded nature of this thought; I do not say "whom you consider to be your enemy," but "who may consider himself to be your enemy." For one who follows the doctrine of *Ahimsa* there is no room for an enemy; he denies the existence of an enemy. But there are people who consider themselves to be his enemies, and he cannot help that circumstance. So, it is held that we may not harbour an evil thought even in connection with such persons. If we return blow for blow, we depart from the doctrine of *Ahimsa*. But I go further, if we resent a friend's action or the so-called enemy's action, we still fall short of this doctrine. But when I say, we should not resent, I do not say that we should acquiesce; but by resenting I mean wishing that some harm should be done to the enemy, or that he should be put out of the way, not even by any action of ours, but by the action of somebody else, or, say, by Divine agency. If we harbour even this thought, we depart from this doctrine of *Ahimsa*. Those who join the *Ashrama* have to literally accept that meaning. That does not mean that we practise that doctrine in its entirety. Far from it. It is an ideal which we have to reach, and it is an ideal to be reached even at this every moment, if we are capable of doing so. But it is not a proposition in geometry to be learnt by heart: it is not even like solving difficult problems in higher mathematics; it is infinitely more difficult than solving those problems. Many of you have burnt the midnight oil in solving those problems. If you want to follow out this doctrine, you will have to do much more than burn the midnight oil. You will have to pass many a sleepless night, and go through many a mental torture and agony before you can reach, before you can even be within measurable distance of this goal. It is the goal, and nothing less than that, you and I have to reach if we want to understand what a religious life means. I will not say much more on this doctrine than this: that a man who believes in the efficacy of this doctrine finds in the ultimate stage, when he is about to reach the goal, the whole world at his feet,—not that he wants the whole world at his feet, but it must be so. If you express your love—*Ahimsa*—in such a manner that it impresses itself indelibly upon your so-called enemy, he must return that love. Another thought which comes out of this is that, under this rule, there is no room for organized assassinations, and there is no room for murders even openly committed, and there is no room for any violence even for the sake of your country, and even for guarding the honour of precious ones that may be under your charge. After all that

would be a poor defence of honour. This doctrine of *Ahimsa* tells us that we may guard the honour of those who are under our charge by delivering ourselves into the hands of the man who would commit the sacrilege. And that requires far greater physical and mental courage than the delivering of blows. You may have some degree of physical power,—I do not say courage—and you may use that power. But after that is expended, what happens? The other man is filled with wrath and indignation, and you have made him more angry by matching your violence against his; and when he has done you to death, the rest of his violence is delivered against your charge. But if you do not retaliate, but stand your ground, between your charge and the opponent, simply receiving the blows without retaliating, what happens? I give you my promise that the whole of the violence will be expended on you, and your charge will be left unscathed. Under this plan of life there is no conception of patriotism which justifies such wars as you witness to-day in Europe.

THEN THERE IS THE VOW OF CELIBACY.

Those who want to perform national service, or those who want to have a glimpse of the real religious life, must lead a celibate life no matter if married or unmarried. Marriage but brings a woman closer together with the man, and they become friends in a special sense, never to be parted either in this life or in the lives that are to come. But I do not think that, in our conception of marriage, our lusts should necessarily enter. Be that as it may, this is what is placed before those who come to the *Ashrama*. I do not deal with that at any length.

THEN WE HAVE THE VOW OF CONTROL OF THE PALATE.

A man who wants to control his animal passions easily does so if he control his palate. I fear this is one of the most difficult vows to follow. I am just now coming after having inspected the Victoria Hostel. I saw there not to my dismay, though it should be to my dismay; but I am used to it now, that there are so many kitchens, not kitchens that are established in order to serve caste restrictions, but kitchens that have become necessary in order that people can have the condiments, and the exact weight of the condiments, to which they are used in the respective places from which they have come. And therefore we find that for the Brahmans themselves there are different compartments and different kitchens catering for the delicate tastes of all these different groups. I suggest to you that this is simply slavery to the palate, rather than mastery over it. I may say this: Unless we take our minds off from this habit, and unless we shut our eyes to the tea shops and coffee shops and all these are necessary for the proper maintenance of our physical health, and unless we are prepared to rid ourselves of stimulating, heating and exciting condiments that we mix with our food, we will certainly not be able to control the overabundant, unnecessary, exciting stimulation that we may have. If we do not do that, the result naturally is, that we abuse ourselves and we abuse even the sacred trust given to us, and indulging passions we share in common with the animals, but have you ever seen a horse or a cow indulg-

ing in the abuse of the palate as we do? Do you suppose that it is a sign of civilization, a sign of real life that we should multiply our eatables so far that we do not even know where we are; and seek dish after dish until at last we have become absolutely mad and run after the newspaper sheets which give us advertisements about these dishes?

THEN WE HAVE THE VOW OF NON-THIEVING.

I suggest that we are thieves in a way. If I take anything that I do not need for my own immediate use, and keep it, I thieve it from somebody else. I venture to suggest that it is the fundamental law of Nature, without exception, that Nature produces enough for our wants from day to day, and if only everybody took enough for himself and nothing more, there would be no pauperism in this world, there would be no man dying of starvation in this world. But so long as we have got this inequality, so long we are thieves. I am no socialist, and I do not want to dispossess those who have got possessions; but I do say that, personally, those of us who want to see light out of darkness have to follow this rule. I do not want to dispossess anybody. I should then be departing from the rule of *Ahimsa*. If somebody else possesses more than I do, let him. But so far as my own life has to be regulated, I do say that I dare not possess anything which I do not want. In India we have got three millions of people having to be satisfied with one meal a day, and that meal consisting of a chapati containing no fat in it, and a pinch of salt. You and I have no right to anything that we really have until these three millions are clothed and fed better. You and I, who ought to know better, must adjust our wants, and even undergo voluntary starvation, in order that they may be nursed, fed and clothed. Then there is the vow of non-possession which follows as a matter of course. Then I go to,

THE VOW OF SWADESHI.

The vow of *Swadeshi* is a necessary vow. But you are conversant with the *Swadeshi* life and the *Swadeshi* spirit. I suggest to you we are departing from one of the sacred laws of our being when we leave our neighbour and go out somewhere else in order to satisfy our wants. If a man comes from Bombay here and offers you wares, you are not justified in supporting the Bombay merchant or trader so long as you have got a merchant at your very door, born and bred in Madras. That is my view of *Swadeshi*. In your village, so long as you have got your village-barber, you are bound to support him to the exclusion of the finished barber who may come to you from Madras. If you find it necessary that your village-barber should reach the attainments of the barber from Madras, you may train him to that. Send him to Madras by all means, if you wish, in order that he may learn his calling. Until you do that you are not justified in going to another barber. That is *Swadeshi*. So, when we find that there are many things that we cannot get in India, we must try to do without them. We may have to do without many things which we may consider necessary, but believe me: when you have that frame of mind, you will find a great burden taken off your shoulders, even as the Pilgrim did in that inimitable book, "Pilgrim's Progress": There came a time when the mighty burden that the Pilgrim was carrying on his shoulders unconsciously dropped from him, and he felt a freer man than he was when he started on the journey. So will you feel freer men than you are now, immediately you adopt this *Swadeshi* life.

WE HAVE ALSO THE VOW OF FEARLESSNESS.

I found, throughout my wanderings in India, that India, educated India, is seized with a paralysing fear. We may not open our lips in public; we may not declare our confirmed opinions in public; we may hold those opinions; we may talk about them secretly; and we may do anything we like within the four walls of our house,—but those are not for public consumption. If we had taken a vow of silence, I would have nothing to say. When we open our lips in public, we say things which we do not really believe in. I do not know whether this is not the experience of almost every public man who speaks in India. I then suggest to you that there is only one Being, if Being is the proper term to be used, Whom we have to fear, and that is God. When we fear God, we shall fear no Man, no matter how high-placed he may be. And if you want to follow the vow of truth in any shape or form, fearlessness is the necessary consequence. And so you find, in the *Bhagavad Gita*, fearlessness is declared as the first essential quality of a Brahmin. We fear consequences, and therefore we are afraid to tell the Truth. A man who fears God will certainly not fear any earthly consequence. Before we can aspire to the position of understanding what religion is, and before we can aspire to the position of guiding the destinies of India, do you not see that we should adopt this habit of fearlessness. Or shall we over-awe our countrymen even as we are over-awed? We thus see how important this "fearlessness now" is.

AND WE HAVE ALSO THE VOW REGARDING THE UNTOUCHABLES.

There is an ineffaceable blot that Hinduism to-day carries with it. I have declined to believe that it has been handed to us from immemorial times. I think that this miserable, wretched, enslaving spirit of "untouchableness" must have come to us when we were in the cycle of our lives, at our lowest ebb, and that evil has still stuck to us and it still remains with us. It is, to my mind, a curse that has come to us, and as long as that curse remains with us, so long I think we are bound to consider that every affliction that we labour under in this sacred land is a fit and proper punishment for this great and indelible crime that we are committing. That any person should be considered untouchable because of his calling passes one's comprehension; and you, the student world, who receive all this modern education, if you become a party to this crime, it were better that you received no education whatsoever.

Of course, we are labouring under a very heavy handicap. Although you may realise that there cannot be a single human being on this earth who should be considered to be untouchable, you cannot react upon your families, you cannot react upon your surroundings, because all your thought is conceived in a foreign tongue, and all your energy is devoted to that. And so we have also introduced a rule in this *Ashrama*; that we shall receive our

EDUCATION THROUGH THE VERNACULARS.

In Europe, every cultured man learns, not only his language, but also other languages, certainly three or four. And even as they do in Europe, in order to solve the problem of language in India, we, in this *Ashrama*, make it a point to learn as many Indian vernaculars as we possibly can. And I assure you that the trouble of learning these languages is nothing compared to the trouble that we have to take in mastering

the English language. We never master the English language; with some exceptions it has not been possible for us to do so; we can never express ourselves as clearly as we can in our own mother tongue. How dare we rub out of our memory all the years of our infancy? But that is precisely what we do when we commence our higher life, as we call it, through the medium of a foreign tongue. This creates a breach in our life for bridging which we shall have to pay dearly and heavily. And you will see now the connection between these two things,—education and untouchableness—this persistence of the spirit of untouchableness even at this time of the day in spite of the spread of knowledge and education. Education has enabled us to see the horrible crime. But we are seized with fear also and, therefore, we cannot take this doctrine to our homes. And we have got a superstitious veneration for our family traditions and for the members of our family. You say, "My parents will die if I tell them that I, at least, can no longer partake of his crime." I say that Prahlad never considered that his father would die if he pronounced the sacred syllables of the name of *Vishnu*. On the contrary, he made the whole of that household ring, from one corner to another, by repeating that name even in the sacred presence of his father. And so you and I may do this thing in the sacred presence of our parents. If, after receiving this rude shock, some of them expire, I think that would be no calamity. It may be that some rude shocks of the kind might have to be delivered. So long as we persist in these things which have been handed down to us for generations, these incidents may happen. But there is a higher law of Nature, and in due obedience to that higher law my parents and myself should make that sacrifice.

AND THEN WE FOLLOW HAND-WEAVING.

You may ask: "Why should we use our hands?" and say "the manual work has got to be done by those who are illiterate. I can only occupy myself with reading literature and political essays." I think that we have to realise the dignity of labour. If a barber or shoe-maker attends a college, he ought not to abandon the profession of barber or shoe-maker. I consider that a barber's profession is just as good as the profession of medicine. Last of all, when you have conformed to these rules, I think that then, and not till then, you may come to

POLITICS

and dabble in them to your heart's content, and certainly you will then never go wrong. Politics, divorced of religion, have absolutely no meaning. If the student-world crowd the political platforms of this country, to my mind it is not necessarily a healthy sign of national growth; but that does not mean that you, in your student-life, ought not to study politics. Politics are a part of our being; we ought to understand our national institutions, and we ought to understand our national growth and all those things. We may do it from our infancy. So, in our *Ashrama*, every child is taught to understand the political institutions of our country, and to know how the country is vibrating with new emotions, with new aspirations, with a new life. But we want also the steady light, the infallible light, of religious faith, not a faith which merely appeals to the intelligence, but a faith which is indelibly inscribed on the heart. First, we want to realise that religious consciousness, and immediately we have done that, I think the whole department of life is open to us, and it should then be a sacred privilege of

students and everybody to partake of that whole life, so that, when they grow to manhood, and when they leave their colleges, they may do so as men properly equipped to battle with life. To-day what happens is this: much of the political life is confined to student life; immediately the students leave their colleges and cease to be students, they sink into oblivion, they seek miserable employments, carrying miserable emoluments, rising no higher in their aspirations, knowing nothing of God, knowing nothing of fresh air or bright light, and nothing of that real vigorous independence that comes out of obedience to these laws that I have ventured to place before you.

The Viceroy on The Ruling Princes.

Speaking at the Imperial Council, on February 8, H. E. The Viceroy said of the Ruling Princes:—

On the 30th October last, a memorable gathering took place in this Chamber when no less than 40 of the more important Ruling Princes and Chiefs assembled together to discuss and advise the Government of India on certain important matters affecting themselves, their States and their people. These matters were not such as can appropriately be referred to in detail in this Council, but you will be glad to learn that the debates were full of interest and that the results of the Conference promise to be of real and practical value both to the States and to the Government of India. I trust that it may be found possible to hold similar gatherings in future years and so to develop among the Ruling Princes and Chiefs a still livelier interest in the progress of their States and a broader conception, if that is possible, of their responsibilities as colleagues and partners in the business of the Empire. If evidence were necessary of the cheerful acceptance of their responsibilities by the Ruling Princes and Chiefs, I would point to the speeches delivered at the Conference and to the devoted and loyal assistance given by Their Highnesses towards the prosecution of the war. The flow of contributions and offers of services from their States still continues unabated, and among the numerous recent offerings, I may mention H. H. the Maharajah of Mysore, the further gift of Rs. 45,000 a month by H. H. the Rao of Cutch towards the maintenance for a third year of an Indian infantry regiment at the front, the gift of Rs. 4,51,200 by the Princes and people of Rajputana and Ajmere-Merwara towards the purchase of aircraft and machine guns, the raising of three additional companies of the Bikanir Camel Corps by H. H. the Maharaja of Bikanir, and the further gifts of Rs. 1 lakh by H. H. the Gaekwar of Baroda, Rs. 1 lakh by H. H. the Maharajah of Jhind, Rs. 50,000 by H. H. the Maharajah of Jaipur, and Rs. 50,000 by H. H. the Maharajah Holkar of Indore towards the Imperial Indian Relief Fund. To the list of Imperial Services Troops which have received the honour of being sent on active service, must now be added the Imperial Service Transport Corps from Mysore and a Mountain Battery from Kashmir, whose troops have already rendered distinguished service in the field. The Prime Minister and the Government of Nepal, not content with their previous subventions, have recently placed at my disposal a further donation of Rs. 3 lakhs for the purposes of the war. For all these gifts and services, I should like to offer once more the cordial acknowledgments of the Government of India and of this Council.

THE VICEROY'S RECENT SPEECHES.

[H. E. the Viceroy had occasion to make a number of speeches in response to the numerous addresses presented by different public bodies at Calcutta and Delhi. The following extracts from some of these, and also from his convocation speech at Calcutta and other addresses delivered at the Directors' Conference and the Imperial Legislative Council, refer to matters of considerable importance and will be read with interest:]

Europeans in India.

Replying to the Address of the European Association, at Calcutta, on December 23, H. E. the Viceroy gave them the following candid advice:—

You have referred, in language of appropriate gravity, to the responsibilities of the non-official European community as the representatives in the Indian Empire of the British people. I welcome the attitude indicated by these sentiments. The times in which we live are full of difficult and thorny problems. There is a great awakening of consciousness in the ancient races among whom our lot is cast. This is largely due to the traditions of our own country and to teachings for which we ourselves are responsible. The seed we have planted is growing very rapidly and has now become a strong tree, and though we may sometimes think its growth strange, because it is not precisely the same as our own growth, yet we should regard these conditions with interest and sympathy, and the words you have used encourage the hope that your Association will not limit its activities to the pursuit of communal interests, but that you recognise that the strength of the British Empire lies, not in the assertion of special privileges, but rather in the ability she has so often shown in the past to understand and enter into the natural aspirations of the various peoples who form part of her wide Dominions.

In the course of examining the various important questions that naturally come before them for consideration, the members of your Association must necessarily exercise judgment and discrimination, and this cannot fail to have an educative and broadening effect upon their views. I am confident that these influences induce moderation and restraint and a willingness to consider both sides of a question, and that, therefore, in your civic relations you will always set to similar associations of other communities the high standard which may be justly expected of you.

The University Commission.

In the course of his address to the last Convocation of the Calcutta University, on Jan. 6, His Excellency foreshadowed the appointment of a Commission to inquire into the conditions of that University in the following words:—

I turn now to the problem of the University itself. The nearer one approaches it, the more difficult, the more complicated does it appear. Its immensity: the fact that the University is situated in the centre of a vast city; the necessity of adapting its work to the needs of the time, and the demand of what we hope will be a great commercial and industrial development, all call for serious consideration. Shortly before the war I had occasion, in connection with my work on the London County

Council, to study the needs of London and the report of the London University Commission. It seems to me that "mutatis mutandis," the problems of Calcutta and its University run on very similar lines; and as in London it was imperative, if the University was to fill its place in the life of the community, to institute an enquiry of a very comprehensive and searching character; so too in Calcutta I believe an enquiry of the same nature is likely to be fruitful of good results. We all desire that the education given here should be of the highest and best quality, and should proceed on the soundest educational lines. In London, the Government of the day realised that the problem is too vast and complicated for executive action, so they appointed a Commission of very great strength presided over by Lord Haldane, and the result was a report which "omnium consensus," is of the highest educational value. Unfortunately the War has intervened and the recommendations in the report have had to remain in abeyance.

We, as the Government of India, have very carefully considered the situation with regard to Calcutta University, and we have come to the conclusion that a small but strong Commission, appointed to sit next cold weather, on similar lines and with terms of reference following those of the London University Commission, is a necessary preliminary to a constructive policy in relation to your problems, and we have every hope that a Commission so appointed may give us a report of equal educational value. I approached Lord Haldane and asked him if he would be willing to preside over this Commission, but he has replied that, while nothing would have given him greater pleasure, he is so deeply engaged in judicial and educational work that acceptance is impossible.

I am determined, however, that, so far as in me lies, the composition of this Commission shall be of the strongest possible character on the educational side, and that educational qualifications shall be alone considered. I am hoping to get as many as three educational experts from England to advise us, and local representatives will, of course, also have a place on the Commission, of whom the same qualifications will be required. Educational problems should be considered with a single eye to educational efficiency and that has been, and will be, my sole thought in the establishment of this Commission and in its composition.

As I told you at the outset of my address, I visited recently some of your hostels and messes, and I was struck by the excellent educational material which was there. It must be our care that these young men receive the very best education on the soundest lines that we can give. In this policy I feel sure that I shall have the cordial assent and co-operation of the University and the people of Bengal. As one long connected with education and as your Chancellor, I am anxious that educational questions should be approached from the purely educational standpoint and that our sole objective should be educational efficiency. I believe that a Commission instituted, as I have indicated, will best secure this end.

New Avocations.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following observations on January 6, touching the question of creating fresh avocations for university men :—

Each generation has its particular call, and for you in these days I believe the call has come to do something for the education of your country and the improvement of its material welfare. I am fully aware of the difficulties. Only the other day I asked a law student why he was taking up law with all its risks and disappointments. He answered, what else is there for me to take up?

I am not going to discuss his answer though it gives cause to think, but this I will say. It is my sincere hope and it is the policy of my Government to endeavour by all means in our power to open up other avenues of employment. So long as students think that the only avenues of employment are in the legal and clerical professions, so long shall we get congestion and overcrowding in those professions with consequent discouragement, disappointment and discontent. Our policy then is first to secure that there shall be as many opportunities of a livelihood as possible open to the educated classes and next to endeavour to divert the students into channels other than those of law and Government clerical employ.

I hope and believe that we shall be able to do so. Don't imagine that I promise the millennium for tomorrow or the next day; if we can lay the foundation of a policy which will increase the spheres of employment and at the same time switch off the overflowing stream of students into new channels of instruction, we shall at least have done something to remedy what is admittedly a very serious state of things. Take, for instance, the great profession of teaching. At the present time it is only regarded as a form of employment, which will keep the wolf from the door until briefs come in or some other permanent occupation be secured. This is not as it should be. The profession of teaching is a great and honourable profession, and it should engage the whole attention of those who follow it. But this is not likely to be the case so long as teachers are paid an inadequate wage. If we are to divert students on to this road, we must increase the pay and opportunities of our teachers and magnify the status of the teaching profession.

Again, India is asking for industrial and commercial opportunities for her sons. The Commission which is now sitting will, I hope, give us an answer which will enable us to secure this end. It will then be our duty so to train our students that when those opportunities are within their reach, they shall be capable of grasping them.

The call then to your generation is, I believe, to educate your people and to improve their material welfare. For my part, I promise you that I shall do all that is in my power to enable you to answer that call. And is it not a great call? Each one of you who takes up the profession of Teacher as a sacred calling—and the Teacher who regards his work as sacred has a great place in your history—will have the Teacher's reward of knowing that he has raised his disciples out of the slough of ignorance and has made life full of meaning for them. And for those of you who throw in your lot with the industrial and commercial development of your country, apart from the material prizes which will be yours to win, there will be the vision of an India emerging from a life of rare subsistence, to a life with a higher standard of living of comfort.

The Medium of Instruction.

Speaking at the Directors' Conference at Delhi, on January 22, H. E. Lord Chelmsford referred to the question of the medium of instruction in the following terms :—

I refer to the relative claims of English and Vernacular teaching. At the present moment we rely on English as the medium of our higher instruction. This is due mainly to the fact that English is the passport to employment and that Vernacular text-books are not available, but the consequence is obvious. Students endeavour to grapple with abstruse subjects through the medium of a foreign tongue and in many cases through their mediocre acquaintance with that tongue have perforce to memorise their text-books. We criticise adversely this tendency to memorise, but to my mind it reflects credit on the zeal of the students who rather than abandon their quest for knowledge commit to memory whole pages and whole books which they understand but imperfectly. This is, of course, a mere travesty of education. I had an opportunity the other day of conversing with a prominent Indian gentleman on this very subject, and he told me his personal experience. When he took up history as one of his subjects and found—though he is an admirable English scholar now—that his acquaintance with English was insufficient to enable him to understand his text-book, he resolved to memorise the whole book. In the course of his examination he had a question, the answer to which he knew lay in a certain page, but he was uncertain what portion of the page was relevant. So *ex abundanti cautela*. He wrote out the whole page. For this he obtained fewer marks than he thought he was entitled to. On remonstrating with the examiner, he was told that his answer contained so much irrelevant matter that it was clear that he did not rightly comprehend the question. I think this piece of evidence illustrates the defects of our present system. I would ask you and I ask myself, as university men,—how should we have fared in our education if it had been wholly through the medium of a foreign tongue? I doubt whether we would not have abandoned the attempt in despair, and I am lost in admiration for the grit of those boys who make a gallant attempt to surmount the difficulties imposed on them by a vicious system. The remedy seems to me to lie in one of two directions. Either we must teach in Vernacular as long as we can and put off to the latest possible moment the use of English as a medium of instruction, or we must concentrate our attention more closely on the teaching of English. Or, can any middle course be suggested which is sound on educational lines? I understand that it was arranged some two years ago in the Legislative Council that local Governments should be addressed on this subject generally when the war is over. I have no intention of bringing up the question for decision in advance of the time so arranged, but I wish it to receive thoughtful consideration without bias, so that when the time comes, not only will you have discussed and thought over it in your own provinces and be ready to give us your opinions, but the best minds in India will also be equally ready with their opinions.

India and the Imperial War Conference.

The Viceroy concluded his address to the Imperial Council, on February 8, with the following words touching India's representation in the Imperial War Conference :—

His Majesty's Government, as you know, have decided to convene a Special War Conference in London. As the members are aware, His Majesty's Government have invited the Secretary of State for India to represent India, and the Secretary of State has appointed, in consultation with the Government of India, three gentlemen to assist him at that Conference. Criticism has been made of the method of representation and the number and of the manner of selection of India's special delegates. I think our critics have misapprehended the nature of the conference and of the representation. The Conference is of the Mother Country, the Dominions and India. Each Dominion is represented by its Prime Minister and has but one voice in the Conference, but the Prime Ministers are permitted to bring with them such other ministers as they may desire and may invite these ministers to speak on behalf of the Dominions on any particular question. It is obvious that, in the case of India, so long as the Secretary of State is directly responsible to the Parliament for the policy of the Indian Government, the Secretary of State must be the head of the Indian delegation, and the policy propounded by India must be the policy of the Secretary of State in Council, but I have the Secretary of State's assurance that he will be glad to leave his colleagues from India to speak whenever possible on behalf of India. The Conference, then, being a conference of Government, it follows that the responsibility for the choice of the representatives must rest with the Government. No Government could divest itself of that responsibility, and so in the case of India, the Secretary of State, in consultation with the Government of India, has chosen the three gentlemen whose names you know. The choice, in fact, goes beyond the promise made by Lord Hardinge in his speech of the 22nd September 1916, to which I would refer the Hon'ble Members. I am sorry to think that the enormous importance of the decision taken by His Majesty's Government stands in danger of being minimized and discounted by hasty and not very well-informed criticism. As the French proverb has it, "It is the first step which counts," and India has been admitted to-day for the first time to a place of honour at the Council Table of the Empire. It marks a point in the history of India which, though it may not be seen in its true perspective to-day, will, I have no hesitation in saying, be the beginning of a new chapter in India's history under the Imperial flag. Our three representatives have been chosen. They embark shortly. They are, I think, you will all agree, men who will rise to the height of India's opportunity and do India credit on the new stage to which she is summoned. May they so bear themselves that from these early beginnings may spring a full and generous interpretation of India's future with the Empire. I have every confidence that by their talents they will establish India's claim to retain at the Council of the Empire the place which was first won for her by the loyalty of her people and the gallantry of her soldier sons when the Empire lay under the shadow of the great war.

Post-War Reforms.

Referring to the Memorandum on Post-War Reforms, His Excellency pointed out in the Imperial Council on February 8 :—

The Hon'ble Members are aware that shortly after the close of the last session, a memorandum was presented to me on behalf of 19 elected members of this Council embodying a list of reforms which they considered should be undertaken with reference to the present constitution of the Government of India. Gentlemen, let me assure you that the expediency of broadening the basis of the Government and the demand of Indians to play a greater part in the conduct of the affairs of this country, are not matters which have escaped our attention. I think the decision to publish the report of Lord Islington's Commission is a clear indication of our policy in this respect. Until the report of the Commission had been examined, it would have been impossible for us to formulate our policy on the important question of the further employment of Indians in the public services, but, on the general question of political reform, as I have already declared in public, progress must be circumspect and on well considered lines. Subject to these considerations of political prudence inherent in good governance, you may rest satisfied that we shall respond sympathetically to the spirit of progress which exists. I may state officially to-day what is, I believe, a matter of common knowledge that the Government of India addressed a despatch to the Secretary of State on this subject in the autumn of the last year. From May to October, that is to say, before the Sessions of the Legislative Council which produced the memorandum to which I have referred, we were engaged in considering it. You will not expect me to give any indication as to the nature of our proposals as the matter is now before His Majesty's Government. But I would sound this note of warning that His Majesty's Government have at the present moment their attention entirely occupied by the affairs relating to the war, and it is idle to expect them to give a speedy answer to our despatch.

Indians as Volunteers.

After speaking on the European recruitment in India, the Viceroy continued :—

We have no intention of confining the Defence of India Force to European British subjects. We also propose to enrol Indians in their own units for general military service in India for the duration of the war. In their case, considering the numbers available and the possible limitations upon our powers of training and equipment, we are satisfied that it will be sufficient for the present at all events to give Indians the opportunity of enrolling themselves for service as an integral part of this force. The desire of Indians to serve their country has been so widely expressed and so ardently acclaimed that I may feel confident that a great response will be made to this call, and that within the six months which we propose to allow for their enrolment as many men will offer themselves for service as the military authorities can deal with. But it must be borne in mind that though the services of this force will be confined to the limits of India, it is intended to be and will be essentially serious military service under strictly military conditions. To them, no less than to the others, the call is their country's and the service they are asked to undertake is the service of the Empire.

Indentured Labour.

In opening the Imperial Council, on February 8, His Excellency spoke on the Indenture Problem as follows:—

I turn now to a question of very great importance on which I think there is no real difference of opinion between us, except on the question of procedure. Almost at the close of the last legislative session, the Hon'ble Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya gave notice of his intention to move for leave to introduce a Bill to abolish entirely the system of emigration under indenture to labour. The cursory examination that was possible during the short period of notice, which the Honourable Member gave, elicited the fact that the Bill contained provisions which required my sanction under Section 67, Sub-Section 2 of the Government of India Act 1915, and the Hon'ble Member was so informed. He subsequently made a formal application for that sanction, and I think I should explain to the Council my reasons for refusing to comply with his request. In the first place, I may say emphatically that there has never been any intention either on the part of the Secretary of State or of the Government of India of departing from the pledges made by Lord Hardinge on behalf of the Government of India. Lord Hardinge made it perfectly clear that the object he had in view was the eventual abolition of the existing system. He made it equally clear that the existing system of recruiting must be maintained until the new conditions under which labour should have been worked out in conjunction with the Colonial Office and Crown Colonies concerned until proper safeguards in the Colonies should have been provided and until these should have had reasonable time to adjust themselves to the change. As the policy of the abolition of this system has now been definitely accepted and would be carried out, India could afford to accept this delay in a reasonable and generous spirit. Lord Hardinge's speech was delivered on the 20th March 1916, and, having regard to the magnitude of the issues and interests involved, I cannot help feeling that my honourable friend, in his earnest desire to forward the matter, which lies close to his heart and which, in fact, is of the deepest concern to us all, has been betrayed into some impatience in his action in endeavouring to introduce a Bill which, I fear, can only tend to prejudice the cause which he desires to serve. This Bill, as framed, provided not only for the abolition of indentured labour but also for the absolute prohibition of the departure of any native of British India by land or by sea out of British India under or with a view to entering into an agreement to labour for hire in any country beyond the sea other than Ceylon and the Straits Settlements. It thus went beyond the scope of the Hon'ble Member's own resolution of last year and, in fact, beyond anything that the Government of India have been asked to agree to or have undertaken to consider. The matter has not been allowed to rest either in India or in the Colonies. It has been necessary to obtain the views of Local Governments, who are primarily concerned with the details of recruitment and with the conditions under which this should be conducted in future. Their replies are being received. A special mission has been despatched to Ceylon and the Federated Malay States where labour is chiefly employed under short-term contracts, which gave the labourers frequent opportunities of changing

their employers, to ascertain whether the system in force there can be purified of its defects and adapted for employment in the other Colonies. The report of this Mission is expected towards the close of this month (i.e., February). It is intended that a Conference should meet in London as soon as is practicable thereafter, probably in May next, consisting of representatives of Indian and Colonial interests, and it is hoped that this Conference will be able to formulate a scheme embodying conditions acceptable to both parties. At the same time I may say that our decision that the present form of emigration must cease has been wholeheartedly accepted by the Colonial Office, and they are busily engaged not merely in improving the conditions of labour in the interval but in making ready for the great change which has to take place. The Colonies concerned have on their part shown the utmost readiness to co-operate in removing the features of the present system which are regarded as objectionable. In 1914, even before the Government of India had decided to recommend the abolition of the indenture system, the Fiji Government prepared a draft bill to give effect to the more important recommendations made by Messrs. McNeill and Chiman Lal, including the abolition of imprisonment as a penalty for labour offences. During the last year again, on receipt of intimation from the Secretary of State for the Colonies that the indenture system was definitely to be abolished as soon as possible, the Governments of British Guiana, Trinidad and Jamaica immediately initiated legislation to provide for the changes that would be necessary. Further legislation in the Colonies will be undertaken after the close of the ensuing Conference as soon as the precise character of the reforms to be introduced is decided. Meanwhile, we have been definitely informed that imprisonment, as a substantive punishment for strictly labour offences, has been expunged from the laws of all four Colonies. Both the Colonial Office and the Colonies which they represent are, therefore, entitled to full recognition of the spirit in which they have met us and to generous consideration in the many difficulties they have to meet, and I should deprecate most strongly any display of suspicion of their good faith or any failure to acknowledge the real difficulties which they have to confront. I may add that any law restricting emigration to other countries must obviously affect far wider interests than the more internal politics of British India, even though these may be the most important considerations involved. It appears to me, therefore, to be essential that any legislation on the subject is to be introduced by the Government of India as a Government measure. I have no hesitation in telling the Council that, as soon as the necessary preliminaries can be got through, the Government of India will themselves undertake whatever legislation may be required in a wholly sympathetic spirit, and I appeal with confidence to all my Hon'ble friends in the Council to be satisfied with this assurance, the fulfilment of which will, I hope, not be long delayed. In the meantime I am endeavouring, with the help of the Hon'ble Sir George Barnes, to see whether some amendment of the sex ratio prevailing among the emigrants cannot be devised.

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I. THE HON. MR. JUSTICE ABDUR RAHIM.

INDIANS' FITNESS FOR HIGHER APPOINTMENTS.

In paragraph 18 of the majority report, allusion is made to the allegation that the western-educated Indians do not reflect the views or represent the interests of the many scores of millions in India. So far as the views of the latter on any of the matters in dispute, or of an allied character, are concerned, it is impossible to imagine what opinions they are in a position to form so long as they are allowed to remain, as at present, in their illiterate and appallingly ignorant condition. As for the representation of their interests, if the claim be that they are better represented by European officials than by educated Indian officials or non-officials, it is difficult to conceive how such a reckless claim has come to be urged. The inability of English officials to master the spoken languages of India and their different religions, habits of life and modes of thought so completely divide them from the general Indian population that only an extremely limited few possessed with extraordinary powers of intuitional insight have ever been able to surmount the barriers. As for the sacred books and classics of the Indian peoples, Hindu and Muhammadan, whose study is indispensable to a foreigner wishing to understand the people's national genius, it would be difficult to name more than two or three Englishmen among the thousands that, during a period of more than 100 years of British connection with India, have been employed in the service of Government, whose attainments could be mentioned with a show of respect. Such knowledge of the people and of the classical literatures as passes current among the European officials is compiled almost entirely from the data furnished to them by the western-educated Indians; and the idea of the European officials having to deal with the people of India without the medium of the western-educated Indian is too wild for serious contemplation. It would be no exaggeration to say that without their co-operation the administration could not be carried on for a single day.

With the educated Indians, on the other hand, this knowledge is instinctive, and the ties of religion and custom, so strong in the east, inevitably make their knowledge and sympathy far more intimate than is to be seen in countries dominated by materialistic conceptions. It is from a wrong and deceptive perspective that we are asked to look at the system of castes among the Hindus more as a dividing force than as a powerful binding factor; and the unifying spirit of Islam, so far as it affects the Muhammadans, does not stand in need of being explained; while in all communities the new national movement has received considerable accession of impulse from the lessons of such arguments as are limited at in the majority report. The evidence is remarkably significant in this connection. His Highness the Agha Khan joined his weighty voice with that of the leaders of the Congress

in demanding simultaneous examinations for the Indian Civil Service, and the representatives of the Sikh Khalsa and the Pathans of the Punjab, the Moslem league along with the spokesmen of the communities more advanced in western education, were unanimous in entering their emphatic protest against the suggestion that the presence of Indians in the higher official ranks would be distasteful to the people themselves, and specially in a province or a community other than that of the Indian official.

As for the allegation that the Indians are wanting in initiative, driving power, resource, and the faculty of control, so far as it depends upon *a priori* assumptions, it could not affect our deliberations. The facts relating to the services inquired into, however, show that so far the Indians have been mostly employed in the lower ranks of the administrative services. If they have not found their way to the higher appointments in the administration above those included in the cadres of the provincial services, it is because these appointments have been reserved for officers recruited in Europe into the Imperial Services. In the Imperial Services the number of Indians has been so few that they cannot be said to have been given anything like opportunity for competing in this respect with Europeans. This is clearly made out by the interesting facts elicited by Mr. Gokhale from an English Indian Civil Service witness in Bengal. There are, however, other facts from which a clear inference can be drawn, the reverse of this allegation.

Looking back to past history, India, until the disruption of the Mogul empire, always produced men of high administrative talents, and at the present day in the more advanced Native States, wherever opportunity exists, Indians are successfully bearing the burden of the entire administration; some of them achieved notable distinction, such as Sir Salar Jung and Sir T. Madhavarao. It should also be noted that a fair proportion of these men were originally in the British Indian service but only found an adequate opportunity for a full play of administrative capacity when they were appointed either as ministers or heads of departments in these States. Then where there are large Indian commercial communities, such as in the Bombay Presidency, Indians successfully conduct the affairs of industrial concerns of considerable magnitude.

In professions where success is dominated by free competition and the value of work accomplished is judged under conditions different from what prevails in an Indian official department, the merits of the Indians work cannot be gainsaid. In the profession of law which, it must be observed, was wholly unknown to the Hindu and Muhammadan systems and is, of all institutions, peculiarly Occidental, Indians have acquired such a remarkable proficiency that it is now conceded to them as being particularly suited to their aptitudes. In western medicine, in the practice of which they suffer from many disadvantages as I shall have to point out, their success has been equally remarkable. Not only is the general level of efficiency of Indian qualified practitioners highly satisfactory, but some of them in the more advanced Presidencies have achieved eminent

* Extract from the Minute of Dissent in the Report of the Public Services Commission.

distinction as surgeons, doctors, and gynaecologists, and a few men have also done research work of value with such facilities as were within their reach. Of those who devoted themselves to politics it would not be difficult to mention the names of a number of men of commanding gifts of political judgment and foresight and of platform oratory, debate and organisation. In the region of scientific research of the higher order, at least two names may be mentioned, those of J. C. Bose and P. C. Roy who have won more than an Indian reputation, while the Nobel prize of literature was awarded the year before last to Rabindra Nath Tagore, whose poems have become familiar to most cultured men and women of Europe and America. Then to everyone who knows India will occur the names of those men who organised momentous movements of social, religious, educational and political reforms that have so largely changed the outlook of India. Under Lord Morley's scheme of reforms, Indians have been found fit for appointment in the Executive Councils of the Viceroy and of the Council of the Secretary of State for India. While on the benches of the High Courts, Indians have long established their reputation. An Indian sits on the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. In the face of these facts, it is hard to believe that India is deficient in wealth of intellect or character.

THE NECESSITY FOR RECRUITMENT IN INDIA.

Then the question of employment in the public service of India has to be considered in its important aspect of affording an adequate career to the educated Indians wishing to serve their country. In this connection it will not be inappropriate to take a bird's-eye view of the field of recruitment in England for Indian public services. The evidence shows what was naturally to be expected that under normal conditions an Indian career does not rank at all high in the estimation of English youths of more than average capacity and ambition. Such men prefer one of the many careers open to them in England, the army, the navy, the diplomatic service, the church and the law, journalism, literature, education, business and the home civil service. It has also been brought to our notice that the increasing activities of social life in manifold directions have, in England, so augmented the demand for educated men that only a very limited number of young men of superior calibre are available for foreign employment, and to this small number, service in self-governing colonies seems to appeal more strongly than service in India. There can be no doubt that the offers which Indian services ordinarily get proceed mostly from candidates of average attainments and rather limited outlook, more or less obliged by circumstances to seek for a living in a land which otherwise does not evoke much enthusiasm in their breasts. I am not inclined to depreciate the many good qualities of such men, and have no doubt that they prove quite equal to the daily duties of official business. But we cannot look with confidence to recruits of this type as a body to supply the higher order of administrative talent, which alone can enable a foreigner to understand the real forces at work in the very complex conditions of modern India and to guide them with sympathy. I have no hesitation in recording my opinion that the country in its present circumstances cannot safely or fairly be called upon to accommodate more than a very limited number of English officials of this class.

On the other hand, as was to be expected, the Indian field of recruitment has been steadily expanding. The

response of India to the demands of modern ideals of civic life has for some time been growing rapidly emphatic, not only among the Hindus and Parsis, but among the Muhammadans, the Sikhs and in other communities. Western education is spreading in all parts of India and amongst all classes, in castes and families whose hereditary occupations have been of a purely intellectual or literary character, amongst those whose ancestors carried on the military, civil and revenue administration of the country under the Mogul emperors and also among growing sections of the commercial and industrial communities. The educational institutions of India, from the most primitive primary schools known as maktabs and pathshalas to the universities and colleges, are literally full to overflowing. If they were multiplied five-fold, they would soon be filled. Indian students are also flocking to foreign countries; they are crowding, not only at the doors of British universities, but are spreading to America and Japan, and some also come to France, Germany and Switzerland. Leaving aside a fair proportion of inefficients, the number of those well qualified for a useful civic career has been growing larger day by day.

But, on the other hand, the careers open to an educated Indian are grievously limited. To him, whether he be a Sikh, a Pathan, a descendant of the Moguls or a Rajput, the commissioned ranks of the army and the navy still remain closed. Literature, owing to the absence of a large reading public, affords very limited attractions as a career, except to the specially gifted journalism presents more difficulties than prizes, while the larger commercial and industrial enterprises mostly belong to foreigners whose reluctance to employ educated Indians, except in purely clerical work, has been specially brought home to us. Law possibly has had more than its fair share of recruits, and medicine the only other large independent profession, though crowded in big cities like Calcutta and Bombay, can still accommodate a certain number, and so also teaching so far as it is a private enterprise. Indians cannot look for a career in any capacity in the colonies, nor for all practical purposes anywhere else outside their own country. The pressure therefore on the public service of India from the Indian side is so great that the question, as is well known, has assumed considerable political proportions. No doubt, the number of men that can be absorbed in such service must necessarily be small compared to the total educated force of the country; all that can reasonably be expected, and is asked for, is that the disabilities should be removed and the conditions of entry be such as to make the service freely accessible to honest effort and merit. For the rest other forces must be relied upon to open other avenues of employment.

In this connection I may notice that it has been urged before us that the first and foremost duty of the British Government in India is towards the vast masses of the people, and so long as the interests of peace and security are safeguarded and there is no demand from the general population for larger employment of Indian officials, the Government need not pay much heed to the cry of educated Indians. The sphere of duties here suggested for the Indian Government is so obviously primitive and reactionary that it hardly calls for an elaborate refutation. It was never anticipated that the duty of the Indian Government, as a civilised Government, would be fully discharged by merely keeping peace and order which is as much necessary for its own

existence as for the well-being of the people. On the other hand, it has from the very commencement undertaken to uplift the general level of the people in their material, intellectual and moral conditions, to spread modern science and culture and to develop the instincts of enlightened citizenship affording at the same time ample and growing opportunities to qualified Indians to manage the affairs of their own country. The time seems to be ripe when a much freer and larger admission of Indians into the higher regions of administration has become necessary, if there is to be harmony between the Government and the re-awakened life of India. An English official, in so far as he represents a high level of Western knowledge and training, has a sincere and earnest desire to help the cause of progress combined with an aptitude for adapting western methods to the changing conditions of an ancient Oriental country, and, above all, a determination to deal justly not merely between one Indian and another, but what is much more politically important and far more difficult between conflicting Indian and English claims which constantly crop up in various forms, has a very useful career in India, and will always be welcomed by competent Indian public opinion. A few such men would considerably strengthen the bonds between the Government and the people; on the other hand, an English official of a lower type or with lower ideals would at the present day be felt as an anachronism and prove a fruitful source of political friction. I would also point out the obvious fact that an English official is at best a bird of passage in India, his ties and cherished associations lie outside the country, he stands in need of frequent and prolonged absences from his work, leading to constant shiftings of official arrangements, his knowledge of the people, their wants and aspirations must always be more or less limited, and when he retires at the age varying between 40 and 55, all his training and ripe experience are entirely lost to the country. He is expensive to train, expensive to employ—two men, roughly speaking, being required to do one man's work—and is a dead loss to the country when he retires. Even supposing that he initially brings to his work some superior qualifications, still the balance of advantage must in the nature of things be heavily on the side of the Indian official. Further an efficient Indian administrator has a value to the country far greater than is to be measured by the actual output of his daily routine work. He becomes a centre of further growth.

THE DISABILITIES OF INDIANS.

The policy which I have endeavoured to keep in view in dealing with this question is that which has been repeatedly declared to the people of India in statutes of Parliament, in Proclamations of the Crown made on solemn occasions and in other public documents of importance. To those declarations the people of India naturally attach the sanctity of pledges and no apology is, therefore, needed for citing the more important of them, although they may be well known. The statute of 1833 (13 & 14 Will. IV., cap. 85, s. lxxxvii), lays down that "no native of India nor any natural born subject of His Majesty resident therein shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the said company." In the dispatch of 1834 (No. 44, dated 18th December 1834), the court of directors explained that "whatever other tests of qualification might be adopted, distinctions of race or religion

should not be of the number," and in another part (paragraphs 105 and 107) of the same document, after protesting against the presumption on which the authorities in India used to act, namely, that the average amount of native qualifications could only rise to a certain limit, they addressed them in these earnest words, "To this rule it will be necessary that you should both in your acts and your language conform." In fact, their instructions required the Government of India to admit natives of India to places of trust as freely and extensively as their individual aptitudes justified. Then they proceeded to suggest practical measures by which this policy could be fully carried out: "In every view it is important that the indigenous people of India or those among them who by their habits, character, or position may be induced to aspire to office should, as far as possible, be qualified to meet the European competitors. Hence there arises a powerful argument for the promotion of every design tending to the improvement of the natives, whether by conferring on them the advantages of education or by diffusing among them the treasures of science, knowledge, and moral culture."

The words of the famous Proclamation of Queen Victoria, dated 1st November 1858, are equally clear and forcible: "We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our said territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our subjects. . . . And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects of whatever race or creed be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge." In the last paragraph it is added: "It is our earnest desire to administer its Government for the benefit of all our subjects resident there. . . ."

King Edward VII.'s proclamation of 1st November 1906, after endorsing the general policy enunciated in the proclamation of 1858 and stating that steps were being taken to give effect to it, adds: "Important classes among you, representing ideas that have been fostered and encouraged by British rule, claim equality of citizenship and a greater share in the legislation and Government. The politic satisfaction of such a claim will strengthen, not impair, existing authority and power." The principles of action here laid down are not carried out at present in the following respects. . . .

The points of view from which the majority of the Commissioners and myself have approached the question of employment of Indians are substantially different. The question they have asked themselves is, what are the means to be adopted for extending the employment of Indians (see paragraphs 35-36). But the proper standpoint, which alone in my opinion furnishes a satisfactory basis to work upon, is that the importation of officials from Europe should be limited to cases of clear necessity, and the question therefore to be asked is, in which services and to what extent should appointments be made from England. The suggestion involved in the majority's point of view is that special measures are necessary for finding employment for Indians in the administration, and that the practical question, therefore, is how many or how few posts are to be handed over to them. On the other hand, the view which, upon a review of the situation, has forced itself on my conviction, is that if Indians have not established a footing in the higher ranks of administration, it is not through their own fault; it is due to barriers of many sorts that have been raised in their way. It will be sufficient if the disabilities be removed

and the doctrine of equal opportunity and fair dealing be established as a practical measure. No special protection or favour will be necessary if the need for protection is guarded against. It will appear from the tables given in paragraph 34 of the majority report, that out of the existing 11,084 appointments on Rs. 200 a month and upwards, only 42 per cent. was held by Indians and Burmans of pure Asiatic descent on the 1st April 1913. Then, as we ascend higher up in the scale, the position grows much worse. Out of 4,984 posts carrying salaries of Rs. 500 a month and upwards, only 942, or 19 per cent., were filled by them as against 4,042, or 81 per cent., occupied by Europeans or Anglo-Indians. When we reach the salaries of Rs. 800 a month and upwards, which, to a large extent, though not entirely, indicate the level of higher appointments of supervision and control—for there are some provincial appointments of a less important character which carry a salary of Rs. 800 and a few of Rs. 1,000—only 242, or 10 per cent., of the appointments were held by Indians as against 2,259, or 90 per cent., filled by Europeans and Anglo-Indians. Reference is made in paragraph 34 of the majority report to the progress made in this respect from 1887 to 1913. In the region of appointments carrying salaries of Rs. 200 and upwards, the percentage has risen from 34 to 42 since 1887, and in appointments of Rs. 500 and upwards from 12 to 19 per cent., and in those carrying a pay of Rs. 800 and upwards from 4 to 10 per cent. This during the space of a quarter of a century!

SIMULTANEOUS EXAMINATIONS.

This important question relating to the problem of giving Indian candidates an opportunity of competing on substantially equal terms with the English candidates for the Indian Civil Service is disposed of in paragraph 16 of annexure X. to the majority report. What is asked for is that the open competitive examination, which is now held solely in England, should be held simultaneously in England and in India on the same papers and conducted by the Civil Service Commissioners, the results being embodied in one common list. There is hardly any other demand in connection with the Indian public services to which Indian public opinion attaches so much importance; it has formed the subject of persistent agitation, and its refusal hitherto is cited as a glaring illustration of the wide divergence that still exists between declarations of policy as made by British statesmen and their enforcement in actual practice by those immediately concerned with the Indian administration. The main object of the proposal is to remove the otherwise insurmountable handicap against Indian candidates which now artificially secures for British candidates a virtual monopoly of the most important and best paid civil appointments. It is based on the principle that appointments to public office in India must be settled on the test of qualifications and not on presumptions arising from race or place of birth. If the desire to secure what is mildly called a "British minimum," but which, in the contemplation of the majority of the Commissioners, really means 80 per cent. or more of these posts is to be given precedence over the test of qualifications, that can only be justified on a *priori* considerations of racial superiority. This, according to the Indian view, should be regarded as inadmissible. Their contention is that the test of an examination such as that conducted by the Civil Service Commissioners should be supreme, and the advantages which racial characteristics or training give

to British candidates ought to, and will, in fact, find expression in the results of the examination. The English candidates have the advantage of the language and of a more efficient system of training and education: that ought to suffice—as all Indian witnesses think it will—to secure for such of them as are of average intellectual gifts a predominance in the service. Only those British candidates, whose mental powers are below the average, will fail in the competition. Any arrangements which would secure men of the latter class, far from ensuring the British character of the administration, would only do serious disservice to it as well as to the prestige of the British people.

It is suggested that the institution of simultaneous examinations in India will in some way or other retard the development of Indian education. The truth, however, is that it will considerably help such development. The history of western education in India amply justifies this belief. As regards the examination in its present form fitting the Indian university curriculum, there can be no real doubt about it, if one compares the subjects of study in the Indian University calendars with the syllabus of the Civil Service examination. The system of options provides ample room for the different subjects of liberal education. Similarly as regards the age, either 22-24 as at present, or 21-23 as I have proposed, will suit the periods of Indian university courses just as well as those of the British universities. Certain practical difficulties in the way of applying the simultaneous system in "totally different longitudes and on separate continents" are also vaguely hinted at. These in my opinion are more imaginary than real; the hours can be easily so adjusted as to enable some of the Civil Service Commissioners to conduct the examination here at the same time that the examination will be held in India, without giving any opportunity to persons feloniously inclined to telegraph the questions to England for the benefit of the candidates here or vice versa.

As far back as 1860, an influential committee appointed by the Secretary of State for India to consider the subject of the employment of Indians in the Indian Civil Service reported in favour of adopting simultaneous examinations "as being the fairest and the most in accordance with the principles of the general competition for a common object." In June 1893, the question was raised in the House of Commons and a resolution was passed that all open competitive examinations held in England alone for appointments to the chief services of India should henceforth be held simultaneously in India and England. And yet the majority of the Commissioners would, at the present day, reject this obvious method of justice essentially on racial grounds, in the teeth of evidence which showed that in making this demand all the different communities of India (excepting, of course, the Europeans and the Anglo-Indians) and all the provinces were united and practically unanimous. His Highness the Agha Khan, in supporting the demand, said, "I am in favour of a simultaneous examination in England and India. I would give full effect to the House of Commons' resolution of June 1893. . . . It will do away with any feeling of discontent that may exist at the idea that the Indian Civil Service has been kept as a preserve for Englishmen and that the children of the soil are shut out from their proper and legitimate share in controlling the administration of the country." In my opinion, in the interests of both justice and political expediency, simultaneous examinations should be conceded for the Indian Civil Service proper.

II. THE HON. MR. M. B. CHAUBAL, C.S.I.

In the first place, it may be pointed out that in relation to the public services under Government there is no such class as *eastern educated classes*, as distinguished or distinguishable from "the western educated classes." For such eastern education as exists now there is absolutely no scope for employment in any of the departments we have considered. If any Indians have to be employed in the higher service at all, they must be from the western educated classes, whether they represent the masses of the people or not. Assuming that they do not, the next step implied in the argument is that the ability or capacity to represent the masses must be present in anyone who claims to be entitled to enter the higher service under Government. Therefore, it is not desirable to employ a large number of these western educated classes in the higher service, and consequently it is impossible with safety and, in the interests of these masses, to narrow the field of employment for Europeans and Anglo-Indians in the higher posts under Government. To employ the educated Indian in larger numbers is, in the words of the late Sir Charles Crosthwaite, "to give a disproportionate degree of authority in the government of the masses and the aristocracy into the hands of a few thousand men whose heads have been turned by an education they have not assimilated."

If this argument is analysed one cannot help being struck with the assumption that this capacity to represent the masses is taken for granted in the European and the Anglo-Indian. It is difficult to understand exactly what is intended to be conveyed by the word "represent." If it implies a knowledge of the conditions of life of these masses, their habits, their ways of living and thinking, their wants and grievances, the ability to enter into their thoughts, and appreciate what is necessary to educate them, to give them higher ideas of life, and make them realise their duties towards all about them, there ought to be no doubt that the educated Indian has all these in a far higher degree than any European or Anglo-Indian can claim to have. The charge really is that the educated Indian has a class bias, a sort of clannishness, a tendency to favour his own caste or community in the discharge of his official duties which detract from his usefulness in the higher service, and, therefore, the presence of the European in large numbers is necessary to hold the scales evenly between these few educated thousands and the dumb and ignorant millions, who would otherwise be oppressed by them.

This is rather a shallow pretence—this attempt to take shelter behind the masses; and I think it only fair to state that the class of educated Indians, from which only the higher posts can be filled, is singularly free from this narrow-mindedness and class or caste bias; e.g., no instances of complaint on this score as against any of the Indian members of the Indian Civil Service would be available, and I have no hesitation in endorsing the opinion of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, in his recent contribution on village life in his tour through Southern India, that the interests of the masses are likely to be far better understood and taken care of by the educated Indian than by the foreigner. As a matter of fact all the measures proposed for the regeneration of the lower and depressed classes have emanated from the educated Indians of the higher castes. The scheme for the free and compulsory education of these masses was

proposed by an educated Indian of a high caste and supported mainly by the western educated classes. High-souled and self-sacrificing men are every day coming forward from this class to work whole-heartedly in improving the condition of the masses.

Perhaps the truth, however unpalatable, is that there are still a number of the average English officials in India who have a distrust and suspicion about the educated Indian. The explanation of this is probably that given by Sir P. M. Mehta in his evidence—that the English official does not like the independence, the self-assertion and the self-respect which come naturally in the wake of education. As Dr. Wordworth stated in his evidence before the last Commission, "deferential ignorance, conciliatory manners, and a plentiful absence of originality and independence are now, and will always be, at a premium." It is high time that this shibboleth was exploded. It is indeed hardly consistent that while on the one hand Government should foster and encourage the growth of opportunities for educated Indians for participation in public life, in the municipalities and district boards, and in the provincial and imperial legislative councils, they should, on the other, so jealously guard the entrance of educated indigenous agency into the higher and better remunerated posts in the State.

GENERAL STATEMENT OF THE EXISTING PROBLEM.

The questions relating to the salary, leave, pension, and prospects in the services, are comparatively only of subsidiary importance. By far the most important part of the existing problem relates to the employment of Indians in the higher branches of the service. The lower branches of the service, and the subordinate services, have ever been and must continue to be mainly recruited from the natives of the country, partly because Europeans cannot afford to serve on the salaries generally attached to the posts in them. The question relating to their larger employment in the higher services requires, under the present political conditions of India, to be approached and looked at from a broad, far-reaching and statesmanlike point of view, and there are certain factors which must, under the present circumstances, be steadily kept in mind.

The too limited employment of Indians in the higher service is one of the main causes of the discontent and unrest which have recently become so marked among the educated classes, and about which so much has been heard and written. To understand the genesis of this unrest one must consider what young educated India is at the present day and how it has come to be what it is. Young men of the present generation do not and cannot appreciate the benefits of the British rule to the same degree as did the men of a past generation. The latter contrasted the peace and security of life and property with the troublous times before the British rule, and felt happy and contented. The young man of the present day takes these great blessings as his birthright. When western education was started and schools, colleges and universities were established, the young Indian began to study eagerly the history and literature of free and advanced western countries and the biographies of great men, studied their careers and how they struggled for freedom and liberty; he studied the birth and growth of liberal institutions in western countries, and he began to contrast their state with his own helpless dependence. A vague discontent took possession of his mind, and a wild enthusiasm to break through his environment seized him. He fancied that his progress

in every direction was hampered. Nearer home he saw how a small nation, comparatively recently quite as low as his own country in civilisation, rose to splendour and worked out its own salvation. These forces, which had been working silently, found expression in the annual National Congress, came to a head at the noted Surat Congress, and the school of anarchy, of which we now find exhibitions, had its origin in this discontent. The phenomenon of practically all the higher offices in the State being monopolised by the foreigner and the European, loomed large in the view of those young men, who formed originally the extremist school. A few wise and far-seeing men, like the late Mr. Gokhale, saw the trend of events, and were afraid of the pit into which young India was being led. To counterbalance this school they wisely placed before their educated countrymen the goal of a "colonial self-government" and the privilege of the citizenship of the largest Empire in the world; and they declared that as they made themselves fit for it, they would draw nearer to this goal, until India took its proper place in the Empire as a self-governing colony. In the speeches in the Viceroy's Legislative Council, the restricted employment of Indians in the higher service was the frequent theme of attack on the lines on which the administration of the country was run. By their incessant efforts, they have now been able to persuade a very large body of young educated Indians to adopt this ideal, and those who believe that that ideal is attainable by self-improvement and constitutional agitation from what is recognised as the moderate school in Indian politics. A wider and more liberal employment of highly educated and capable Indians in the higher posts under Government will, it is believed, in no small degree strengthen this party and correspondingly break through the strength of the other school.

Since last August, however, this earnest demand for a larger employment of qualified Indian agency in the higher service has received an added force. This unfortunate war into which the whole Empire has been launched, the response that India has made to the call of the Empire in its need, and the generous and appreciative terms in which responsible British administrators have spoken and are speaking of the loyal support from all classes and communities in India, have raised hopes and aspirations which, if not substantially satisfied, will result in disappointment and cause alarming discontent. Whatever may come after a successful termination of the war, the country is now in a ferment and is anxiously awaiting the final pronouncements of this Commission for some substantial indication of the "altered angle of vision" towards Indian problems.

The question, therefore, of the proportions in which indigenous agency is to be utilised in the near future in the higher service of the State is of vital importance. These proportions must be such as will cumulatively throughout the services help to create the feeling that we Indians are in a substantial degree carrying on the government of the country. At present the Indians are far and few; and every Indian officer, whether high or low, feels that he is not serving himself or his country, but is an individual hired to labour for somebody else. He can rarely put his whole heart into the work, because he is always conscious of the presence of his taskmaster and never works but with his eyes upon his superior officer and always thinking of what he will say of the work turned out by him. To dispel this feeling there

must, in the higher service in all departments of the administration, be present a large number of Indians, so that they may collectively feel that the responsibility for a strong and wise government of the people rests mainly on them. This consideration, indeed, appears to have been present to the mind of the last Commission, but I think it did not realise the extremely limited employment of the Indians in the services. They observe in their report, "As the progress of education excites in constantly increasing numbers of the natives of India an interest in their political condition, the knowledge that men of their own race and creed are freely associated with Englishmen in the government of the country will minimise any sense of subjection and enhance the sentiment of a common citizenship—a sentiment which is at once the interest of the Empire and the desire of her most eminent politicians to inspire and confirm." The evidence received by us in India during the last two years has left on my mind a painful impression that a much more sympathetic treatment by, and a far more liberal association with, Englishmen is required before that sense of subjection is appreciably reduced, and before the desired sentiment of a common citizenship is created, for at present it is indeed non-existent except perhaps in platform speeches. When, therefore, in this minute I am dissenting from the proportions allotted, in the report and annexures, to the Indians in the different services, I am doing so because I look at the question from this point of view, and I feel that the proportions recommended by the majority are insufficient and inadequate. I believe that what I claim for them in my minute would be the minimum likely to secure this end and would go far to satisfy the expectation and hope which have been raised. The whole country is even now grumbling at the fate of an innocent Bill, like the United Provinces Councils Bill, and is afraid that this is but an indication of what it may expect. At the same time I believe that the minimum claimed for each service in this minute is that which can, at the present time, be conceded to India, without any loss to the British spirit of administration and perhaps with some advantage in the efficiency of the different departments.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

GOD'S MINUTE. By 365 Eminent Clergymen and Laymen. The Vir Publishing Company, London.
RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE ECONOMIC CONFERENCE OF THE ALLIES. Government Press, Simla.
JAINISM. By Herbert Wamen and V. R. Gandhi, B.A., M.R.A.S. The Central Jaina Publishing House, Arrah.

BOOKS RELATING TO INDIA.

INDIAN ARCHITECTURE. Part I. Edited by M. A. Ananthawar, and Compiled by A. V. Thyagaraja Iyer. A. V. T. Iyer & Sons, Madras.
GLASS MANUFACTURE. By Rai Saheb Lala Parma Lal. Upper India Glass Works, Ambala City.
SELF-GOVERNMENT IN ANCIENT INDIA, VEDIC AND POST-VEDIC. By Rao Sahib N. B. Pavgee, Poona.

THE WORLD OF BOOKS.

[ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION.]

Indian Constitutional Documents, 1773-1915.

By Prof. P. Mukherji, M.A. Thacker Spinck & Co., Calcutta.

Prof. Mukherji has done a valuable service in compiling and editing the various statutes relating to the Government of India, chronologically and consecutively, for the benefit of those anxious to trace the evolution of the present Indian constitution. Some of these documents mark important landmarks in the history of Indian legislation, and the author has done well to append the more notable speeches of ministers and statesmen, to the respective statutes. The inclusion of Royal Proclamations and historic announcements, together with the Resolutions and Despatches of the Home and India Governments, will be highly prized, as they must add considerably to the value of the work as a book of reference on all topics bearing on the important question of the development of the Indian constitution.

The author's succinct Introduction traces the growth and development of the British Indian history and constitution, and as such throws abundant light on the progress and policy of the British Government in India. Besides the story of the British connection and the progress of the Indian polity, the development of the system of provincial finance on the one hand, and local Self-Government on the other, is traced with brief but pertinent references.

The author has also followed this book with a supplement entitled, "the Government of India Act, 1915." The book is indispensable alike to the student of Indian politics and to the citizen, who wishes to acquaint himself with the political constitution of India.

The Daily Mail Year Book. Ed. by David Williamson. Associated Newspapers Ltd., London.

There is, as might be expected, scarcely a page in this handy volume without some useful information on one or more aspects of the war. The special articles on Turkey and Germany, on the finances of the Allies, on the area and population of the British Empire, on national service, submarines, wireless and motor traffics and numerous other topics of current war-interest must come handy to the busy reader. The biographical section is certainly invaluable containing, as it does, no less than a thousand names of repute in contemporary society.

The Japan Year Book, 1916. By Y. Takehof.

The J. Y. B. Office, Tokyo.

This is the eleventh annual publication of this useful book of reference for things Japanese. It contains, besides a biographical dictionary of living notables in Japan, a complete cyclopedia of general information and statistics relating to this far-eastern empire. Naturally, indeed, the influence of war on Japanese finance, trade and industries is very marked, and the special articles on these and kindred topics will repay perusal.

Cartoons from the "Hindi Punch" for 1916.

"Hindi Punch" Office, Bombay.

The seventeenth annual publication of the "Hindi Punch" is as varied and interesting as ever. At a glance, the Cartoons are a fair representation of the political and social history of the year 1916. We congratulate the Editor on the excellence of many of the War Cartoons that have appeared in the pages of the *Hindi Punch*.

Who's Who Year Book 1917.

The Writers' and Artists' Year Book 1917. A and C. Black, London.

The "Who's Who Year Book" is a companion volume to the big work, but the names in this shilling volume are given under classified tables which must facilitate easy reference. The "Writers' and Artists' Year Book" has of course become a standard work of reference for all literary aspirants. These two shilling volumes contain a miscellany of information which must be invaluable to journalists in particular, not to speak of their use to the general public.

Whitaker's Almanack for 1917. By Joseph Whitaker, F.S.A. Warwick Lane, London.

As usual, the Almanack is a compendium of all information, notably with reference to Government, finances, population, commerce and general statistics of all the countries of the world with special reference to the British Empire and the United States. The military and naval history of the war, labour and production, munitions and aeronautics, British and enemy trade—these and kindred topics are dealt with in special articles by expert writers.

DIARY OF THE MONTH.

- January 20. Greek acceptance of allied demands.
January 21. Germans concentrating army on the Swiss frontier.
Germans evacuating their position at Serre.
January 22. Enemy expelled from the Sinai Peninsula.
Italian success in Tripoli.
January 23. Enemy checked in Moldavia.
Demonstrations against Count Tisza.
January 24. The *Entente* has notified the Greek General Staff for the removal of Greek guns to Peloponesus within a fortnight.
January 25. President Wilson's speech to the Senate re: the Peace Note to the Belligerents.
January 26. Russians took 337 Bulgarians as prisoners during a surprise attack while the enemy was crossing the Danube.
January 27. Allies' naval conference.
Greek Government hands a Note to the Allies.
January 28. Seven enemy aeroplanes were brought down.
Success of allied arms in the Mesopotamia.
January 29. Sir James Meston explains in the Council the nature of His Honour's connection with the *Round Table* group and says that he accepts the Government of India's order prohibiting Government servants from participating in political propaganda.
January 30. Lord Carmichael's farewell speech at Dacca.
The Viceroy decorates Indian war heroes.
An indenture meeting in Madras, with the Rt. Rev. the Lord of Bishop of Madras presiding.
Mr. C. F. Andrews addressed the meeting.
January 31. German Note to Neutrals declaring her policy of submarinism.
February 1. German Note to America threatening unrestricted submarinism from to-day.
February 2. Sinking of American and Neutral vessels by Germany.
American seizure of enemy liners and the recall of Ambassadors.
February 3. Kaiser's challenge to America.
Beginning of German-American hostilities.
February 4. Public meeting at Lahore to consider the Post-War Reforms, the Hon. Khan Bahadur Fuzli-i-Hussain presiding.
February 5. Americans transfer the crews of German and Austrian ships to an immigration station.
February 6. The Premier speaks at the National Service Meeting at Westminster.
February 7. The Viceroy opens the cold weather session of the Imperial Council this morning at Delhi with a lengthy address.
February 8. Banquet to H. H. the Maharaja of Bikanir at the Taj Mahal, Bombay, by the leading Chiefs of Western India.
February 9. Public Meeting in Bombay protesting against the continuance of indenture, Sir Jamsetji Jijibhoy presiding.
February 10. Anti-American intrigue in Mexico.
February 11. Public Meeting in Allahabad on Post-War Reforms, the Hon. Pundit Motilal Nehru presiding.
February 12. Sinking of Norwegian, Greek and British steamers.
Mr. Bonar Law's speech in the House of Commons on the vote of credit.
February 13. Protest Meeting at Nagpur against indenture, the Hon. Sir G. M. Chitnavis presiding.
Speeches in the House of Lords by Lords Lytton, Curzon and Beresford.
February 14. The Chinese Government protests against unrestricted submarinism.
Dr. J. C. Bose and Pundit Sunder Lal are knighted.
February 15. General Smuts, speaking at a magnificent reception at Cape Town, pays eloquent tribute to Indians in East Africa.
February 16. The Kaiser issues an order to the German Navy for the continuance of submarinism as the best means of securing victory.
February 17. Further sinking of allied vessels.
British successes on the Ancre.
Success of the new War Loan.
February 18. Public Meetings in Bombay and Poona to express satisfaction of the Viceroy's announcement regarding the enrolment of Indian Volunteers.
February 19. Celebration in all important cities of the second anniversary of the death of G. K. Gokhale.
February 20. Sinking of a Bibbi liner and other ships.
Success of allied operations in the war.
Blockade of Greece continuing.
February 21. The Commander-in-Chief of India introduces a Bill for compulsion of European recruitments.
Debate on the Bill in the Imperial Council for sanctioning Volunteering for Indians,

TOPICS FROM PERIODICALS

The New Chinese President.

Li-Yuan-Hung, who assumed the Presidency on the 7th of June last, was not born great, nor had he in any way achieved greatness. It was his singleness of purpose, strict but fair discipline, personal honesty and, above all, his faithful adherence to the Republican Constitution that have raised him to his present position. Mr. E. H. Parker, writing in the current issue of *The Asiatic Review*, sketches his career and his views on political questions. The new President is a man of humane character, and, in the days of the Boxer Rebellion and subsequent revolutions, did his best to repress the tendency of his own soldiers to massacre defenceless men. He had consistently stood up for purity and efficiency in all the administrative problems that have come to the front ever since the old Dowager Empress' famous opium counterblast of 1906. His own attitude on reform, including the missionary and opium questions, was quite unexceptionable during 1911. In the establishment of the Republic, he gave his support first to Sun-Yat-Sen, and after he was convinced that Sun-Yet-Sen could not command northern confidence, gave his faithful support to Yuan-Shi-Kai, but always declared openly that his support of Yuan was conditional on the Republican Constitution of 1912 being faithfully preserved. Li-Yuan-Hung held the post of Vice-President and Chief of the General Staff until December 1915, when he quietly resigned in view of Yuan's ambitions, always avowing that he entertained no family ambitions.

Yuan-Shi-Kai was the man who, after the Boxer War, did most to reform China. He was found to be indispensable by the Manchu dynasty. After its fall, he proved himself too strong for the rival Nanking Republic, succeeded in quelling two dangerous rebellions, consolidating his power, applying Prides Purge to parliaments and parties, and restoring in a great measure the financial equilibrium with the approval of all honest foreigners. His last unaccountably foolish move, which ended in his rebuff and death, was a bathos. On the other hand, Li-Yuan-Hung was of comparatively humble birth, had little to recommend him, but his industry, scrupulousness and honesty had ever faithfully followed his keynote of staunch republicanism and conciliation of all rival parties.

Post-War Reforms for India.

The December issue of the *Review of Reviews* very pithily sums up our demand for post-war reforms as India's desire "to be made mistress of her own household," and recommends "that her position in the Empire be made equal to that of the daughter-Dominions." The Editor is struck by the suggestion put forward to eliminate what she aptly calls "the Indian Civil Service element from the Viceroy and Governor-General's Cabinet, and giving of portfolios to Indians and Britons prominent in public life."

Mr. St. Nihal Singh deals with "India During and After the War," and points to the failure of all plots against British Government, because of the Indian people's refusal to do anything underhanded. He frankly points out the anomalies existing in a Government conducted by foreigners, deplores the fact that Indians are denied the privilege of managing their own affairs, debarred from carrying arms, and kept out of the self-governing dominions.

Indians as Leaders.

In the course of an illustrated article on "India's Military Record in the War," in the *Windsor Magazine*, Mr. St. Nihal Singh points out that whenever Indians have been given the chance to show their initiative, they have distinguished themselves. He says:—

Included among numerous awards are coveted prizes given to Indians who have distinguished themselves as leaders of men at critical junctures when the superior British officers had all been killed or wounded, and they had to assume command. Subadar Mir Dast, for instance, was given his V. C. for the fine qualities of leadership that he displayed at Ypres in the autumn of 1915. The regiment to which he was attached—the 66th Coke's Rifles—and some other troops were ordered to charge an enemy trench. In two and a half hours' fighting all the British officers fell, and so did the Indian officers senior to him. He rallied the soldiers and led them to within seventy paces of the objective, undeterred by the gas bombs and shells that the foe was pouring upon them. In the evening he had a trench dug, and, heading a party, recovered the bodies of the officers who had been killed and removed eight wounded officers to a place of safety. Finding that he was being overcome by poison gas he directed his orderly to pour water on his head. In less than a quarter of an hour he recovered sufficiently to resume command, and directed the movements until relieved.

National Expansion of Japan.

Dr. K. Ukita, writing in *The Japan Magazine* (December 1916), urges the Japanese to take their cue and form their policy from the experience of Germany in the matter of race expansion and immigration. Japan's position from the point of view of population and possible expansion is much harder than that of Germany, and she will require much more wisdom and endurance if she is to manage her difficulty prudently enough to solve it. As Japan cannot secure room for her people by the acquirement of colonies, except by force of arms, she must be given the right of immigration freely in all countries where her people wish to go. But Japan, in order to have her immigrants fully capable of assimilating the civilisations they enter, must establish a policy of education calculated to fit her subjects for residence abroad, and at the same time promote home industry to an extent that will absorb so much of her working population, that the number desirous to go abroad will be considerably reduced.

At the same time Japan cannot afford to ignore the agitation against her abroad; it is a disgrace that should be removed. The total population of Japan and her territories is now a little over 60,000,000. Canada, America, and Australia should be able to treat the immigrants of Japan as they do those of other civilized nations. As our industries develop, the number of Japanese going abroad will greatly decrease, but the few that do immigrate to other countries, should receive fair treatment. It is a disgrace to Japan that most of her immigrants going abroad at present are inferior to German immigrants in education and culture. The agitation against Japanese in foreign countries must cease, even if Japan has to take up arms to stop it. She should not allow her immigration to be treated as a race question. Japan has no ambition to be the leader of the other races of Asia; she stands for her own race alone. It is dangerous for Japan to allow western nations to suppose that she has ambitions to open other countries to the millions of Asia. It is not so. Japan is in quite a different category from the other races of Asia. They are semi-dependent countries and their population too numerous and undeveloped for modern education, and thus very different from Japan. If numbers were a guarantee of national strength, China and India would be the greatest and most powerful peoples in the world. No; some attention must be given to spirit and quality. It is irrational and unjust to reject immigrants on the score of race, but not so to reject them on the score of character. For this reason Japan must approve the rejection by western peoples of unchecked immigration from Asia. Japan herself would reject any undue immigration of these people for the same reason. Japan is in a different position from theirs; she is a highly civilized nation, and her immigrants are capable, if receiving the best modern education and assimilating with western races and absorbing western civilization. Thus Japan claims only the right of international expansion to relieve her population from congestion and

to save her the necessity of expanding by force of arms. This is a just claim, and should be conceded by those who disapprove of the German policy of expansion by war and destruction.

To justify the Japanese right to free and unrestricted emigration to all parts of the world, the writer goes on to insist that Japanese expansion must be by a process of what he calls *ethical imperialism*, in which race-prejudices must be buried by creation of mutual interests; and exhorts the Japanese to fit themselves first by education and training, commercially and industrially, to become one of the best nations.

If the presence of Japanese among western peoples proves mutually beneficial, it will be welcomed. That possibility depends as much, and more, on the Japanese themselves as it does on foreigners. One thing is certain, the race question cannot be settled by war, or any form of force. For the present it resolves itself into a question of how far Japanese education can turn out citizens fit to intermingle with western people on common terms of equality and opportunity. Japan must commercially and industrially prepare her people to take their places with the most civilized and highly developed races of the world in any corner of the earth. It is our duty at present to look within rather than without and to reform rather than complain. It is undignified as well as untrue for a people to claim to be better than they are. At this time when the whole world is facing a time of crisis, it is to be hoped that our people will ponder well their need for self-improvement and bravely undertake to effect it.

Prince von Bulow's Vindication of England.

Writing in the December number of *The Fortnightly Review*, Mr. Sidney Low reviews the new edition, just published, of Prince von Bulow's *Imperial Germany* (which Messrs. Cassell and Co. publish in an English version by license under the Trading with the Enemy Act.) He says the book is even more informing and interesting than the original edition, and well brings out his explicit repudiation of the theory, by which Dr. Bethmann Holwegg has often attempted to justify Germany's attitude in the present war. According to Prince Bulow, Germany was not dragged by the intrigues of jealous rivals into the war, and Great Britain, so far from placing her at the head of an anti-German league, has sedulously refrained from entering into a formal union with Germany's two great rivals. At the outbreak of the war, neither France nor Russia was entitled to count absolutely on British support, and Great Britain was not under any obligation to go to war over any purely Balkan controversy. Prince Bulow also gives no warrant for the assertion that Germany's place in the sun

was hedged about and limited by British intolerance, and, though he throws out numerous vague hints as to England's envy and suspicion, he does not give a single specific instance to show how this alleged ill-feeling has been used to hamper German expansionist activity. By implication he dissociates himself from the views which have been passionately put forward by German statesmen and have been commonly accepted by German people.

As a matter of fact, the Prince rather seems to suggest that England was guilty of an excessive complaisance in this matter. England made it easy for Germany to annex vast and fruitful territories in East, West and South-West Africa. England, if she so pleased, could have certainly prevented Germany from becoming a great colonial power. As for Germany's ambitious programme of expansion and exploitation in the Middle East, England, so far from placing an embargo on the enterprise, was even apparently disposed, up to the very commencement of the present war, to sanction and to even facilitate it. The opening of the through route from Central Europe to the Euphrates, and the regeneration, under Teutonic direction of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, were not prevented even in the smallest instance by British machinations. Officially England gave no sign that German plans were regarded by her with jealousy; nor did she make any effort to prevent them from coming to maturity, and she even went a long way towards assisting their realisation. From Bulow's book, one can infer that, according to him, England had lost the opportunity offered to her of attacking Germany at a time when her fleet was still so weak to render it an easy object of destruction. Nor was she anxious to make another similar opportunity; and she entered into war only when it was clear that there was no longer any prospect of peace. He seems to be convinced that before the war, English leadership had exercised a soothing and sobering effect upon France and had done good work for the presentation of peace in Europe. With all his ample concessions to the dominating Anglophobia in Germany, he cannot really find any grounds to label England as the real peace-breaker, or any argument which gives the smallest support to the official Prussian myth, that Germany was forced into war by her Eastern and Western neighbours, acting as the prime agents in a great anti-Teutonic conspiracy engineered and directed by Great Britain.

Universities in Ancient India.

In ancient India, teachers and scholars were supported by the State by periodical allowances or by gifts of lands. Famous seats of learning grew up in different parts of the country, to which scholars resorted in thousands. Education received a great impetus from the spread of Buddhism, whose kings strove hard for the instruction of the multitude. The following notes from the *Journal of the Mahabodhi Society* on the most famous universities of Taksha-sila, Nalanda and Odantapuri are worth quoting:—

The first important university of ancient times was Taksha-sila. The Jatakas speak of Taksha-sila as a great centre of learning, where the pupils were taught by teachers of world-wide fame. At the university of Taksha-sila, eighteen branches of learning were taught in separate schools, each of which was presided over by a special professor. The subjects taught there included not only philosophy, theology, and literature, but also sculpture, painting, and handicrafts. Taksha-sila continued to flourish till about the first century before Christ. In the early centuries of the Christian era, there grew up in Benar the university of Siddhanta Kataka.

But the most important of the Indian universities was that of Nalanda. The Nalanda Vihara was, according to Hiuen Tsiang, established by a king of Central India, and a long succession of kings continued the work of building, using all the skill of the sculptor till the whole is truly marvellous to behold. "The lands in its possession contained more than 200 villages, these having been bestowed on the monastery by kings of many generations. In this university the teachers were men of conspicuous talent, solid learning, exalted eloquence, and illustrious virtue, whose fame had spread through distant regions. From morning till night the teachers and pupils engaged in continuous discussion. Learned men from different cities went there in multitudes to settle their doubts, and the streams of wisdom and knowledge spread far and wide. Hiuen Tsiang gives a detailed description of the course of studies at this university, which included both sacred and profane subject. The pupils started with the study of the Siddha-vastu or (the book of twelve chapters) and then they were instructed in the five chief Vidyas, namely, Sudda-vidya, or the science of sounds; Silpa-vidya, or the science of medicine; Hetu-vidya or the science of causes; and Adhyatma-vidya, or metaphysics. The Brahmanas also studied the four Vedas.

The monastic university of Odantapuri was perhaps founded in the fifth or sixth century A.D., but it rose to fame during the reigns of the Pala kings of Bengal. It had a splendid library, which was destroyed by the Mahomedans at the time of their first invasion of Bengal. Another university which was established under the patronage of the Pala king was that of Vikrama-sila. It is said that the university was composed of six colleges, and employed more than a hundred professors. There were numerous religious establishments and hostels attached to the university for the residence of monks and pupils. Varanasi in northern India and Kanchi in the south also flourished as seats of learning for many centuries.

Social Reform and Missionary Work.

Mr. John Lee, writing to the January number of the Missionary Quarterly *The East and the West*, wants and urges that missionary work should be correlated to social reform, and that Christian teaching should not condemn the new industrial nations, where there is missionary activity, to the same slow and agonising three centuries of English industrial history, when it might begin fair and square and profit by the lessons which the English have learnt at home. Missionary work, as it is now conducted, tells the heathen of Christ but uses the heathen's labour in a way which it has learned to be both impolitic at home. It exploits men's work and women's work, with the same cheerful benevolence of the old Manchester school, and pits class against class and race against race, and will do nothing to formulate that truer social relation, which is coming to be recognised as inevitable in England and elsewhere in the West. The average English Churchman forgets the economic aspect; he does not see the natives trading on the heels of English industry; he does not perceive that in missionary countries the unfairness of the capitalistic system, which he condemns at home, is much worse, the division between the capitalist and the worker is in a far more accentuated form, the working people severed from the European capitalists by race and religion.

It is because of this system of Christian economics in the East, that the indenture system, which took the place of slave trade, was so long tolerated. Christianity, as it is now presented to the Indian, presumes that there is upper and lower—man to rule, woman to serve; Englishman to rule, Indian to serve; capitalist to rule, worker to serve.

The missionary work of the future will have to face this question. It will not suffice to preach the Gospel of Christ as a bond between man and man if the bond makes no visible appearance. The world in the West is yearning for corporate life, for fellowship, but no more so than the world in the East; the difference being that in the West we heed the articulation, while in the East we look upon the movement as sedition. Rebellion has been merely economic unrest again and again in the history of the world. The diagnosis has often been wrong. The diagnosis has been wrong, again and again, in missionary countries. It is a heavy responsibility for English Christianity that trade follows both the flag and the Cross. Were our missionary Christianity more instinct with social fervour, more enlightened with knowledge and experience of the full meaning of economic progress, we might make trade and industry into the Sacrament of visible human relationships. We might treat the new development of industries with some of the knowledge we have gained from the bitter conflicts at home. We are a little too ready to mark a separation

between the spiritual and the corporal welfare of those whom we set out to bring to a knowledge of Christ. We are permitting them to fight for that which, in the later stages, we shall frankly admit is only their just due. It is high time that we realised what this means to the progress of the Faith. In the penetration of the lives of Indians and others with the spirit of Christ, we shall do little so long as industry appears to them to be an un-Christian thing—a mere matter of might and domination on the one hand, and of being exploited and hunted on the other hand. For the expansion of industry on an enormous scale is imminent, and if we allow it to expand by methods which, in justice to our brethren, we long discarded in England, what time those whom we employ know quite well that we are trying, for our kith and kin, far different methods, we may rely upon it that our Christian work will be largely undone.

Race-Fusion in India.

Professor Benoy Kumar Sirkar, the well-known scholar of Oriental culture, analyses in the current number of *The Modern Review* the various race-elements of the Hindu physico-social life, mainly as it was in the Vikramadityan era. The aboriginal pre-Aryans, or as they are called the Dravidians, are the basic factor in Indian humanity, both in the North and in the South. The next step of Aryanisation has promoted a fundamental unity of cultural ideals, but must not be assumed to have effected any thorough-going transformation of race; though the blending of Aryan and non-Aryan has proceeded in varying degrees in different places. Persianisation or Iranisation and along with it older Assyrian and Mesopotamian traces may also be noticed in the early civilisation of Aryanised India; though here again the influence should be regarded more as cultural than racial. Yavanisation or Hellenisation was effected both in blood and culture. The Hellenistic Legation-quarter at Pataliputra under Megasthenes, Asoka's propagandism in the Hellenistic kingdom of Western Asia and Egypt, the Kushan patronage of Græco-Roman artists, the establishment of Roman colonies in parts of Southern India, and the contact of the Hindus with Græco-Bactrians and Græco-Parthians as enemies on various occasions, suggest more or less inter-racial as well as inter-cultural fusion; though it is difficult to prove the extent and character of racial fusion. The Tartarisation of India was as wide and deep in blood, as Aryanisation was in culture. This Tartarisation or Scythianisation of the Aryo-Dravidians of India was effected in three different, but not necessarily successive, stages. The first wave was that of the Sakas; that of the Kushans the second; and that of the Huns the third. They overwhelmed not only the north-west, the Punjab,

Sindh and Guzarat, but the whole of Northern India and crossed the Vindhayas also to fertilise the Deccan plateau and the Konkan plains. And from the 2nd century B.C., the stream of immigration seems to have been continuous for about 600 years; and instances of the Hinduisation of the Tartar Saka conquerors come down to the time of the Gupta Emperors. The Hun element began to flow from the close of the Gupta age; and the present view among scholars is, that almost all the important ruling dynasties in Northern India between Harshavardhana and the Mahomedan invasions were descendants of the mixed races and may be regarded as more or less Scythianised or Tartarised. Most of the Rajput clans, the Gurjara-Pratihars of Kanauj, the Rajabhats of Gorakpur, were all descendants of the Tartar settlers. The race-fusion, within the limits of India itself, must be mentioned and must be regarded as the effects of dynastic revolutions, territorial re-adjustments on the social status of tribes and castes, the shifting of the political centre of gravity from place to place, and military occupations of the territories of neighbouring princes by ambitious monarchs.

To bring the account of race-mixture and culture fusion further on, it is necessary to mention the Islamite invasions under the Pathans (1200-1550). The conflict with the invaders was at first very bitter like that described as having taken place in Vedic times between the Indo-Aryans and the Dasyus. But a compromise was arrived at, when the Pathans meant to adopt Hindustan as their home and not to exploit it in the interests of a far-off Transoxiana. Saracenisation of Indian culture was the result of these new conditions, and it may be conveniently described as having taken place under the powerful Moghul monarchy, whose glorious civilisation was Indo-Saracenic or Hindu-Islamic. The Renaissance of the 16th and 17th centuries, marked by the rise of Chaitanya, Nanak, Kabir, Tan Sen, Abul Fazl, Todor Mall, etc., is the result of the naturalisation of Saracenic culture in India. The Deccanisation of Hindustan, under the empire of the Mahrattas, may also be noted. The fundamental factor of the caste-system is physical, and it should be studied as naturally a part of the larger subject of race intermixture. And the physical anthropology of the Indians has been powerfully influenced by their political and military history. And this should prove a solvent of many of the erroneous theories now maintained about the nature and origin of the institution of caste.

Work and Wages in India.

Mr. K. Natarajan, in a contribution to the January issue of the *Social Service Quarterly*, brings forward abundant testimony to the capacity of the Indian workman to master the intricate processes of modern industries in a short time under sympathetic guidance. And he says that there is not the slightest reason to think that the Indian workman will not respond to high wages and good treatment very readily. The gradual substitution of Indian for foreign covenanted hands in all industries should be very strongly urged from the point of view of the stability of the industry, and from considerations of closer touch between managers and workmen, the greater interest which the Indian would feel in an Indian industry, his greater adaptability to local conditions, his greater amenability to discipline and the greater economy of Indian agency.

The chief inspector of mines, Mr. Pickering, says in his report as follows about the workmen in collieries:—

That the Indian can be made to abandon the tools of his forefathers is seen in most Indian collieries, where English shovels are commonly used, and where the pointed crowbar has been replaced by double pointed picks. In many cases the miners are becoming more skilful in using these tools. . . . In loading they have become so remarkably expert with the shovel that an average English loader would have to do his very best to beat them. Many of the loaders are women.

Mr. Kelway Bamber, late of the East Indian Railway, observes:—

I think you will agree that the Indian craftsman is capable of producing work of the highest quality. Many of these entered the works as labourers, and after a few months' training, were well able to manipulate high-speed machinery of the most up-to-date character. Sixteen years' experience in close contact with Indian workmen has afforded me an ample opportunity of learning to appreciate their many sterling good qualities, and of realizing that, having once gained their confidence, there are no better or more faithful friends.

Mr. Tutwiler, of the Tata Iron and Steel Works, at Sakchi, also confirms the truth of these statements. He says: "Our employees come from all parts of India, and I do not think that any particular race of India is superior to another. My opinion of the Indian workmen, as a whole, is, that they are very intelligent, quick to learn, and they generally shape well, when they are trained properly," and he adds that where Indians have been substituted for Europeans in the works, the quality of the products has not suffered.

Germany and South America.

Sehnor de Magalhaes, writing in the January number of *The Nineteenth Century*, exposes the German designs of conquest in South America and schemes for settlement in that continent at the expense of the South American Republics. Numerous Pan-Germanist writers have been systematically advocating the foundation of German colonies in South America. Gustav Schmoller, the well-known economist, wishes to see established in Brazil a colony of 30 to 40 million Germans. Munsterberg and Wagner have advocated the future invasion of South America, and they try to persuade the United States that the Monroe doctrine should be limited to Central America. Other writers affirm that the Argentine, Brazil and all the other South American nations ought to be conquered by kindness or force. The most aggressive of all such writers is Otto Tannenberg, who divides the world for the convenience of Germany and assigns to her the protection of Chili, Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay, the southern part of Bolivia and the southern part of Brazil, where Germans preponderate. And he concludes that German South America will procure in the temperate zone a territory for colonisation, where German emigrants will be able to settle as agriculturists. And he adds that the people of the South American Republics will be only too much honoured and delighted to bear the name of German citizens.

German only began to organise her action in South America in 1900; and it was only after the Spanish-American War of 1898, that she began to think seriously of establishing herself in South America. Her pacific organisation reached its last stage with the promulgation of the Delbruck Law of 1913, which permitted all German emigrants to remain Germans and to enjoy the prerogatives of German citizens, although becoming naturalised in other countries. This law is completely in discord with all the laws of international right, and naturalised German colonists can only keep their German nationality by transgressing the laws of the countries which they inhabit and by not making known their equivocal position to the State in which they live.

The greatest number of Germans are in Brazil. And it is necessary that in each unit of administration or municipality, those charged with the distribution of land should resist the inevitable flow of Germans and Slavs, and the settlements should not be exclusively formed of one nationality. The Lutheran pastors who preach the

gospel of *Deutschtum* should be discouraged, and newspapers manifesting Pan-Germanist opinions should be discouraged. South America is Spanish and Portuguese by origin, and tradition has become French by culture. French writers from the Encyclopædists and Montesquieu downwards have enjoyed a considerable influence, next only in importance to the influence of North American politics. German influence is more recent, but latterly her prestige had much increased. Since the war began, however, opinion is shown to be growing against Germany: Peru and Chili avoid more and more the German Empire; in Argentina the pro-Allies' movement is also growing rapidly; and in Brazil the pro-Allies' League is particularly active; and the most learned and literary men deplore Brazilian neutrality, which they condemn as 'a compact with crime and a desertion of duty.'

Vivekananda's Mission

Writing on "Some Aspects of Swami Vivekananda's Thinking" in the January number of the *Vedanta Kesari*, Mr. P. V. Aghoram, B.A., B.L., points out the many-sided interests of the Swami's mind:

The Swami like Ramanuja of old inaugurated the movement of social elevation among his own men, by initiating numbers of lay disciples of the order into the customary, social and religious rites of Brahminhood. At the same time he unconsciously broadened the social basis of Hinduism by a scheme of inclusion of his European disciples into the heart of Hindu society. Restoration of national culture was to include in the present epoch only the strongest elements of it which had survived the wrecks of time. It was no good trying to give "their superstitions back to his own people." The problem, for instance, in education, was only to nationalise the modern and modernise the ancient. The economic grievances of the people had made them a continually helpless class. Famine had become a constant quantity. Industrial facilities were to be provided for the poor, and their talents developed through loving care and discipline. India had thrown her strength and prestige round poverty in the past. She should now obtain the prosperity of other nations by a change in her outlook. That his mind was very much pre-occupied by the question of economic restoration of India was evident from the communication (now famous) he received from India's greatest apostle of industrialism, J. N. Tata, regarding the scheme for the economic organisation of the ascetic order. The question crops up again in his mind when he has to direct the talents of a relation of his, and the suggestion is given to him to study Electrical Engineering in America. The letter from Japan, written on the eve of his tour to America, breathes the same spirit in language of martial fire. The clerical and legal career of modern Hindus to the exclusion of technical branches is condemned with prophetic scorn and fury. One may catch a glimpse of the same pre-occupation in the Swami's initiation of the Maharajah of Khetri into scientific studies.

Mr. Lloyd George's Task.

Politicus, in the New Year number of the *Fortnightly Review*, after expatiating upon the failure of democratic governments, both ancient and modern in war, urges the new Premier to take the conduct of the war out of the control of the Cabinet, to destroy the dangerous fiction of joint responsibility of the Cabinet or even of the War Council, and not to consider himself merely as *primus inter pares*.

Although it may be thought that a war-committee of five able energetic honest men, who are all equally determined to win the war, is an ideal body for exercising supreme control, a dictatorship, distasteful as it may be to many Englishmen, is inevitable. The fact that Germany, where the war was previously directed by a few eminent experts, found it necessary to concentrate all power into Hindenburg's hands; the fact that the Emperor himself was willing to abandon to him the supreme direction of the war, to which he is entitled under the constitution, proves that in war, direction by a single man is far superior to direction by a committee, however small and however expert. The establishment of the Hindenburg dictatorship has enormously strengthened Germany's power.

When Great Britain introduced a Coalition Cabinet, her democratic Allies followed suit. Now, when she is entrusting the conduct of the war to a small cabinet, France and other democratic States are likely to initiate her action. The logic of events must place the conduct of the war into the hands of a single man, although his supremacy may be disguised by giving him a number of colleagues, who in reality should prove to be his subordinates. War government by debating society is probably gone for ever. Mr. Lloyd George should not only introduce a dictatorship in this country, but urge England's Allies also to organise themselves for war in accordance with the experience of all time. Possibly we must initiate Germany's action even further. General von Hindenburg directs and controls absolutely not only the animate and inanimate resources of Germany, but those of Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Bulgaria as well. Eventually the direction of the united strength of the Allies may also have to be placed in a single hand, although it may seem distasteful to a nation to have its army and navy, its diplomatic affairs, its finances and its whole economic life, controlled and directed by a man of another nationality.

The other minor responsibilities of Mr. Lloyd George are, that he should rather think of victory than of its cost in mobilising the Empire; he should tackle with the question of importing labour, even coloured labour, from Africa and Asia; should organise with the greatest energy the military power of the Empire and should vigorously enforce national service. He has wisely recognised that the war, which is largely fought in the mine, the factory, and the workshop, cannot be won without the cordial support of labour, which is given a most important position in the direction of government.

Economic Aspects of the War.

Mr. R. D. Dalal, writing on the Economic Aspects of the War in the January number of the *Wealth of India*, points out that the war will effect the following changes in the economic condition of the world:—

- (1) A great destruction of wealth in general, and what is of greater consequence, a great destruction of valuable lives.
- (2) A sudden and violent disturbance in the economic equilibrium of the world.
- (3) Some loss in the purchasing power of money; shortage of capital generally and consequently high rates for money.
- (4) A great demand for metals for currency purposes.
- (5) Economic disturbances, such as heavy falls in the gilt-edged securities; inflation of currency in belligerent countries, disturbances in the labour world, etc.
- (6) Rise of new conditions as regards the home and foreign trades of most civilised countries.

But the writer finds that the economic effect on India has, on the whole, been very satisfactory. He says:—

"With regard to India it may be said that she is the third country in the world that has prospered most during the war. Her trade, after having recovered soon from the first effects of the war, has been flourishing, particularly with England and Japan; her industries prospering as never before and her agricultural products commanding exceedingly good prices in foreign markets, a thing to be well considered in the case of an agricultural country like India. Many of her industries, such as iron and steel, cotton, coal, jute, have received a stimulus which they would never have but for the war. The monsoons have been good on the whole, and her financial position in general leaves little to be desired. She has, of course, her own problems to solve, and of these, the most important are her industrial development for which a Commission has been making investigations in the important centres of the country and the currency problem for which a Commission was appointed in 1913, but the recommendations of which could not be fully tested owing to the advent of the war the following year."

Disabilities of Indians in the Colonies.

Mr. K. M. Panikkar analyses in the last number of the *Hindustan Review* the various disabilities which are imposed on Indians abroad, the removal of which might be called the negative aspect of the problem of Greater India. The positive aspect of the question is, the claim of India to her just place in the Empire and its corollary of the statutory equality of Indians in all parts of the British Empire. First, Indians as British citizens must have the right of free entry into any part of the British Empire. Secondly, there should be statutory equality between Indians and Europeans, and thirdly, Indian law and Indian customs must regulate the affairs of Indians abroad.

The first of these claims involves the question whether British citizenship carries with it the right of free entrance to any part of the Empire, and the point whether Canada or any other self-governing dominion has the legal right to exclude anybody is irrelevant. Indians have a strong case in this point. The pompous enunciation by "The Times" and other organs of Jingoist sentiment, that where Europeans are engaged in building up new communities they may be compelled to exclude 'alien influences and the inevitably corrosive action of racial materials that resist assimilation,' is a logically untenable plea. All the arguments against Indians in this first respect rest on a belief in the racial superiority of the Europeans; and all the disabilities which the Indians suffer in British colonies arise from this attitude of racial inferiority. The minor disabilities are all the consequence of the objection to the right of free entrance.

The question of statutory equality between Indian and European is another fundamental problem; and the third general consideration is the matter of Indian law and customs. In most of the colonies full recognition is not given to Hindu laws, but the main disabilities involved in this are more social than political. In the final analysis all these injuries will turn upon the fact that the Indians belong to a different race with different social ideals and organisation.

The Vernacularist Movement.

In the course of his notes in the January number of the *Indian Education*, the Editor offers an interesting suggestion regarding the establishment of Vernacular Universities in Western India. He points out:—

It does not seem to have occurred to many people how easy it would be to establish vernacular universities in Western India. It would only be necessary to declare the Poona College a Marathi University and the Gujarat College a Gujarathi University and the thing would be done. English would remain a subject—voluntary or optional: vernacular lecturers could easily be found in all other subjects, and text-books would soon be written. The supposed difficulty about technical terms does not exist, though there exists a difference of opinion whether we should take the patriotic course of drawing on Sanskrit or Arabic or the cosmopolitan course of adopting the Western nomenclature based on Greek. The Bombay colleges might well remain an English university which would give opportunities for some interesting rivalry. A few strokes of the pen are all that is necessary to start the scheme. Of course, we do not say that we advocate it but we merely point out how easy the step would be.

INDIA IN INDIAN & FOREIGN PERIODICALS.

THE QUESTION OF A CONSCIENCE CLAUSE IN INDIA. By J. H. Oldham. ["The International Review of Missions," January 1917.]

A VOICE FROM THE EAST. By Dr. Lyman Abbott. ["The Outlook," December 1916.]

THE UNITY OF THE HINDU FAITH. By T. R. Rangaswami Aiyangar, M.A. ["The Theosophist," February 1917.]

NATIVE STATES AND INDIAN HOME RULE. By Dr. John Pollen. ["The Asiatic Review," January 1917.]

THE OUTLOOK IN INDIA. ["The New Statesman," December 30, 1916.]

THE POLITICAL POLICE OF THE MUGHALS. By Dr. Syed Mahmud, Bar-at-Law. ["The Modern Review," February 1917.]

PANCHARATRA AND VAISHNAVA DAILY LIFE. By Prof. T. Rajagopalachariar, M.A., B.L. ["The Vedanta Kesari," January 1917.]

THE EVOLUTION OF INDIAN POLITY. By Mr. V. Rangachariar, M.A., L.T. ["The Educational Review," January 1917.]

INDIA IN THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM. By Mr. Vithaldas K. Bhuta. ["The Hindustan Review," January 1917.]

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

THE HON. MR. AMVICA CHARAN MAZUMDAR ON THE INDIAN DEMANDS.

The Hon'ble Mr. Amvica Charan Mazumdar, in the course of his Presidential Address to the recent Lucknow Congress, reviewed some of the important questions of Indian politics and summarised the demands of the Congress as follows:—

I now propose as a summary to the foregoing discussions to submit a few "daring and impertinent" proposals for the consideration of the Government both in England as well as in India. A memorandum presented by nineteen members of the Supreme Legislative Council has met with the criticisms of both sides. Some have regarded it as premature and falling short of our demands, while others have denounced it as extravagant. The circumstances which brought about the submission of this memorandum have already been explained to the public; while, as I read it, this memorandum represents neither the irreducible minimum nor the unenhanceable maximum of our demands; nor do I understand the signatories to it to mean that their proposals are to be carried out on the morning following the day on which the Treaty of Berlin may be signed. The signatories to the memorandum have, however, done me one great service. They have borne the brunt of the fusillade and made my passage less difficult, so as to enable me to press forward unnoticed under cover of their fire. As to the other side of the shield, our misfortune is, that we are unable to see where the extravagance comes in. We have no superfluities in any direction, and for such a people as ourselves to indulge in extravagance seems to be out of the question. Extravagance may seize the minds of those who have got enough and to spare. However that may be, here are our demands which, God willing, are bound to be fulfilled at no distant date.

1. India must cease to be a dependency and be raised to the status of a Self-Governing State as an equal partner with equal rights and responsibilities as an independent unit of the Empire.

2. In any scheme of readjustment after the war, India should have a fair representation in the Federal Council like the Colonies of the Empire.

3. India must be governed from Delhi and Simla, and not from Whitehall or Downing Street. The Council of the Secretary of State should be either abolished, or its constitution so modified as to admit of substantial Indian representation on it. Of the two Under-Secretaries of State for India one should be an Indian, and the salaries

of the Secretary of State should be placed on the British estimates as in the case of the Secretary for the Colonies. The Secretary of State for India should, however, have no more powers over the Government of India than those exercised by the Secretary for the Colonies in the case of the Dominions. India must have complete autonomy, financial, legislative as well as administrative.

4. The Government of India is the most vital point in the proposed reforms. It is the fountain-head of all the local administrations, and unless we can ensure its progressive character, any effective reform of the local governments would be impossible. For this the services must be completely separated from the State, and no member of any service should be a member of the Government. The knowledge and experience of competent members of a service may be utilised in the departments, but they should not be allowed to be members of the Executive Council or the Cabinet of the Government itself.

5. The Executive Government of India should vest in the Governor-General with a number of ministers, not less than one-half of whom should be Indians elected by the elected non-official Indian members of the Supreme Legislative Council. These members should hold office for five years. Thus this ministry of the Viceroy will possess the composite character of a parliamentary and non-parliamentary Cabinet.

6. The Upper House of Representatives in Canada is composed of 90 members. The Supreme Legislative Council in India should consist of at least 150 members. These members should be all elected. But for the transitory period, one-fifth may be appointed by the Cabinet, not more than one-fourth of whom may be officials.

7. The annual budget should be introduced into the Legislative Council like money bills, and except the military estimates, the entire budget should be subject to the vote of the Council.

8. The Provincial Governments should be perfectly autonomous, each province developing and enjoying its own resources, subject only to a contribution towards the maintenance of the Supreme Government.

9. A Provincial Administration should be vested, as in the case of the Supreme Government, in a Governor with a Cabinet, not less than one-half of whom should be Indians elected by the non-official elected Indian members of its Legislative Council.

10. The Provincial Legislative Council should, in the case of a major province, consist of 100 members, and in the case of a minor province 75 members, all of whom should be elected by the people, and each district must have at least one representative of its own. For the transitory period there should, of course, be the same conditions and restrictions as in the case of the Supreme Legislative Council.

11. As the Executive and the Legislative functions are to be separated, so there must be complete separation of the judicial from the executive functions of the State. The judicial administration, whether civil or criminal, should be wholly vested in the High Courts both as regards control as well as the pay, prospect and promotion of its officers. The High Courts should be subordinate only to the Supreme Government.

12. The Arms Act should be repealed or so modified as to place the Indians exactly on the same footing with Europeans and Eurasians. The Press Act should be removed from the Statute-Book, and all the repressive measures withdrawn.

13. India should have a national militia, to which all the races should be eligible under proper safeguards, and they should be allowed to volunteer themselves under such conditions as may be found necessary for the maintenance of efficiency and discipline. The commissioned ranks in the army should be thrown open to His Majesty's Indian subjects.

14. A full measure of local self-government should be immediately granted throughout the country, and the corporations of the presidency towns, the district and the taluk boards and the district municipal corporations should be made perfectly self-governing bodies with elected members and elected chairmen of their own. They should be freed from all official control, except such as may be legally exercised by the Government direct.

15. Mass education should be made free and compulsory. Suitable provisions should also be made for the development and encouragement of indigenous industries.

UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

"INDIA'S DEMANDS."* BY THE HON. PUNDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA.

It is necessary that we should make it clear what we want and what we do not want and how we propose to achieve it. In a consideration of that question the first thing which is important is to tell Lord Sydenham and those who may be of his way of thinking that we do not want what he says we do want. (Laughter.) For instance, he says, "the Germans are making a determined effort for Eastern domination and the whole of the future of India is at stake. This is the moment selected by a small group of politicians whose total electorates number a few thousands in hundreds of millions—it is not the fault of the Members but of the Government—to advance claims of their party—mark you the words—to assume control of the Government of India."

A greater untruth never was uttered. We have not sought to assume control of the Government of India. We have sought that we should have an effective voice in the carrying on of the Government of India (hear, hear). I will make that clear to you. You have read the memorandum which was presented by the 19 elected members of the Supreme Council. I will not

* Speech at Madras on January 31st, 1917.

dwell upon that, because all the reforms which have been embodied in that memorandum have now been embodied in the resolutions of the Congress and the Moslem League, and the whole scheme of reforms is before the public. They have been elaborated in the joint scheme prepared by the All-India Congress Committee and the Committee of the All-India Moslem League and accepted and adopted by the two great organisations at Lucknow, barely a month ago. Now you will see that we have taken care to say in the preamble of that resolution, "that having regard to the fact that the great communities of India are the inheritors of the ancient civilization and have shown great capacity for Government and administration and to the progress in education and public spirit, which we have made during the hundred years of British rule, and having regard to the fact that the present system of Government does not satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people and has become unsuited to the existing conditions and requirements, the Congress is of opinion that the time has come when His Majesty the King-Emperor should be pleased to issue a proclamation announcing that it is the aim and intention of British policy to confer Self-Govern-

ment in India at an early date." (Cheers.) Have we asked to assume control of the Government of India? In the next para the Congress demands that a definite step should be taken towards Self-Government by grant of reforms. The scheme prepared by the Congress and the Moslem League is that definite steps should be taken towards Self-Government. That is neither Home Rule nor Self-Government on the lines of the Colonies or Dominions. Not only that, we have made it very clear in the details of the scheme that we are not asking for what may be described as Home Rule, namely, complete control of home affairs by our own people. We have asked for only steps to be taken. What are the steps, the more important steps?

The first is that in all Executive Councils, Provincial and Imperial, half the number of Members should be Indians; the Viceroy will preside over the Councils. He will have the power to veto. He will be free to vote either with Indian Members or with English Members as he may like. Even if a proposition should be carried, he will have the power to veto the resolution. You know at present that the Government have recognised the wisdom, the justice of admitting Indians into the Executive Councils. We have now in the Imperial Council and every Provincial Council at least one Indian member. All that we urge is this. We think from experience, which our friends have gained, that the presence of one Indian member is a matter of very little importance. He is not able to present the Indian view as effectively as he would like to do, his friends against him on the other side often are numerous: therefore, we feel that if we have half the Council composed of Indians there will be a chance, but a bare chance, of knowing the Indian view and a question being accepted by the Executive Council. We do not propose any alteration in the constitution of the Government. We do not want any system which exists to be radically rooted out and something new to be placed instead. All that we urge is, that certain members of the Civil Service should be selected as members of the Executive Council and a certain number of Indians of ability, position and experience should be appointed to the Executive Council. It is the Executive Government which deals executively with all matters that affect our welfare. Will anybody tell you that this is anything like wishing to assume control of the Government of India. (No, no.) What is the next important demand that we have made? Before I leave that subject, let me tell you that

there is not the smallest justification for any sensible man to oppose this demand. People may agree or may not agree. The reform may come early or late. We hope and we mean that it should come early. Even if it should come late, there is nothing in the demand which would make any sensible man, who has any real concern for India and England, to be much upset by such a proposal. At present we know that there are several members of the Indian Civil Service who have distinguished themselves very much as very superior human beings. (Laughter.) We know that many of them do not render a very creditable account of themselves even when they have been appointed members of the Executive Council, and we feel that we could have in our midst a number of men not less capable, not less qualified and not less experienced, to advise the Government particularly where an Indian point of view is concerned.

What is the next important proposal in our scheme of reforms? It is that the resolutions of the Legislative Council should be binding upon the Executive Government, unless vetoed by the Governor-General in Council, provided, however, that if the resolution is again passed by the Council after an interval of not less than one year, it must be given effect to. If we put forward such a proposal, it is because that the experience of many years of the present Councils has convinced us of the necessity for such a proposal. We have moved resolution after resolution in the Imperial Council and, except when the Government has seen it fit to accept the resolution moved by us, every one of them has been rejected. We feel that this is an intolerable situation. We are certain we are not less interested and less honestly anxious for the welfare of our own country and countrymen, than our esteemed European friends of the Executive Council are. It is they who decide whether a resolution passed by the Legislative Council shall be accepted or shall not be accepted. If I may tell you in confidence, often it is not the Executive Government as a whole which decides it. It is often the secretary of the department or the member or both of them that decide whether a resolution shall be accepted or not. It does not go even to the Executive Council. Whatever decision is arrived at by the secretary and the members is accepted by the rest of the Executive Council. That is the state of affairs, and the result is, that our most earnest endeavours to push forward the reform in domestic matters

in various ways are frustrated. We feel that the time has come that in matters which affect our domestic progress, the voice of the representatives of the people should have greater weight than the voice of those who are permanent officials in administration. We feel that there is a greater chance of progress being achieved if such a reform is carried out. What is it that has led us to this experience? For instance, we want to promote education. Our late lamented brother Mr. Gokhale (cheers) made a noble endeavour to introduce a Bill, which was to permit the local bodies to make education compulsory in certain areas under certain conditions. It was defeated and notwithstanding all the promises which the Government made then and have repeated since, elementary education has not very much more advanced than it was at that time. We feel that the progress that is necessary in the direction of elementary education will not be achieved unless we obtain a real voice in determining the policy and the work of the Government. That is only one illustration. I could give you a dozen. The resolutions of the Congress during the last thirty years, every single resolution, would furnish one, if not more instances, in support of this proposal. There is the question of indentured labour. You had a great meeting yesterday in your own city. We have been crying for several years that indentured labour should be abolished. We have not yet succeeded. Government have accepted the resolution recommending that indentured labour should be abolished. But the abolition has not yet come. I do not know how much longer we have to wait before it will come to pass. If the representatives of the people had real and effective voice in the administration of the country's affairs, this hateful system, this abominable system of indentured labour would have been put an end to many many years ago. Take again the question of the separation of the judicial and executive functions. Thirty-one long years stand behind it in support of it, and yet it seems to be as far as ever. We do not know whether, unless the present system of Government is radically changed, this proposition has any chance of being carried out. I say that in sadness. It is no pleasure to me to be arraigning Government by giving you instances after instances where Government have failed to carry out the measures calculated, according to the judgment of the representatives of the people, to promote popular welfare. These instances are many. That is why we say that if the representatives of the people in the Legislative Council carry a propo-

sition in favour of a certain measure of reform, it should be binding upon the Executive Government and it should be carried out. We do not want to assume control of the Government of India. We have provided that if, in the opinion of the Viceroy, it is not right that such a resolution should be given effect to at once, the Viceroy might veto it, but we again add, in order to make progress possible and for no other reason, we add, if the resolution is again passed by the Council after an interval of not less than one year, it must be given effect to. Let me explain to you the reason. Government wish that we should not impugn their motives, and the supporters of Government constantly tell us that we should not impute bad motives to Government. I entirely agree in that view. I only ask that these supporters of Government should also not impute motives to us. (Hear, hear.) We put forward such a Resolution in order to provide a safeguard against any measure being carried out and forced upon the Executive, when the Executive Government feel doubtful about the propriety of carrying it out. We provide for a further consideration of the matter for one year, and we say that after knowing that the Government did not think it fit to veto the proposition, if the elected members of the Legislative Council, with the responsibilities that attaches to their position, still think it their duty in the interests of the country to again make that recommendation to the Government, the Government should recognize the wisdom, the justice and the expediency of yielding to their wishes. We feel that the interests of progress, and the best interests of Government, which are cemented up in the interests of the people, will be best served by the resolution which provides a check upon hasty measures being carried out or forced upon the Executive Government, and at the same time provides a safeguard against a good measure being vetoed permanently or for a long time by the Government. Does that look like a desire to assume control of the Government of India?

I may say, gentlemen, that these are two most important propositions that we have put forward. I will add a third, which is also of a great importance and that is the power of the purse. Hitherto, a proposition to embody a paltry sum of a few thousand rupees had no chance of being carried by the members of the Legislative Council, unless the member in charge of the department or the Secretary, or both accepted the proposition. I have found it on my own personal experience; I will tell you what it was. Merely as a test proposition, merely in order to see whether it was

possible for us to carry a proposition against the Government and also in the hope that the Government might see the reasonableness of accepting the proposition, I moved a year ago that a sum of twelve thousand rupees should be transferred from one head and put under another head to provide for the promotion of indigenous industries. Will you believe it? The resolution was not accepted by Government. I pressed for a division; I was not going to give it up. A solid majority of Government officials voted against it, and the proposition was dead. A sum of Rs. 12,000 could not be transferred from one head to the other, because the member in charge was not convinced that it was right that it should be done—to do what?—to promote indigenous industries, not to create any mischief, not a greater mischief than the promotion of indigenous industries. This has been the fate of many resolutions. That in matters affecting our internal progress, we find from the experience of the last thirty years we are not able to influence the decision of the Executive Government to the extent that we think we should, and we find the progress has been very slow.

That gives you the pith of the reforms that the Congress and the Moslem League have put forward. I need not take you through the rest of them. But there is a very small provision to which I must claim your attention. It may be said if you get this power, what is left to Government. You will be supreme, it will be Home Rule, Self-Government in the fullest sense of the word. But we want to prepare for it. We want to take definite steps for it. We are not asking for it. It is for that reason I want to draw your attention to this important provision that the Imperial Legislative Council shall have no power to interfere with the Government of India's direction of the military affairs and the foreign and political relations of India, including the declaration of war, the making of peace and entering into treaties. Home Rule will mean the exercise of these powers, except perhaps that you are in alliance with another Government to make war and peace. We have deliberately excluded these points from the exercise of their power. Does that look like asking to assume the control of the Government of India. (No, no.) We leave the power of direction of military affairs to the Government. That should set at rest all craven fears of the power of people's representatives being exercised to the detriment of public interest. We say we shall not interfere with foreign and political relations. Our proposals, if accepted,

would only affect the domestic matters in which the progress of the people is concerned. It will not affect the power of the Government. There are other powers reserved to the Governor-General—the power to veto. We ask that definite steps should be taken as steps towards Self-Government, and we have not asked for Self-Government. I wish we were in a position to ask for Self-Government to-day and regret we are not. We are not asking for it. Our critics should not criticise us on a wrong basis and on a wrong data and should not try to misrepresent us.

With regard to the financial proposals we ask that all sources of income and items of expenditure shall be embodied in the Budget, and the Budget shall be submitted for the vote of the Imperial Legislative Council. I have indicated to you the limitations which we have placed. Financial proposals which affect military and other matters will not be affected. The reason is, that we find the Indian Civil Service contains many honourable men, and many generous hearted men, but it does not contain only honourable and generous hearted men, as will not take undue advantage of the situation in India. They have a dominating voice in the administration of India's affairs, and they have carried measures affecting their own powers and their own salaries which they should not have carried. I need only refer to the exchange compensation allowance, a matter which nobody can justify and a thing which will stand for ever against the Civil Service of India. It has been possible, under the present system, for the Government to increase the expenditure in various ways, without going to the details of it, without the Council having an opportunity of discussing the details. We wish that such a thing should become impossible.

I ask you to say whether these provisions are such that if they are carried out, they will transfer the control of the Government from the Government of India to the representatives of the people. I will not dwell upon the proposals relating to Provincial Councils. In regard to Provincial Councils, Lord Sydenham recognises that provincial autonomy should be given to India, which was promised in the despatch of the Government of India in 1911. I think with that admission from an authority so high as Lord Sydenham and so friendly to the cause of progress in India, we should leave that matter there. There are two other matters of importance which we have urged, and I wish to talk to you next about them.

The most important one is that relating to the military policy of the Government. We feel that a great slur is cast upon the loyalty of the people and great injury has been done to the manhood of our nation by the military policy of the Government. We have long urged that commissions in the army should be opened to Indians as they are open to our other fellow-subjects in the Empire. We have long urged that Indians should be permitted to raise volunteer corps as Europeans are permitted to, that the Arms Act should be modified, and now we urge that it should be repealed. You know that the war terrible in itself has made us look at things in a very different way from what we used to do. * * * The war has changed us. We recognise dangers ahead, and we feel that if there is no change in the military policy of the Government, not only is a great injury done to India but also a great danger to the Empire. Sir Norman Lockyer has been urging that it should be part of education of every youth that he should be given military training. In most of the countries of the West and in some of those countries which have made worst use of that, at present conscription has been the rule. Military training and discipline have been forced and are compulsory. It is being recognised slowly and painfully even in England that conscription cannot be avoided, and it is also being talked in India that there should be conscription for Europeans. (Laughter.) The situation has become too serious. We have been complaining that the present Arms Act and our exclusion from the ranks of the Army is a great hardship and a great injury to us. Is that going to be perpetrated after these terrible lessons of this great war? We hope not. We trust not. We wish the Government to understand and to realise that we feel that it is an injury not only to us but an injury also to the Government. You know what response India has made during the present war. Several lakhs of our people have shed their blood in the cause of the Empire. Several lakhs of people have fought in various theatres of the war in France and in far-off countries under His Majesty's flag and have fought shoulder to shoulder with their fellow-men and fellow-subjects. They have proved by their blood that they are as loyal as any other people on the face of the earth. (Hear, hear.) Are they to be permanently kept under the existing galling, insulting, humiliating restrictions. Are they to be told that after their efforts to serve His Majesty's Government, they should expect no reward, as such efforts should be expected from a loyal people. I

hope not. We feel glad and proud that India has contributed something of strength in men and money to the Empire at this hour of trial. If the Arms Act had not been in existence and if the people had been trusted as they should be, there would have been a tremendously large army raised to support the King-Emperor in the present crisis, and we feel that for the future if there is any danger, Indians should be prepared, trained, instructed and qualified to defend their hearths and homes and defend the Empire. It is a very sad policy, a bad policy, a mistaken policy, and a policy of shortsightedness not to qualify the population, a population so vast as ours, by giving them a military training. I do not wish to cause any hurt not only to my fellow-men but to any fellow being, however humble he may be. It is not in the power of any man, or any scientist in the world, to create a creature. And it is not given to a man to destroy a creature. Men ought to shrink from doing it. All war is wicked and all war is abomination. We might hope that a day will come when wars will be altogether prevented. But while things go on as they do, while it is possible for brutal force to overpower weaker people, to oppress them, to tyrannise over them, to deprive them of their liberties, of their natural freedom and of their natural advantage which Providence has gifted them with, it is necessary that in the cause of self-defence, in order that people may exercise the right of self-defence, the manhood of every nation should be trained in the best possible manner when such a crisis as this has arisen. When you find might endeavouring to trample over right, it should be the proud privilege of man, to whatever nation he might belong, that he should plunge himself into the war and fight on the side of righteousness as Lord Krishna fought in the days of old, as Pandavas fought in the cause of righteousness. It thus becomes a Dharma to fight, and we wish that we should be trained to qualify ourselves to exercise our Dharma whenever occasions like that unfortunately arise. We, therefore, urge and pray that Government should modify the Arms Act or repeal it and introduce a rule here such as obtains in England; where by paying license as a matter of revenue, any decent man is entitled to carry a gun or to carry arms. We also pray we should be allowed to form voluntary corps.* As matters

* Since this speech was delivered, H. E. the Viceroy announced in the Imperial Council, on February 8, that Indians shall be enlisted as Volunteers. See speech on page 111.—Ed. I. K.

stand, you have heard dacoits going about and oppressing poor men in out-of-the-way places. These fellows take advantage of the fact that people have not arms and do not hesitate to use them and cause injury, while good peaceful citizens, who do not wish to inflict any injury, find it very hard to obtain license to carry arms and to use them. This is not a state of things which is good either for the people or for the Government. We also ask that commissions in the army should be thrown open to the Indians.

Every sensible man recognises that a foreign rule is not in itself a natural thing. It cannot be acceptable except that it should make for the good of the people for whom it exists, and our Government and the representatives of the English people should recognise that. British statesmen from the earlier days up to now have spoken in the same trend. Even Lord Sydenham speaks to-day of holding India in trust, and even Mr. Lionel Curtis (cheers) speaks of the duty that is cast upon them, the more favoured nation, the self-governing nation, of training humbler people like us in self-government. We say that as foreign rule exists, it has to justify its existence. It ought to promote the welfare of the people. We have accepted foreign rule willingly from 1858, when the Proclamation of Her Majesty Queen Victoria was pronounced to their rejoicings. The beneficial points of that Proclamation made the people forget that it was a foreign Queen who was speaking to them. They felt it was their own sovereign who spoke to them. It was in that spirit of loyalty that they have always thought of Her Majesty and of Her successors. We feel, therefore, that our Government should do all that it can to improve the position of the children of the soil, and may I quote to you in support of this view a sentence from Lord Sydenham's article. "British rule in India can be justified only if, in maintenance of law and order and equal justice, it has directed and led the people always onward and upward bridging over the innumerable rifts which divide them." He and we are at one. We say that steps that are essential to Self-Government are to be taken. I am glad to say that Lord Sydenham recognises that commissions in the army should be thrown open to Indians. But unfortunately he restricts the privilege with limitations. He limited it to a very small number, whereas we desire that they should be open to every subject of His Majesty under safeguards and conditions which are equally applied to all.

We want our critics to understand that we have no selfish interest to serve. If they accuse us of selfishness, they also cannot plead to be absolutely free from selfishness. There are certain advantages which the people of every country must reap. Times have changed, conditions have changed, but our ancient civilisation is still living, a living reality. It is our legitimate desire that we should get higher and more honourable position than we have. There has been the effect of education. There have been the great time forces at work, forces which have brought to us the knowledge of what is going on all around, forces that tell us of the magnificent sacrifices which France has made; which England has made in the cause of liberty, freedom and righteousness; when we read stories of stirring words in which Englishmen exhort their fellow-countrymen to sacrifice life and treasure in order to win the liberties of small nations, we cannot understand why Englishman should find fault with Indians if they desire to have an effective voice in the administration of their own country's affairs. There is one duty imposed upon us all Indians as well as Europeans. The reforms that we advocate may not exactly be the things which are needed. I don't say we have produced a scheme of perfection. Perhaps our opponents are somewhat sure of the position that the time has not yet come for any great progress in the land. I would ask them to bear with us and to approach this question in a more serious mood, in a spirit of greater friendliness and brotherhood. If we are wrong, let them tell us where we are wrong, and we are willing to revise our views. If they do not care to do so, at any rate, let them listen to us and try to understand why we are asking for some reforms and then criticise us. We shall not be promoting the best interests of India and England if we find fault with each other without justification. Therefore, I appeal to all at this juncture that some serious reforms must be considered and introduced. We should understand each other and see what, under the circumstances of the case, is necessary or desirable. Lord Sydenham says, "I would give the English educated class fullest power of expression, which I believe they now possess (I would eliminate these words and I will agree with the rest); I would plead for co-operation in every measure taken for the public good and employ them in any position for which they show complete fitness." This is what we ask.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

Indians in Canada.

A correspondent in Canada writes to a contemporary:—

I think there is a public sentiment in favour of the recognition of the rights of India developing in Canada. The Churches are putting themselves on record, cautiously, in favour of admitting the wives of the Sikhs, who are now resident in Canada and recently the *Globe* (Toronto), our leading Canadian newspaper, took the position editorially that in the readjustment after the War, the political rights of the natives of India must be recognised. Although it is a long way from Canada to India, it may be that the arousing of public interest here will help just a trifle there. At least Canada can modify her own unjust immigration laws and thus free England's hands. Very interesting this human nature, which fights to the death for freedom, but at the same time would dominate others.

Emigration.

The treatment that is usually meted out to Indian labourers in foreign lands, observes the *Hindu*, is in certain respects more scandalous and revolting than actual slavery. The actual state of affairs should only be made known, to get from every impartial human being a verdict that such inhuman systems should be put an end to immediately. We demand that, except under most satisfactory conditions and proper safeguards against unscrupulous exploitation, no emigration of labourers should be allowed from this country.

Indian Emigration.

The Joint Hon. Secretaries of the Transvaal British Indian Association have addressed the following communication to the Secretaries of the Indian National Congress:—

"We are instructed by our Association to represent to you the following view on the question of Indian Emigration to the Dependencies and Colonies.

"Our Association's attention has been drawn to a recent pronouncement of H. E. the Viceroy on this subject as reported in the Indian Press.

"Our Association observed with satisfaction the views expressed by His Excellency in regard to indentured labour, which happily is now generally agreed to be inimical to Indian interests, and which our Association sincerely trusts will be more and more discouraged to a point of total extinction.

"In regard to Indian Emigration under conditions styled 'free,' our Association desires us to convey to you their view that the Government of India should as far as practicable restrict Indian emigration to countries and parts of the Empire, to which Indians are or will be admitted on terms of equality with the most favoured immigrants.

"Our Association considers that Indians, like other immigrants who are subjects of His Majesty, should be regarded and treated as potential citizens of that part of the Empire to which they are admitted, and be afforded the natural opportunities to develop and prosper, afforded to non-Indian immigrants.

"Our Association regards with disfavour the principle of Indians migrating to parts of the Empire under what are known as 'conditions of temporary residence,' and expresses the hope that our National Congress will use its influence to prevent, as far as possible, emigration from India on terms which, in our Association's opinion, are degrading to, and subversive of, Indian dignity and the respect to which India is entitled.

"We are also directed to the Congress our Association's fraternal greetings, and have the honour, etc., etc."

Labour Recruiting Defects.

The only criterion by which any scheme that aims at solving the emigration question must, primarily and in the last resort, be judged, observes the *Bombay Chronicle*, is the maintenance of the welfare and self-respect of the labourer. The facts disclosed as regards the state of things in Assam clearly show that even under the existing system, the interests of the labourers are not sufficiently safeguarded, that there is something very much wrong as regards the manner in which they are recruited, implying an insufficient knowledge on their part of the conditions of service; or that the character of the service they have to perform and the treatment that is meted out to them are highly unsatisfactory. Even a free system of emigration, which depends for the abolition of its abuses on the not always certain combination of such extraneous circumstances as "the careful supervision on the part of local agents" and the "sympathetic co-operation of Government officers and the Labour Board," is not inherently sound and is capable of affording innumerable loopholes to unscrupulous recruiting agents and employers to exploit the emigrant.

FEUDATORY INDIA

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The Ruling Princes and the War.

THE MAHARAJA OF PATIALA.

At a farewell entertainment given in honour of H. H. the Maharaja of Bikanir by the Chiefs and Princes of Western India, on the 7th February, at the Tajmahal Palace Hotel, Bombay, prior to His Highness' departure to England for the Imperial War Conference, the Maharaja of Patiala said:—

"I am expressing the united feeling of the Ruling Princes of India when I ask our representative, His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir, to carry with him to His Imperial Majesty and to his Government, as well as to our brethren in Great Britain and her Colonies, our earnest assurance that India's Princes will spare no pains to co-operate in the cause of the Empire, that their staunch devotion and loyalty to the august person of His Imperial Majesty and their feelings of steadfast friendship and alliance with the nations of Great Britain will find satisfaction only in practical demonstration thereof, that their determination to be of what humble assistance they can, in the present crisis, will be even more resolute, if that is possible, than it has been in the past, and that no accident, trouble or sacrifice shall deter them from the course which they have laid out for themselves. We have no other motives but those of pure attachment to His Imperial Majesty the King Emperor and such as spring from unity of interest with Great Britain and her Colonies."

THE MAHARAJA OF ALWAR.

H. H. the Maharaja of Alwar, in the course of a long speech detailing the ancient glories and the future prospects of the Indian Empire, observed:—

"We are all naturally anxious to raise India's position in accordance with her ancient glory. India has nothing to beg but at the present time it is not even the opportunity to claim or ask that our Arvavarta may at least be put in such a position that she may be able to hold her head alongside the other sister nations of the Empire. We are not going to embarrass the Government, who guide the destinies of this country, with such questions at the present moment as it is necessary for us to concert all our energies towards our common aim of ultimate success. We feel confident that when the moment arrives, we shall not be forgotten or left behind. It is not possible that a nation who has drawn the sword to protect the liberties of weaker nations, such as Belgium, will overlook our rights and claims to raise our heads on the footing of equality with the other

Dominions when the war is successfully over, and the British people extend to India their hand of comradeship and entrust us to wield the destinies of our own country. Your Highness can assure them that we shall be as ready to grasp their hand with feelings of warm gratitude and emotion as we have been to discharge our duties in the present crisis. When such constitutional changes take place, it is not possible to think that the destinies of India are likely to be ignored. We rest in confidence at the present moment."

H. H. THE MAHARAJA OF BIKANIR.

H. H. The Maharaja of Bikanir said:—

"Whether we come from the territories of British India or those of the Indian States we are all Indians, who are entirely united in loyalty and attachment to our King-Emperor, in our affection for our mother-country and in our deep and genuine solicitude for our brethren of all creeds and communities throughout India. And I know I am voicing the feelings and sentiments of Your Highness when I further state that we of the Indian States, who yield to none in the whole of the British Empire in steadfast loyalty and deep devotion to the person and throne of our King-Emperor, happily find it quite consistent to be at one and the same time, in the best and truest sense of the terms, staunch loyalists and imperialists as well as true patriots of our mother-country, deeply sympathising with all the legitimate aspirations of our brother-Indians in British India just as much as we feel sure our brethren in British India sympathise with the legitimate aspirations of the Princes and people of the Indian States, and our desire to see maintained unimpaired our dignity, privileges and high position.

"India, the daughter State, has proved that it would, as of old, always faithfully stand by England through thick and thin for the honour and glory of the mighty British Empire, of which she considers herself an integral part. After the end of this terrible world-wide war, who can doubt that the angle of vision as regards India will be still further altered in favour of every reasonable and ripe political reform. Close personal comradeship on the battlefields, and the common bond of loyalty for the sovereign and love for the Empire, have furthermore led to a similar favourable change in the angle of vision of the self-governing colonies and the other parts of the British Dominions, which, for the first time, are beginning to realise

and understand India at her true worth. Big changes are in the air, including the reconstruction and reconstitution of our Empire, and, though at present the immediate energies of all of us must be devoted to winning the war, yet when by God's infinite grace the arms of His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor and those of our brave Allies are crowned with victory, an event which happily is already in sight, I sincerely believe that the British statesmanship and British sense of justice and fairness will rise equal to the occasion and accord to our country that place, to which her position in the Empire and her loyal services to the Crown entitle her. We may, therefore, confidently assume that Great Britain and the British Nation, who have so bravely made and are still making such tremendous sacrifices to uphold the cause of justice and humanity, will not forget the just claims and aspirations of India to enable her to work out her destiny under Britain's guiding hand and protection."

Free Compulsory Education in Bhopal.

Officials and representatives of all classes in the Bhopal State presented a congratulatory address to Her Highness the Begum Sahiba on the occasion of the 18th anniversary of her accession, the sixtieth anniversary of her birthday and the centenary of Treaty of Alliance between Nawab Nazam Mahomed Khan, grandfather of the Begum, and Marquis of Hastings.

Her Highness made a suitable reply to the address and announced exemption of all arrears of revenue antecedent to 19 years' settlement and that no further increase would be made in that assessment. The new forest rules of the State, obviating difficulty of obtaining required amount of wood by cultivators, were also to come in force from that day. Her Highness also announced that further concessions for her subjects were under consideration, the most important of which was one relating to education of the masses.

"It is an article of faith with me," said Her Highness, "that no country can aspire to a respectful place in the scheme of things unless education filters down to the masses. I have, therefore, resolved to introduce free and compulsory education in my State at as early a date as possible. Nawabzada Hamidulla Khan, my Chief Secretary, is working out details of the scheme in consultation with educational experts, and has, in course of his recent tour, visited places where schools will be opened. He will submit the whole scheme to me for sanction on completion of his tour."

Pudukotta State.

On behalf of the Pudukotta Darbar, Mr. Sidney Burn, I.C.S., delivered the annual address to the State Representative Assembly, and, in the course of the same, dealt with the main problems of the state railway construction and compulsory education. As regards the former, Mr. Burn stated, "those of our residents who have money to lend can place it at far higher interest than we could afford to offer. It is not to be expected that there would be any rush of capitalists to lend us money at, say, five per cent., when they are getting nine, twelve or more on what they are considering equally good security." But the force of this contention is greatly minimised by the statement made later on, that the "wealthy Nattukottai Chetti community have come forward with proposals to make roads at their own expense, and their heedlessness of money when they have set their hearts on any particular object is well known."

The Nizam and a Hindu-Moslem Dispute.

This is how H. H. the Nizam has just disposed of a Hindu-Mussalman dispute in his territory. Well, for about a year or so, there sprang up a quarrel between the Hindus and the Mussalmans of Warrangal about the building of a mosque in a prominent Hindu locality. In spite of the many protests from the Hindu population, the other party persisted in constructing one. The Hindus then appealed to His Highness with the result that he was pleased to appoint a committee of enquiry consisting of two Mussalmans and one Hindu to report on the matter. The report was in favour of the Hindus, and His Highness has been pleased to pass his orders accordingly.—*Amrita Bazar Patrika*.

Mysore Tile Factory.

Excellent progress is being made, we are told, in connection with the establishment of the Mysore Tile Factory, which was relegated by Government to a special syndicate for future control and management. Mr. Burrows, Tile Expert to the Government, who has been officially deputed to advise and direct in all matters pertaining to the institution of the enterprise, has given much careful attention to the progress of affairs connected therewith, and the huge kiln, which is capable of a net outturn of 5,000 tiles per day, is now rapidly approaching completion. When that is ready, all that will be required is the machinery which is being imported from England, and the factory will then be complete.

INDUSTRIAL & COMMERCIAL SECTION

Mr. Gandhi on Economic vs. Moral Progress.

The following is the full text of a lecture delivered by Mr. Gandhi at a Meeting of the Muir Central College Economic Society, at Allahabad, on Friday the 22nd December, 1916:—

Does economic progress clash with real progress? By economic progress, I take it, we mean material advancement without limit, and by real progress we mean moral progress, which again is the same thing as progress of the permanent element in us. The subject may therefore be stated thus: Does not moral progress increase in the same proportion as material progress? I know that this is a wider proposition than the one before us. But I venture to think that we always mean the larger one even when we lay down the smaller. For we know enough of science to realize that there is no such thing as perfect rest or repose in this visible universe of ours. If therefore material progress does not clash with moral progress, it must necessarily advance the latter. Nor can we be satisfied with the clumsy way in which sometimes those who cannot defend the larger proposition put their case. They seem to be obsessed with the concrete case of thirty millions of India, stated by the late Sir William Wilson Hunter, to be living on one meal a day. They say that before we can think or talk of their moral welfare, we must satisfy their daily wants. With these, they say, material progress spells moral progress. And then is taken a sudden jump; what is true of thirty millions is true of the universe. They forget that hard cases make bad law. I need hardly say to you how ludicrously absurd this deduction would be. No one has ever suggested that grinding pauperism can lead to anything else than moral degradation. Every human being has a right to live and therefore to find the wherewithal to feed himself and where necessary to clothe and house himself. But for this very simple performance we need no assistance from economists or their laws.

'Take no thought for the morrow' is an injunction which finds an echo in almost all the religious scriptures of the world. In well-ordered society the securing of one's livelihood should be and is found to be the easiest thing in the world. Indeed, the test of orderliness in a country is not the number of millionaires it owes, but the absence of starvation among its masses. The only statement that has to be examined is, whether it can be laid down as a law of universal application that material advancement means moral progress.

Now let us take a few illustrations. Rome suffered a moral fall when it attained high material affluence. So did Egypt and so perhaps most countries of which we have any historical record. The descendants and kinsmen of the royal and divine Krishna too fell when they were rolling in riches. We do not deny to the Rockefellers and the Carnegies possession of an ordinary measure of morality but we gladly judge them indulgently. I mean that we do not even expect them to satisfy the highest standard of morality. With them material gain has not necessarily meant moral gain. In South

Africa, where I had the privilege of associating with thousands of our countrymen on most intimate terms, I observed almost invariably that the greater the possession of riches, the greater was their moral turpitude. Our rich men, to say the least, did not advance the moral struggle of passive resistance as did the poor. The rich men's sense of self-respect was not so much injured as that of the poorest. If I were not afraid of treading on dangerous ground, I would even come nearer home and show how that possession of riches has been a hindrance to real growth. I venture to think that the scriptures of the world are far safer and sounder treatises on laws of economics than many of the modern text-books. The question we are asking ourselves this evening is not a new one. It was addressed to Jesus two thousand years ago. St. Mark has vividly described the scene. Jesus is in his solemn mood. He is earnest. He talks of eternity. He knows the world about him. He is himself the greatest economist of his time. He succeeded in economising time and space—he transcended them. It is to him at his best that one comes running, kneels down, and asks: 'Good Master, what shall I do that I may inherit eternal life?' And Jesus said unto him: 'Why callest thou me good? There is none good but one, that is God. Thou knowest the commandments. Do not commit adultery, Do not kill, Do not steal, Do not bear false witness, Defraud not, Honour thy father and mother.' And he answered and said unto him: 'Master, all these have I observed from my youth.' Then Jesus beholding him loved him and said unto him: 'One thing thou lackest. Go thy way, sell whatever thou hast and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven—come, take up the cross and follow me.' And he was sad at that saying and went away grieved—for he had great possessions. And Jesus looked round about and said unto his disciples: 'How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God.' And the disciples were astonished at his words. But Jesus answered again and saith unto them, 'Children, how hard is it for them that trust in riches to enter into the kingdom of God. It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God!' Here you have an eternal rule of life stated in the noblest words the English language is capable of producing. But the disciples nodded unbelief as we do even to this day. To him they said as we say to-day: But look how the law fails in practice. If we sell all and have nothing, we shall have nothing to eat. We must have money or we cannot even be reasonably moral. So they state their case thus. 'And they were astonished out of measure, saying among themselves: 'Who then can be saved.' And Jesus looking upon them saith: 'With men it is impossible but not with God, for with God all things are possible.' Then Peter began to say unto him: 'Lo, we have left all, and have followed thee.' And Jesus answered and said: 'Verily I say unto you there is no man that has left house or brethren or sisters, or father or mother, or wife or children or lands for my sake and the Gospel's but he shall receive one hundred-fold, now in this time houses and brethren and sisters and mothers and children and lands with persecutions,

and in the world to come eternal life. But many that are first shall be last and the last first.' You have here the result or reward, if you prefer the term, of following the law. I have not taken the trouble of copying similar passages from the other non-Hindu scriptures and I will not insult you by quoting in support of the law stated by Jesus passages from the writings and sayings of our own sages, passages even stronger if possible than the Biblical extracts I have drawn your attention to. Perhaps the strongest of all the testimonies in favour of the affirmative answer to the question before us are the lives of the greatest teachers of the world: Jesus, Mahomed, Buddha, Nanak, Kabir, Chaitanya, Shankara, Dayananda, Ramkrishna were men who exercised an immense influence over and moulded the character of thousands of men. The world is the richer for their having lived in it. And they were all men who deliberately embraced poverty as their lot.

I should not have laboured my point as I have done, if I did not believe that, in so far as we have made the modern materialistic era our goal, in so far as we are going down hill in the path of progress. I hold that economic progress in the sense I have put it is antagonistic to real progress. Hence the ancient ideal has been the limitation of activities promoting wealth. This does not put an end to all material ambition. We should still have, as we have always had, in our midst people who make the pursuit of wealth their aim in life. But we have always recognised that it is a fall from the ideals. It is a beautiful thing to know that the wealthiest among us have often felt that to have remained voluntarily poor would have been a higher state for them. That you cannot serve God and Mammon is an economic truth of the highest value. We have to make our choice. Western nations are to-day groaning under the heel of the monster god of materialism. Their moral growth has become stunted. They measure their progress in £, s., d. American wealth has become the standard. She is the envy of the other nations. I have heard many of our countrymen say that we will gain American wealth but avoid its methods. I venture to suggest that such an attempt, if it were made, is foredoomed to failure. We cannot be 'wise, temperate and furious' in a moment. I would have our leaders to teach us to be morally supreme in the world. This land of ours was once, we are told, the abode of the Gods. It is not possible to conceive Gods inhabiting a land which is made hideous by the smoke and the din of mill chimneys and factories and whose roadways are traversed by rushing engines, dragging numerous cars crowded with men mostly who know not what they are after, who are often absent-minded, and whose tempers do not improve by being uncomfortably packed like sardines in boxes and finding themselves in the midst of utter strangers, who would oust them if they could and whom they would in their turn oust similarly. I refer to these things because they are held to be symbolical of material progress. But they add not an atom to our happiness. This is what Wallace, the great scientist, has said as his deliberate judgment: 'In the earliest records which have come down to us from the past, we find ample

indications that general ethical considerations and conceptions, the accepted standard of morality, and the conduct resulting from these, were in no degree inferior to those which prevail to-day. In a series of chapters he then proceeds to examine the position of the English nation under the advance in wealth it has made. He says: 'This rapid growth of wealth and increase of our power over Nature put too great a strain upon our crude civilization, on our superficial Christianity, and it was accompanied by various forms of social immorality almost as amazing and unprecedented.' He then shows how factories have risen on the corpses of men, women and children, how as the country has rapidly advanced in riches, it has gone down in morality. He shows this by dealing with insanitation, life destroying trades, adulteration, bribery, and gambling. He shows how with the advance of wealth, justice has become immoral, deaths from alcoholism and suicide have increased, the average of premature births, and congenital defects has increased, and prostitution has become an institution. He concludes his examination by these pregnant remarks:

'The proceedings of the divorce courts show other aspects of the result of wealth and leisure, while a friend who had been a good deal in London society assured me that both in country houses and in London various kinds of orgies were occasionally to be met with, which would hardly have been surpassed in the period of the most dissolute emperors. Of war, too, I need say nothing. It has always been more or less chronic since the rise of the Roman Empire; but there is now undoubtedly a disinclination for war among all civilized peoples. Yet the vast burden of armaments taken together with the most pious declarations in favour of peace, must be held to show an almost total absence of morality as a guiding principle among the governing classes.'

Under the British regis we have learnt much, but it is my firm belief that there is little to gain from Britain in intrinsic morality, that if we are not careful, we shall introduce all the vices that she has been a prey to owing to the disease of materialism. We can profit by that connection only if we keep our civilization, and our morals straight, i.e., if, instead of boasting of the glorious past, we express the ancient moral glory in our own lives and let our lives bear witness to our past. Then we shall benefit her and ourselves. If we copy her because she provides us with rulers, both they and we shall suffer degradation. We need not be afraid of ideals or of reducing them to practice even to the uttermost. Ours will only then be a truly spiritual nation when we shall show more truth than gold, greater fearlessness than pomp of power and wealth, greater charity than love of self. If we will but clean our houses, our palaces and temples of the attributes of wealth and show in them the attributes of morality, we can offer battle to any combinations of hostile forces without having to carry the burden of a heavy militia. Let us seek first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness, and the irrevocable promise is that everything will be added with us. These are real economics. May you and I treasure them and enforce them in our daily life.

Mr. Theagaraya Chettiar on Madras Industries.

The following is the written Evidence of Rao Bahadur P. Theagaraya Chettiar, President of the South India Chamber of Commerce, before the Indian Industrial Commission which met at Madras recently:—

This Presidency is industrially very backward. We have no manufactures to compare with the cotton manufactures of Bombay or the jute manufactures of Calcutta. Agriculture is almost the exclusive occupation of the people, and planting industry on the West Coast and over the Ghats is, perhaps, the only industry so far organised and scientifically developed; but the industry is mostly owned by Europeans who are raising coffee, tea, cardamoms, pepper, rubber, etc. We have two weaving mills in the Presidency. If we exclude the Government factories and the Railway Workshops, all that we could show by way of factory organisation is a number of rice mills, besides cotton-gins and presses. Among minerals we produce only manganese in appreciable quantities and to a certain extent mica. We have no facilities for the generation of power, and we are far away from the coal fields, nor do we enjoy the facilities of fine harbours or useful waterways, though in the matter of roads and railways we must admit we are fairly well supplied. There is no flow of private capital for industrial enterprises, and if there is any, it is only for petty industrial concerns from the small savings of the middle class population. The wealthy classes, comprising the Zamindars, Guzaratis, Marwadis, Nattukottai Chetties, and the lawyers generally, look for what they consider safe investments on mortgages of lands, houses and jewellery. With the rates of interest that are easily obtainable, money-lending is a very favourite occupation. If industrial enterprises are not undertaken, it is because people generally have little faith in the success of such ventures, and are afraid to employ borrowed capital on industrial undertakings. Joint-stock enterprise for the promotion of industries is also wanting, and we have not a stock, share or money market anywhere in the Presidency. The educated classes do not give any lead in industrial matters, and the present system of public education is too exclusively literary, without any facilities for acquiring technical or useful knowledge for a healthy industrial life. Scriptory and clerical service for a comparatively poor remuneration is all that the educated classes wish for and obtain. Our

University has no provision for higher commercial education. A University man, if he is not a Government servant, is a lawyer or a teacher. The hereditary commercial and industrial classes have generally no pretensions to higher education. An educated businessman is a rarity here. The only wealth that is produced in the Presidency is by means of agriculture and the internal and external trade in the enormous quantities of food and commercial products that are raised from the land. So far as the external trade is concerned, it is generally a few European firms at the principal ports that carry on most of the business, with the special transporting and banking facilities they are able to command. Handweaving is the only cottage industry of any importance in this Presidency. It has been estimated that there are about 400,000 handlooms in the Presidency, and while the hereditary weavers, who are still a considerable number in the Presidency, suffer from the stress of competition and in various other ways, especially from the want of dyes, the scope for hand-made cloth and articles of wear is considerable.

In any consideration of the industrial and manufacturing possibilities of our raw materials, which, I take it, is the aim and object of this Commission, our oil-seeds, which comprise ground-nuts, copra, castors, gingelly, cotton and mustard; our raw cotton, of which we raise several well-known varieties; our raw hides and skins which have an established reputation in foreign markets; our raw sugar, popularly known as jaggery; and our fibres, deserve prominent mention. Nearly 5½ crores worth of oil-seeds were exported from this Presidency in the last year before the war; after a very considerable local consumption of jaggery, about twenty lakhs worth of this article was sent mostly to the United Kingdom, including tanned, but unfinished; about 4 crores worth of raw hides and skins were sent out of this Presidency; and the value of raw cotton exported in the same year was over 3 crores. It is also noteworthy that France takes nearly 90 per cent. of our ground-nut; Germany was taking 73 per cent. on an average of our copra; the United Kingdom was likewise taking 85 per cent. of our castors and nearly the same percentage of our cotton seeds. These are average figures for the last four or five years of the pre-war period. A considerable quantity of the local output of jaggery is exported. Similar figures can be adduced for our other raw products, which are in great demand in foreign markets for manufacture.

ing purposes. By a system of tariffs, which, perhaps, I am precluded from urging before this Commission, our raw materials are all welcomed in far distant markets, while prohibitory import duties are imposed on corresponding manufactures from this country. Out of nearly 300,000 bales of cotton produced in the Presidency, less than 45 per cent. is consumed by the local power spindles, hand-spinning having almost died out. Before the war, Germany bought considerable quantities of Madras tanned skins sold in the London market for their leather goods, and the trade is now between the United Kingdom and the United States. These States also divide with Japan the trade in hides and skins raw. Our export trade in hides and skins is in unfinished, though tanned, goods. Our import figures will show that we are importing into this Presidency over three crores worth of cotton manufactures; over a crore worth of twist and yarns; nearly half a crore worth of refined sugar; besides soap, paints, leather goods, candles, boots and shoes; manures and other articles which are made out of our materials. We have made some attempts in lift irrigation by means of oil-engines. We have tried the chrome tanning of leather and the manufacture of aluminium into articles of daily use, both of which, however, have not materially advanced beyond the stage at which Mr. Chatterton left them years ago. Our attempts in enterprises, such as oil-pressing, and the making of glass, paper, pencils and candles, are yet to prove commercially successful.

Our difficulties in the way of establishing manufacturing industries in the Presidency are financial, scientific and technical, not to mention in this connection the apathy of the public and of the Government towards matters industrial generally. We have no facilities for importing suitable and efficient machinery, for the introduction of competent and skilled labour and for the adequate financing of any big industrial concerns. Our banks, banking firms and private capitalists would not generally advance money for the starting of any new industrial concerns or for the extension and improvement of any existing ones. We have no scientific or technical experts in the service of Government or outside, who can be expected to advise on the nature of the machinery to be employed, the place wherefrom, and the cost at which, the same could be advantageously got for any particular industry. The difficulties are even greater in procuring scientific assistance.

At a recent meeting of the Legislative Council, an Honourable Member made the suggestion that the Government would be pleased to arrange for the employment of one or two Belgian experts for the making of matches, pencils, paper and glass in this Presidency. The Government answered that if the Honourable Member would specify for which of the particular industries Belgian experts were within his knowledge available, they would then consider the information which the Honourable Member might place before them. It is for want of an expert that nothing could be done by way of glass making in the glass factory which was taken over by the Government Department of Industries. The formulae for the composition of glass are kept as trade secrets, says our Government Director, and an English chemist was employed to analyse various kinds of glasses to determine their composition in view to future manufacture of glass. In these respects, Government enterprises would seem to be under no less difficulty than private ones. Costly experiments have been undertaken by the department without such experiments leading to practical results. To me it appears no earnest efforts have, of late, been made to demonstrate any industry successfully. Under the circumstances, private industrialists cannot be expected to come forward unless such experiments are demonstrated to be commercially successful. In the absence of facilities for higher scientific knowledge, knowledge of science in its application to industries, there is no room for any useful research work being undertaken for the discovery of new industrial possibilities or the improvement of any known ones.

Technical, industrial, commercial and scientific education must play a very large part in our educational system in the future. At least one central Technological Institute for the Presidency and a network of technical and industrial schools throughout the districts should be established. The pursuit of Applied Science in post-graduate study should be greatly encouraged. The direction and control of technical and industrial education should be made the primary concern of the city corporation and of district and taluk boards and of municipalities, with proper regard to the industrial conditions, possibilities and requirements of the particular localities. Moreover, every school must have an industrial side attached to it, and every boy attending school must be made familiar with the ordinary implements to work with. The Presidency Town must have a big

workshop to train men for skilled labour, both for utilisation in factories and for teaching in up-country workshops. In this workshop the latest improved implements should be introduced for the training of skilled labour. I should also consider the utilisation for industrial and manufacturing purposes of our cotton, oil, sugar and leather as the key industries of this Presidency, and I should lay stress on the importance and necessity for starting a number of pioneer factories for them. Spinning and weaving would include dyeing, printing and other industries, and oil-pressing would include industries such as soap-making, candle-making, manufacture of paints and varnishes and the like. I should also lay stress on the developing of tanning and the finishing of leather and leather goods. As regards the kind of financial assistance to be afforded to industries, I would not suggest a hard-and-fast rule, but would leave it to the Government Department of Industries to afford such assistance as they consider most suited in the circumstances of each case, advised, if necessary, by a Board of Advisors, in specified matters. So far as the Government are concerned, I expect them to start a number of pioneer industries and demonstrate their commercial and practical success. I also expect them to undertake a well-organised system of banking for industrial purposes. The Provincial Governments should be able to allot a specified sum in their budgets every year, as they do for agricultural experiments and demonstrations and the carrying on of the work of the department. I am not offering any suggestions regarding the details of industrial banking, but I content myself with merely emphasising the absolute necessity for the same. I anticipate in any system of industrial development in the future that the Government would recognise that it is one of their normal functions to assist, encourage and bring about substantial industrial development from year to year. Regarding an official organisation for the Province, I consider the existence of a special department controlled by a scientific and technical expert at the top, as essential. I would suggest his being assisted by a number of other experts, who must be able to organise and run the several important industries, advise and assist those who may seek their assistance. When once the selected industries are proved to be commercially successful, they must be handed over to private agencies who will be ready to take them over. The training of competent Indians in sufficient numbers to gradually

take up and run the industries, without further expert assistance, should be the aim of the Departmental experts. The department should also undertake surveys for industrial purposes, prepare industrial schemes and projects in advance, with details of the cost, machinery, labour, raw materials, manufactured articles and the markets for the same. The preparation of such plans and estimates should be one of the ordinary duties of the department. It may be that experts of the kind I propose will involve a considerable expenditure to Government, but the resulting advantages will far outweigh the cost.

The object of the Government of India in appointing this Commission has been stated to be to suggest ways and means to secure the building up of industries where the capital, control and management shall be in the hands of Indians. The warning has also been given that this object may not be secured if the manufacturer who now competes from a distance transfers his activities to India and competes with us within our own boundaries. Already, the competition of Indo-European enterprise in commerce and industries with Indian industries is very keen. The former is able to command facilities for the supply of capital, transport, banking, skilled labour, and scientific aid on a scale which Indian enterprise cannot possibly hope for. The European business community in this country has a solidarity of its own on account of prestige and influence with the Government of the country which secures them all the help they want. I would therefore urge that the recommendations of this Commission should be so conceived and framed as to secure the expansion and development of Indian indigenous manufactures and industries solely.

Industrial Education of the Masses.

It is impossible to attract the small investor, says the *Mysore Economic Journal*, unless you go to his very doors; unless you offer facilities to invest; and unless you demonstrate your superior security and advantages. That is the first part of the work that awaits the industrial development of this land. We must educate the masses to a sense of the requirements of the country as well. They must be made to know that money is only a means to an end and not the end itself. As a first step in this work, we may suggest that those interested in it should make the people understand more clearly the utility of banks, and of banking facilities.

Economic Conditions of Indian Peasants.

In the course of an address before the Madras Economic Association, Mr. Patro made the following remarks as the result of his investigations in certain localities of the Madras Presidency:—

The investigation commenced more than a year ago, and I do not attempt to discuss the many problems to which the studies give rise. Others will have to draw conclusions and advocate remedies. From the sketches it will be seen how the population is increasing and the actual cultivating owners are decreasing; how the holdings are split up, and the landless labourers are growing; how little improvement is made in agricultural methods and how little possibility there is for improving agricultural methods owing to the growing poverty, physical deterioration and indebtedness of the agriculturist; how the cultivation of the present holdings can never pay, and the ryots are sinking lower and lower. The rations available for the agriculturist in some cases are poorer than the diet given to the prisoners in jails. That large number of agriculturists and labourers emigrated to Calcutta, Burma, Straits Settlements and other places is a common factor in all these villages. In the last named village about one hundred, out of a population of about 878, have gone out in search of better wages and to work in non-agricultural work. There is, therefore, pressing need for full enquiry into the economic conditions of agricultural population in this Province.

Tasmanian Fruit for India.

The fruit expert of Tasmania has been instructed by the Government of that State to report on the prospects of opening up a fruit trade with India. Mr. Percy Tucker, the well-known Scottsdale orchardist, who spent some time in India recently, reports an Anglo-Indian paper at Calcutta, was asked his opinion about developing a trade with this country. He said that there appeared to him to be prospects of building up a certain amount of trade, but one of the first things which would have to be done would be to have cold storage facilities at the port of landing, so that the fruit, when taken out of the ships, could be kept in refrigerated conditions; otherwise it would deteriorate quickly in the Indian climate if it had to wait any time for sale or for despatch to the inland centres. He added that he would not care to send any fruit himself to India unless he knew that there was cold storage accommodation for it when it arrived there.

Indian Agriculture.

In the course of his lecture on India's part in post-war economic reconstruction, at a meeting presided over by Sir Benjamin Robertson, on the evening of the 20th January, Sir Stanley Reed said that every industry with which he was acquainted was short of labour, and it might seem untimely to attempt to discuss at this stage India's part in the economic reconstruction of the matter. So far as the titanic struggle had progressed, it had brought to nought all anticipations of its economic defects. His first plea was an appeal for better recognition of the importance of Indian agriculture. The clamour to-day was all for industrial development, and if any service was done to agriculture it is the perfunctory service of lime, as we have not yet put enough brains and capital into the soil.

Tropical Agriculture.

If there is one thing more than any other which the Dutch Government in the East Indies can teach us in India, it is the best way to encourage and develop tropical agriculture and industries, observes the *Madras Mail*. When the Government of India and the Provincial Governments were more or less blindly groping in the dark regarding the question of agricultural development and the formation of special departments for the purpose, scientific agriculture, under the care of a very progressive department of agriculture, commerce and industry, had long been the rule there, and results were obtained which have been not only of great benefit to the island but to the rest of the world, India not excepted. It is possible without much difficulty to name quite a number of agricultural products, for the improvement of which in this country we are indebted to Java and the other islands of the Netherlands East Indies. It stands to reason that we have still much to learn from that source, and a good opportunity to do so would be the exhibition of tropical agriculture, cattle breeding, fisheries, commerce and industries which, we are informed, is likely to come off soon.

Are Show Vegetables the Best?

Dr. A. B. Rendle, in his presidential address before the botanical section of the British Association at its recent meeting, asked if the prize vegetables, one sees at Shows, really represent the best products from an economic point of view. He suggested experiments to ascertain the point, at which size became disproportionate to food value.

Literary.

WOMEN AND INDIAN CLASSICS.

The Hon. Mr. M. S. Das, speaking at the All-India Christian Conference at Madras as President, on December 27, 1916, observed in the course of his address:—

When I read the two great national epics—the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana* (with the aid of the light which the Cross sheds on them), I am inspired with an earnest desire to improve the position of our women and the depressed classes in the social economy of India. I learn that in ancient India the aboriginal tribes, who represent the monkeys of the *Ramayana*, were honoured by kings and monarchs who were worshipped as Gods. The writer of *Ramayana* knew no depressed classes in the population. Take away Draupadi from *Mahabharata* and Sita from *Ramayana*, and the two great National epics have no existence. Where could I find more convincing proof of the influential position which women occupied in ancient India? Where can I get more forcible illustrations of the unflinching martyrdom to conviction, than I find in the life of my revered ancestor who cheerfully ascended the funeral pyre of her husband to keep inviolate the sacred bond of matrimony. Her blood, which I proudly hold in my veins, constantly impels me to act up to my conviction. I repudiate with indignation the assertion that I do not belong to the Indian Nation. I have spoken in the first person. I have done so, because these are the unanimous sentiments of the community; and the sentiments of many, when expressed by one, lend emphasis to the unanimity.

THE QUALITY OF THINKING.

Dr. Ewing, Vice-Chancellor of the Punjab University, in the course of his recent convocation address, observed:—

As you study to make your lives strong and beautiful there is one quality, the attainment of which I venture to urge upon you. It is one that demands courage always, and sometimes heroism of the sublimest type. The power to think and to act as responsible individuals is a quality by no means so common as it ought to be amongst men of enlightenment, whose general aim, it may be assumed, it is to guide those whose opportunities for acquiring a right view of things have been less favourable than their own. The indulgence of blind party spirit, a readiness

to follow unthinkingly the leadership of the demagogue, these are fatal to any true efficiency in your work amongst men. Thinking is like loving or eating; every man must do it for himself to get benefit of it. We are not only morally, but mentally responsible beings. Our thinking ought to be our own, not that of our neighbour, or of the persuasive orator who at times would rob us of our privilege of choice. The humorist who said: "It is better to have a few ideas raised on your own premises than a whole orphan asylum of ideas which you have adopted," defined a great principle.

A SIKH LEADER'S MESSAGE TO INDIAN SOLDIERS.

Sirdar Daljit Singh, C.S.I., Member of the Council of India, arranged to present to every Indian soldier on field service a New Year Card with, as frontispiece, the Union Jack in colours, and on an inner page a reproduction of the portrait of the King-Emperor in his Coronation Robes, and a facsimile of His Majesty's signature.

The Sirdar has composed a poem which faces the Royal portrait, and is printed in Hindi, Persian (Urdu), or Gurmukhi, according to the language of the recipient. The following is an English translation:—

From East to West, from North to South, thy Banner
is unfurled;
It streams above the Seven Seas, it waves throughout
the world!
The sun may travel far by day and journey through the
night;
Speed as he will, thine Empire's bounds be yet beyond
his sight.
Discord is silent at thy word, and safe beneath thy
rule
The lamb and lion slake their thirst beside the self-
same pool.
Each home is nurs'd in Virtue's lap, and Folly's voice is
still;
Even in dreams there cometh not a single thought
of ill!
Fire, water, wind, obey thy will and thy command-
ments own;
Triumph and Joy dwell calm beneath the shadows of
thy Throne!
Imperial Master, noble George, our sovereign Lord and
King,
Thou, our defence in time of need, thy loving people
sing.
While tower the Mountains of the North, while sunlight
gilds the plain,
While gleams the silver moon by night, or heaves the
rolling main,
World-wide, unmoved, impregnable, may thy dominion
stand,
And for the buttress of thy Right be God's protecting
hand!

Educational.

THE EDUCATION OF THE KURMI KSHATRIYAS.

The eleventh session of the All-India Kurmi Kshatriya Conference was held at Agra on the 29th, 30th and 31st December last under the presidency of Manjambhai C. Patel, B.A., LL.B., Bar-at-Law, who delivered a suggestive and informing address. He began with a reference to the ancient traditions of his community and said:—

"Our community, with its thirty millions and more of its members, spread over the country represent the great middle class and the proud Indian peasantry claiming its descent from those famous warrior clans, to which Ram, Arjun and Yudhistir of old belonged. Kurmis can justly claim to be the prop of Indian democracy, and its importance in the political and social development of the country cannot be exaggerated. Almost every one of this community was once a soldier, who, fighting in defence of his motherland under adverse circumstances, settled down in the country as law-abiding and peaceful agriculturist, though he kept up the fire of his race for generations thereafter."

Mr. Patel then touched on the problem of education and suggested:—(1) That we should urgently demand from Government the introduction of a free and compulsory system of primary education in India. (2) That until it be so granted by Government, we must begin by organising village schools ourselves through village Panchayats appointed by us. (3) That in these schools we must teach our own course befitting the boys generally for taking up the work of agriculture after completing a period of five or six years. (4) That the method employed in tuition should be such as would be best suited to form in the students a habit of acting on his own judgment. (5) Lastly, to facilitate higher education of certain boys, we should arrange for boarding houses in towns and cities, and we should request Government to increase the number of agricultural colleges and to locate them in agricultural districts, attracting students of this community by liberal grants of scholarships.

THE EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE.

A Conference of Directors of Public Instruction was held at Delhi, on January 22nd, Messrs. Stone, Godley, Jennings, A. L. Covernton, De la Fosse, J. G. Covernton, Cunningham, Mayhew, Hornell and Richey, Directors of Public Instruction, besides Sir Sankaran Nair, Sir Edward MacLagan, Messrs. Sharp and Anderson, of the Government of India, were present. His Excellency the Viceroy, in opening the Conference, said:—

Education is not a subject to be wrapped up in mystery and discussed behind closed doors. We wish to awaken an intelligent interest and an active co-operation on the part of the general public, and we can only do this by taking them completely into our confidence. Above all, must we remove the idea that we have any ulterior motives behind our education policy. In my speech at the Convocation of the Calcutta University, I laid stress on education question being dealt with on educational lines, with a single eye to educational efficiency. I hope this conference will show that this is the case and that no political considerations find a place in your discussion of purely educational problems. There is a further circumstance to be borne in mind in this connection. It is all important to enlist the interest and sympathy of the general public in the matter of education. Those of you who have had experience of English conditions will remember the widespread indifference of the general public to educational questions. The lessons of this war may to some extent correct this attitude, but we want equally in India to bring home to the people generally the paramount importance of education in their lives, and I think nothing is better calculated to quicken the public interest than open conferences from time to time, which will show the importance which the Government of India attach to education.

His Excellency then referred at some length to the need for technical and women's education. He continued:—

There is one more matter with regard to which I should like to say a few words. I am fully aware that it is highly controversial and that it has more than once been the subject of discussion, but it lies so deep in the foundations of our education that I think it well to bring the matter forward, especially at a time when our task is, as I have said above, to examine and consolidate our educational foundation.

His Excellency referred also to the relative claims of English and vernacular teaching. [The full text of the speech on this subject of the Medium of Instruction is printed elsewhere in this issue under the general heading, "The Viceroy's Recent Speeches."]

Legal.

LAW'S DELAY.

Some strong observations with regard to a affidavit, not having been put in even eighteen months after the service of summons, were made by Mr. Justice Beachcroft at the Calcutta High Court in the case of Raj Bahadur against Mohun Lal and others, in which Counsel for the plaintiff applied for an adjournment. His Lordship, in rejecting application, said:—"It appears that the summons is supposed to have been served on the four defendants so far back as May 1915. Since then, apparently, no attempt has been made to put in the affidavit of service of summons. The one defendant, who has appeared, objects to the case being again adjourned. It was apparently adjourned on a previous occasion in August last by consent. It is scandalous that some eighteen months after the summons is supposed to have been served, the affidavit should not have been put in. I cannot consent to the case being adjourned."

TWO MORE EXCLUSION ORDERS.

Messrs. Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Bepin Chandra Pal have, by order of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's Government, been prohibited from entering the Province of the Punjab. The orders alleges that they propose to visit the Punjab and that the visit is likely to cause disturbance. Messrs. Tilak and Pal explain in the Press that they had no such intention and that the Punjab Government, in issuing such an order against either, was merely the victim of a panic of its own creation. They protest that their loyalty should not be called in question by the application of the Defence of India Act against them.

FOOD ADULTERATION.

It is welcome to learn from a circular issued by the Imperial Government, says the *Statesman*, that the Local Governments are practically unanimous in their desire to progress along the lines already adopted in the United Provinces for the prevention of the adulteration of food-stuffs. The Imperial Government are now satisfied that adulteration is widely prevalent throughout the country, and suggest that provincial authorities shall frame legislation to meet the evil. The suggestion put forward is, that legislative provision should be made for the purchase of samples of food-stuffs and for the submission of these to the examination of analysts appointed by, or subject to the approval of, the Local Governments.

CLASSIFICATION OF CRIMINALS.

It is a commonplace of penology that the first offenders, whose offences generally do not imply any moral turpitude, should not on conviction be imprisoned along with hardened and habitual prisoners. To keep these two classes together is the surest way of adding to the criminal population of the country. In most Western countries this principle has been carried out in practice. In this country, however, it has been accepted merely in theory, thanks principally to the notorious lack of sufficient jail accommodation. Lately most of the Inspectors-General of Prisons in various provinces have shown signs of being imbued with sound notions of penology, and some at least of the many prison reforms introduced long ago in Western countries are being adopted in the prisons of this country. The separation of first offenders and habitual criminals is one of them, though it has been introduced by fits and starts, according to the discretion of the jail authorities. What is needed, however, is that adherence to the practice should be made obligatory on these authorities.—*Bombay Chronicle*.

TREATMENT OF JAIL PRISONERS.

The *Statesman* writes:—One of the ruling considerations of a modern government in dealing with jail prisoners is to give them as good a chance of surviving inside a jail as they would have enjoyed had they never entered it. This ideal was not always kept prominently before the eyes even of the Indian Government. Not so very many years have passed since a jail death-rate of 250 per thousand was comparatively common. From figures such as these an immense advance has been made, and the spokesman of the United Provinces jail administration ascribed the improvement mainly to the progress away from small divisions and partitions to larger and better ventilated areas. The cry for minute classification of prisoners, if successful, would mean a reversal of this process and a return to an approximation to the cellular system which is slowly being abandoned, partly on the ground of its inhumanity, even in a temperate country such as England. "English prisons," said Colonel Mactaggart, "are copying—unconsciously no doubt, but none the less actually—the Indian system of jail factory labour." Thus, the Indian jail administration, like so many other Government departments in the country, is not behind but in the van, so far as regards the newest conception of progress.

Medical.

TRENCH DREAMS.

Colonel Kenneth McLeod, in the course of an article in a contemporary, connects the dreams of terror, usually called nightmares, with "trench dreams," in which, according to Dr. E. Murray Auer, soldiers suffering from shock and stupor caused by the horrors of trench warfare "start from their beds in the middle of the night crying out and weeping, their bodies bathed in perspiration, as they dream of being chased by Germans with bayonets, of being buried under "debris" following a mine explosion, or of losing the trench in a fog and being unable to get back. "One such man rose from his bed in the middle of the night and recited in a one-sided conversation his experience of a charge and burial in a mine explosion, and then relapsed into his stuporous state." Dreams of this sort are often caused by pain or some bodily disorder giving rise to powerful disturbance of the nervous system.

[MEDICAL EDUCATION IN INDIA.]

The last issue of the *Hindustan Review* opens with an article on "Medical Education in India" from the pen of "Pedagogue." It emphasises the deplorable lack of interest in Medical Education on the part of the public. "Pedagogue" cries out against "the existing stereotyped scheme of State medical relief based exclusively on a practice of allopathy," and states that the Indian masses do not take kindly to this stereotyped scheme in spite of inviting modern hospitals fitted with up-to-date apparatus. "It," writes "Pedagogue," "therefore clearly seems to have been incumbent to devise a comprehensive policy of medical administration that would not only satisfy the varying needs of the heterogeneous congeries of faith, temperaments and idiosyncrasies of the Indian races but also encourage a healthy development of the ancient systems of medicine in friendly juxtaposition with the modern, and co-ordinate the humanitarian functions of all with their differing scope, on a more or less common basis." The writer proposes to accomplish this by the establishment of an Ayurvedic and Unani College largely subsidised by the State, at centres like Calcutta and Delhi. He goes a step further and says that every province must be made to maintain two schools, one of each class under similar conditions.

TRAIN THE SPEAKING VOICE.

Training of the voice is given in Holland by "leeraar in het methodisch spreken," which means "specialist, or expert, in normal speech and voice hygienics." Dr. N. J. Pooek van Baggen, of The Hague, says that nowhere else in the world is voice training so complete as in his country. It is not elocution, but elocution cannot be good without it. It is a drill of the muscles and the breathing apparatus, which does away with vicious accents, muffled tones and faulty articulation and makes the voice pleasant, clear and refined.

PETROL FOR WOUNDS.

Contused lacerated wounds with dirt ground into them are cleaned with petrol in Dr. M. H. Embree's field hospital in France, says the *Popular Science Siftings*. The skin and then the surface of the wound are rubbed with a swab of absorbent cotton soaked in petrol. The interior of the wound is swabbed out with petrol as far as can be reached with pledgets of cotton wrapped around a forceps. Petrol causes no pain, but it will cause blisters if left on and covered with bandages that prevent evaporation. It has long been used by workmen in factories for cleaning dirty cuts and lacerations.

EGGS STERILISED BY GAS.

A method of preserving eggs, which is said to keep them absolutely fresh for an indefinite length of time, is in use in France. New laid eggs in tin cases holding 1,000 each are placed in an autoclave, from which the air is exhausted until all the gas within the shells has been drawn out. Then carbonic acid gas and nitrogen are introduced from tanks of these gases in liquid form, and the tins containing the eggs are sealed with solder. Any germs of decay are killed by these gases, and it is said that the flavour of the eggs is in no way affected.

DEAF HEAR BY VIBRATION.

M. Bigourdan told the French Academy of Sciences, at its recent meeting, of a man who had been for fifty years so deaf that he could not hear the whistle of a locomotive close beside him, yet who heard distinctly the sound of heavy guns 75 miles away. It reached him in the form of a vibration of the earth, and was synchronous with the noise as heard by normal ears. This led M. Bigourdan to suggest that sound may reach great distances through the earth rather than through the air.

Science.

THE INDIAN SCIENCE CONGRESS.

The fourth annual meeting of the Indian Science Congress was opened by H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore, on the 10th January, at Bangalore. There was a large and distinguished audience of scientists from various parts of India. His Highness spoke at some length on the practical advantages of such a congress and referred to the possibilities of the future of Indian industries and agriculture.

Sir Alfred Bourne began his presidential address by saying how much the Congress valued the honour His Highness had done them in consenting to be their patron and in opening the Congress with a speech. He then referred to the work of the British Association, compared the expenditure on Science in India with that in other countries, urged a systematic direction of scientific enquiry and research, and concluded with a reference to the two kinds of scientific study—pure and applied science.

The Congress, after a short interval, had general discussion on the question of scientific libraries for India.

Sir Sidney Burrard, who then presided, said that at the meeting of the Congress, at Lucknow, Dr. W. N. F. Woodland, of Allahabad, had stated that research work was being hampered in India owing to the absence of scientific libraries. It was necessary to consider seriously how far the deficiency had been felt. It was evident that there could not be libraries in every provincial town. The main difficulty at present seemed to him to be that, due to the great distance between the research workers, the existing libraries were not greatly availed of.

Dr. Woodland stated that the difficulty was not so much in not having access to valuable literature but in the lack of the literature itself. A complete selection of journals for reference in this subject alone would require Rs. 7½ lakhs. In view of the great expense involved, it was obvious that it would only be possible to have one library for the whole of India. He would suggest its location in a central place. The Congress should arrive at definite and concrete proposals on the subject before they passed any resolutions.

Dr. Howard, of Pusa, suggested the publication of a catalogue of all the interesting journals. Research workers would then readily get what was necessary for their purpose.

Dr. Mackichan stated that he could conceive of no better place than Bangalore for the establishment of the nucleus of a central library.

Dr. Gilbert Walker suggested that India be divided into three groups, each group to have a library of its own. The Education Department had contemplated preparing a catalogue.

The matter was deferred for further consideration.

The first day's proceedings were brought to a close with a public lecture in the evening by Mr. C. Michie Smith on "The Sun." The lecture was illustrated by lantern slides.

The next day the Congress broke into sections, and various papers on a number of subjects were also read.

The Congress concluded its sittings on the 13th instant. After papers were read and discussed in committees, Sir Alfred Bourne presided at a general meeting of the Congress when it was announced that it would meet at Lahore next year and that Sir Michael O'Dwyer had consented to become its patron. The closing feature of the Indian Science Congress was a fairly protracted discussion in its future. Sir Alfred Bourne, the President, said he was extremely sorry they had come to the end of a useful session. Their final business was to consider the desirability of formulating a definite constitution for themselves.

After congratulating the Congress on its acquiring Sir Michael for its patron, he suggested Dr. Gilbert Walker for the next three years' presidency which was accepted. A debate then ensued with reference to the conversion of the Congress into a permanent working organization. A working constitution having been agreed upon, the Congress dispersed for the session.

NITROGEN FROM THE AIR.

Germany's nitrogen product is said to have increased from 22,000 tons to 140,000 in two years. Regions of cheap water-power can most economically furnish nitrates in times of peace. Scandinavia has taken the lead in the work of obtaining nitrogen from the air, to help out the waning supply from mineral deposits, but it is pointed out that the South Island of New Zealand may become a rival. On the deep sounds of the south-west coast, water-powers up to 40,000 horse-power are reported to be available at a development cost of £5 to £10 per horse-power. Heads of 500 to 1,000 feet can be had, with stations at the edge of deep water, and there are numerous inland water-powers up to 100,000 horse-power that could be cheaply developed. The Anau Lake offers one of the finest of the world's water-powers.

Personal.

THE HON. MR. P. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR.

The Hon. Dewan Bahadur P. Rajagopalachariar, C.I.E., the new Member of the Council of Madras, joined the Government service in 1886, and was appointed Deputy Collector at Trichinopoly, subsequently becoming District and Sessions Judge and then Collector of Kurnool. Then he became the Registrar of Co-operative Societies, an office which he relinquished when he was made Dewan of Cochin. He subsequently became Dewan of Travancore, when he was rewarded with a C.I.E. Later, he was appointed Secretary to the Government of Madras in the Judicial Department. He is in his fifty-fifth year and would have had to retire on the 18th March next had it not been for his new appointment. He has twice travelled to England, and he was a passenger on the ill-fated *Persia* when it was torpedoed in the Mediterranean.

MINISTERS AND THEIR AGES.

The following is a complete list of the Members of the new Government and their ages:—

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SIR ASHUTOSH MUKHERJEE.

His Holiness Srmat Subhuti Mahathera, of Waskadnwa, the Head of the Amarapura Sect of the Buddhist Church of Ceylon, has been pleased to confer on Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee, Kt., the title of 'Samuddhagama Chakrabarti' in recognition of his versatile scholarship in various branches of Buddhist literature and his valuable services to the cause of the Buddhist literature in Bengal. The title is the highest mark of honour that is ever conferred on a layman in the southern Buddhist countries. So far as it is known in history, only the famous poet, Pandit Rama Chandra Bharati, of Gour, was the recipient of the honour about 500 years ago from the then King of Sinhala.

DR. SIR RASH BEHARI GHOSE.

The Calcutta Vakils' Association very appropriately presented an address to Dr. Sir Rash Behari Ghose on the occasion of his completing fifty years practice at the Calcutta High Court. Sir Rash Behari joined the High Court on the 5th of February 1867, and has enjoyed a very lucrative practice at the bar for more than a quarter of a century. It is only too well known how singularly devoted he has been to Law and how generously he has devoted his earnings to the service of Science for the benefit of the country. The occasion of the jubilee was also taken advantage of by the Calcutta University to present another address on its behalf.

TWO INDIAN KNIGHTS.

The Knighthood recently conferred by His Majesty on Dr. J. C. Bose and the Hon. Pundit Sunder Lal has given great satisfaction all over India. Dr. Bose's scientific researches and discoveries, and Pundit Sunder Lal's exertions on behalf of the Hindu University, deserve fully the recognition they have just received at the hands of the Government.

THE LATE MR. ALI MAHOMED BHIMJI.

Mr. Ali Mahomed Bhimji passed away on December 28, at Bandra, at the age of 80. Mr. Bhimji was one of the oldest of Congressmen, observes an up-country contemporary. At a time when educated Mahomedans as a body kept aloof from politics and Congress, Mr. Bhimji had the insight and foresight to follow the lead of Mr. Budruddin Tyabji rather than that of Sir Syed Ahmed. On behalf of Moslem Congressmen, Mr. Bhimji presented a gold watch and chain to the Hon. Mr. R. M. Sayani, when he presided over the Calcutta Congress in 1896.

Political.

MR. ABDUR RAHIM ON THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT.

The following is an extract from The Hon. Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim's Minute of Dissent to the Majority Report of the Public Services Commission:—

The main significance of the changed conditions in India is to be found in the growth of a national sense within the last few years. Like all great ideas, it is showing a remarkable rapidity of development, whose full meaning is not easily grasped by outsiders. The factors that have contributed to it are manifold, and cannot be discussed here in detail. It will be useful, however, for a broad comprehension of the situation to refer to some of the more prominent movements in this connection. In the region of social reforms which have been instituted in the Hindu community by a notable galaxy of reformers in all parts of India, the Brahmo Samaj of Bengal, the Arya Samaj of the Punjab, the Depressed Classes Mission of Madras, and the Servants of India Society of Bombay, the last founded by Mr. Gokhale, are but a few of the more visible manifestations. No one who lives in India and knows the people can fail to perceive that a vast welding force has come into existence. It may be safe to assert that whatever undesirable significance the caste system may have had in the past, the educated classes of Hindus would at the present day regard it as an undeserved and cruel aspersions of their character to have it suggested that they do not sympathise with the uneducated masses or would not deal fairly by them in the discharge of their official duties. No doubt there are erratic and narrow-minded men among the Hindus, but so there are in all nations and communities. The Hindus above all have been the organisers of the Indian National Congress, whose proud boast to-day is that its title "national" has been amply justified. It is pointed out that almost all the important items in its original programme have received warm support of the leaders of all Indian communities, whether they speak from the Congress platform or from that of the Moslem league or from the Sikh Khalsa. The unifying and democratic spirit of Islam is well known, and among the Muhammadans there have been no such relics of an old system as the castes to mislead those whose knowledge of the Indian people is mostly historical and theoretical. Further, it must be remembered that care for the poor, so definitely enjoined by all religions of the east, has developed in the Indian character generally almost an overflow of charity and generosity, while the new movements have helped largely to divert much of that fund of philanthropy into more regulated channels.

The inquiry has disclosed a remarkable change in the attitude of the Muhammadan community towards the questions debated before us from what it was in 1886-87. At that debate the Muhammadan views were dominated by a revived hope that considerable encouragement would be afforded by the Government to their desire to regain a fair and fitting place in the public service of the country. Their representatives therefore pleaded for some special measures of protection not, perhaps, entirely compatible with a high standard of educational qualification. In the meantime, however, mainly under the guidance of Sir Syed Ahmad and his fellow-workers, the community has shown an earnestness in keeping

abreast of the times not unworthy of their past traditions. It now holds its own in primary education along with other communities, and Muhammadan graduates have increased within the last nine years by 80 per cent. There is much more way to be made up yet, but the unflinching determination with which the Muhammadan leaders are now seeking to adjust the ideals of the people to modern conditions indicates that the community is inspired with a new confidence. This, again, is but a proof that the Indian Muhammadans have not remained unaffected by the recent national movement. Their sense of the duty to live in amity and friendship with one's neighbours, so strictly enforced by their religion, has now insensibly glided into the channels of nationalism. The younger followers of Sir Syed Ahmad cite with cordial approval the simile in which he likened the Hindus and the Muhammadans to the two apples of India's eyes. They repudiate with equal warmth the dissent which he had at one time expressed from some of the more advanced political measures advocated by the Indian National Congress as being inconsistent with his own ideal. This change in the political outlook of the community was reflected in the views expressed before us by its representatives as to the principles which should regulate recruitment for the public service. The keynote of their attitude is the same as that of the others, a demand for a more intimate and more extensive association of the people with the administration and a complete removal of disabilities.

The Sikhs, another influential though smaller community, have also fast risen in political importance. In traditions and religion more allied to the Hindus, they seem to possess the freer outlook of the Muhammadans. They have advanced rapidly in education and industrial enterprises while fully preserving their innate military genius. They now count as a powerful factor in the new national forces.

The Parsis, the well-known community of Bombay, have produced some of the greatest leaders of national thought and have set an example of enlightened citizenship and business capacity which has been of great significance.

Among the other classes of India's population the Anglo-Indians, formerly called Eurasians, or persons of mixed descent, have decided to throw in their lot with the Europeans so far as the national aspirations of India are concerned. They do not even call themselves Indians though they would reckon themselves as "statutory natives of India." As statutory natives they insist on a full share in the public services of the country, and by virtue of their kinship with the Europeans they claim a part of "the British responsibility for the good government of India," which gives them much more than their full share. Such a position has naturally given rise to more than one practical difficulty in dealing with the questions raised before us. A number of Indian Christians bearing European names are making determined efforts to share the privileges enjoyed by this community, and it has been found a difficult task with certain departments to trace a European in their genealogical tree on the one side or the other. . . . Anyhow their number is insignificant (being only 102,000 out of the total population of 315,000,000), but they must be reckoned as standing outside the general national movement. . . .

The political attitude of the Indian Christians, so far as they have developed it, seems to harmonise with that of the other Indian communities.

General.

PROGRESS IN INDIA AND JAPAN.

Speaking at Madras on "India's Demand," on January 30th, The Hon. Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya said:—

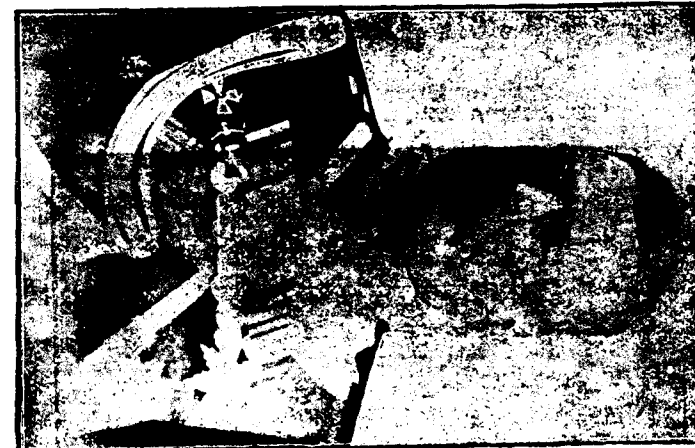
We are also confronted with the fact that while we in India have made such slow progress, a neighbouring eastern country like Japan has risen from the low position which it occupied, from the position of backwardness which it occupied in 1868 to a position when there is no nation in the world who will not be glad to call it its ally. How has that been brought about? It has been brought about by a policy of progress in all directions. It has been brought about by the desire of those statesmen entrusted with the Government of Japan to promote the welfare of the people of Japan in every possible way which was open to them. Gentlemen, what we desire is this. We have accepted the King-Emperor. We accepted Her late Majesty Queen Victoria as our Sovereign when the direct Government of India was transferred from the Company to the Crown. We have given proofs, innumerable proofs, of the sincerity of our feeling towards our Sovereign, and we feel that, being subjects of an enlightened sovereign of the King of England, we ought to make not less progress than the people of Japan have made in their land. (Hear, hear.) We feel that it is our right that we should call upon those who serve in this country to serve His Majesty's Government in any form or capacity, to take us into their Council and to march forward in all directions in order that India should make as great advance and as rapid an advance as Japan has achieved in the last thirty or forty years. We feel that it is our right to do so. And what is more. We feel convinced that this progress will be and shall be brought about if there is a better appreciation of our efforts and of our co-operation and if there is a better understanding of our position. Here let me tell you this, I wish I was addressing an English audience instead of addressing you. But let me say it—as it has come to me and I shall not avoid it—I wish I could make Englishmen understand the real feelings of the educated people of India. I wish they could understand that we are children of an ancient civilisation, that we have inherited a glorious past, that we are proud of our past and wish to be proud of our future. Along these we

should make them understand that having been brought into contact with English civilisation and with Englishmen in India, having studied their literature—most glorious perhaps so far as politics is concerned in the world—having studied their glorious literature, having imbibed deep the principles of freedom, love of liberty and the love of nationality which breathes in the pages of English writers, we have cultivated in our hearts an appreciation of the English character, which they do not understand and which I really wish they should understand. We have the conviction that there is no other nation on earth which we should like to accept for the English nation so far as our relation with foreign nations is concerned. It is our deliberate conviction that with all the faults which the English people have—and I am sorry they have many—we feel they have got virtues and good points, of which they may well be proud. They are the people from whom the civilised nations of the present day have inherited the system of popular administration. It has been the glory of England that it is promoting the welfare of mankind for the greater part of the globe at present. We have no wish, therefore, to sever our connection from England. But we have every wish that the connection established be made increasingly and more and more honourable and less and less galling to us. We should feel in being the subjects of one of the best kings of one of the most advanced countries, we shall have the advantages which should come to us from having a king of our own, an Emperor of our own nationality.

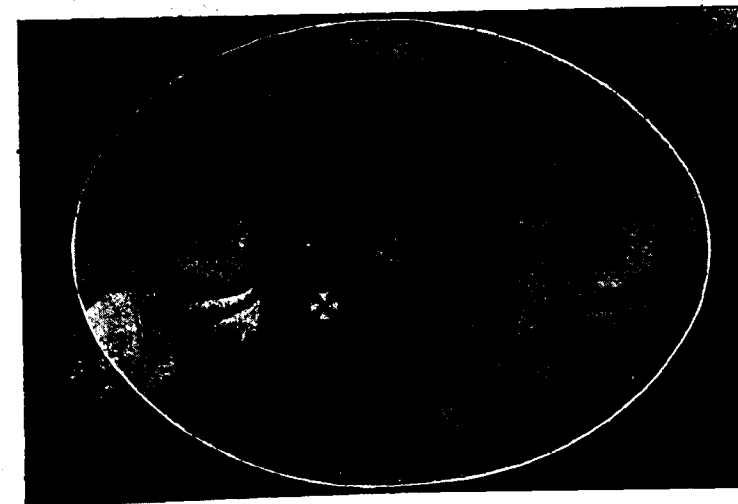
THE VARNASHRAMA CONVENTION.

The first All-India Varnashrama Convention was held at Lucknow, on December 26, 1916, after the meeting of the All-India Hindu Conference. The lecturer, Mr. N. K. Ramaswamiya, the Organising Secretary, said that Varnashrama Dharma or the Hindu religion and sociology were the basis and the federal principle, a principle underlying Nature itself, which the Hindus applied to religion, sociology and politics alike, while it was just being recognised in the West. Hinduism had to lead the West to extend it to religion and sociology also. At the end of the lecture, a Nagpore member of the All-India Hindu Sabha Subjects Committee expressed himself glad at the convention being inaugurated just in the year when the All-India Hindu Conference was thinking of it.

GENERAL NICOLAS RUZSKY
The Victor of Gallia.

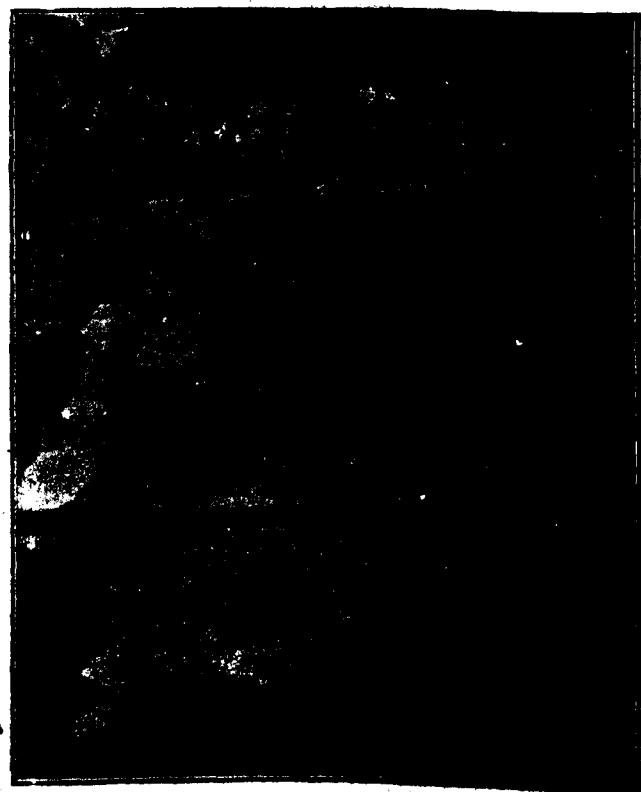


GENERAL ALEXIEFF
Chief of Staff.



The Russian Generals who advised the Czar to Abdicate.





THE EX-CZAR OF RUSSIA AND HIS FAMILY

THE INDIAN REVIEW

A MONTHLY PERIODICAL DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST.

EDITED BY G. A. NATESAN.

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No. 3.

POST-WAR REFORMS : A SYMPOSIUM.

[We are publishing in this issue the fourth instalment of the Symposium on Post-War Reforms commenced in the December number of *The Indian Review*.—Ed. I.R.]

Rajah Sir Harnam Singh, K.C.I.E.

The Post-War Reforms Memorandum submitted to the Government of India by the 19 elected Members of H. E. The Viceroy's Legislative Council cannot but appeal to and enlist the warm support of every son of India—for in it have been carefully reasoned and moderately set forth the views of a nation, whose demand for self-government is only the natural outcome of British ideals and teaching. If, after a century of that rule, we were still considered unfit for full participation in the government of our country, surely it would be neither a creditable reflection on the British Government nor in keeping with the high traditions of an Empire which has always stood for freedom and the true rights of nations.

Opinion may differ as to the fitness of the country for all the reforms demanded, but I do not think any sensible man will deny that reforms on a large and liberal scale are needed and are desirable, and India will not be satisfied unless she is henceforth treated equally with the Dominions. As a nation, we may be backward in many respects—which nation can say it has attained to perfection?—but individually Indians have proved themselves the equals of any one—and surely the time has come for us to be given opportunities of proving ourselves worthy of being put on a level with His Majesty's other Dominions.

It has been said that India cannot be looked upon as a nation because of her varied religions and tongues, but the spirit of nationality has been awakened in us, and true love of country knows no barriers of caste and creed or language, as was shown recently when the leaders of the Congress Committee and the Muslim League united on a common platform.

I have carefully gone through the pamphlet that has been presented to the public by Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, and I think he has made out an excellent case for Self-Government.

A start has got to be made, and I think after the war will be a most opportune time. India's loyalty to the British Throne has been put to the test, and she has come out with flying colours. It will be a shortsighted policy if she is not treated in a most liberal spirit by those to whom Providence has entrusted her destinies—for a contented India will be a far greater asset to Great Britain than a disappointed and discontented nation.

Mr. N. Subbarau Pantulu.

(Joint-General Secretary, Indian National Congress, & formerly Member, Imperial Legislative Council.)

"He flies in the face of history who ignores the fact that no people ever stop or ever hesitate in the middle of the road once they begin to struggle for their liberty. Every advance made is an encouragement to take further and faster steps."

Several have been the misconceptions that have gathered round the scheme of Post-War Reforms, which have been embodied in the Congress resolution "as a definite step towards Self-Government." No less a person than Lord Chelmsford seems to think that the reforms adumbrated in the "Nineteen Members' Memorandum" originated with them and "since received endorsement by resolutions passed at the National Congress held at Lucknow." It is hardly necessary to point out that under the guidance of Sir S. P. Sinha, the Congress which met in Bombay in 1915, enunciated the principles on which further political evolution should proceed, and appointed

the All-India Congress Committee to frame a scheme of reforms in consultation with the Committee of the Moslem League, and place it before the ensuing Congress. Accordingly, the All-India Congress Committee called for proposals from the various Provincial Congress Committees and, after considering the same, prepared a scheme at its meetings held at Allahabad on the 22nd, 23rd, and 24th April last. Again, on the 17th and 18th November, a joint-Conference of the All-India Congress Committee and the Reform Committee of the Moslem League met at Calcutta, and discussed the scheme and settled it at Lucknow on the 25th, 26th and 27th December. It was further placed before the Subjects Committee of the Congress and finally passed by the Congress and the Moslem League. It will thus be seen that when it was known that the Government of India would address a Despatch to the Secretary of State on the question of the reforms that should be undertaken with reference to the Constitution of the Government, the "Nineteen Members" considered it their duty to give expression to the views of the public without waiting for the assembling of the Congress and submitted the memorandum in October last, following the lines laid down in the scheme prepared by the All-India Congress Committee earlier in April.

Again, it is pointed out by some of our critics that the Congress abandoned its policy of progressive development and put forward a revolutionary claim for Self-Government. It is said that the Congress, despairing of getting individual reforms and convinced of the futility of effecting steady reform in the administration, has deliberately changed its policy and has boldly come forward to claim Home Rule at once as the one and sole panacea for all the ills under which India has been suffering. A reference to the history of the Reform Scheme and the Congress propaganda will show how baseless these criticisms are, and that the proposals formulated by the Congress form but the natural and next step, in the evolutionary progress of the country to meet the present grave situation, and do not in any way constitute a demand for Home Rule.

To understand the present situation, it is necessary to recall the events of 1908 and 1909, when the Minto-Morley Reform Scheme was announced. The Government of India claimed for the scheme that it would "really and effectively associate the people of India in the work, not only of occasional legislation but of actual every-day administration." And Lord Morley,

while endorsing this verdict, hoped that by the introduction of these reforms the moral strength of the Government would grow and that the goodwill of the people, "which must after all be the real foundation of our prosperity and strength in India," would be attracted to the Government and "fortify the foundations" of British rule in India. Mr. Asquith, the Prime Minister, on the second reading of the Bill said:—"It is most desirable to give to the people of India the feeling that the Legislative Councils are not mere automatons, the wires of which are pulled by the official hierarchy. It is of great importance from that point of view that the non-official element should be in the ascendant subject to proper safeguards." Naturally the scheme was acclaimed with joy throughout the country as an honest endeavour to meet the demands of the people and as an earnest of the reforms long overdue. Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, as President of the Congress held in Madras in 1908, gave expression to the general feeling in these memorable words:—

The time of the singing of the birds is come and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land. English statesmanship has risen to its fullest height at this critical time and has seized the golden moment. . . . not to suppress but to guide the new spirit which England has created in India. We are now on the threshold of a new era and an important chapter has been opened in the history of the relationship between Great Britain and India—a chapter of constitutional reform which promises to unite the two countries together in closer bonds than ever. The people of India will now be associated in the daily and hourly administration of their affairs. A great step forward has just then been taken in the grant of representative government, for which the Congress had been crying for years.

It was hoped that, though the powers of the Council are strictly limited, though resolutions, even if passed, are mere recommendations, and though the budget is not submitted to the vote of the Council, the Act would be worked in a sympathetic and generous spirit to give free play to the will of the representatives of the people, and that the Government would act in consonance with their wishes, except for grave reasons of State. Yet how were these hopes and expectations realized in the actual working of the Act? The deep disappointment caused by the Regulations, and the narrow interpretation put upon them, is writ large in the pages of proceedings of the Legislative Council and in the columns of the Indian Press.

The constitution of the Provincial Councils

has been so manipulated, even where an elected majority is given as in Bengal and Behar, that the official continues to dominate over the Council, and the non-official majority has, in practice, become a minority. Though the object of the Reform Scheme is to associate the people in every-day administration, yet Sir Reginald Craddock on behalf of the Government of India said, on the motion of the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya for a larger number of meetings of the Indian Legislative Council, that the main business of the Council was legislative and that no recommendation could be made by the Council to the Governor-General to exercise his discretion in favour of having more frequent meetings! As the scheme is at present worked, nothing can be carried in our Provincial Councils against the will of the officials who, in combination with the elected European members and nominated non-official Indians, specially selected to keep up the power and prestige of the Government, lord over them, and make the position of the elected representatives of the people helpless. The elected members not infrequently try to save their face by accepting the suggestions or amendments of the Government and proceed to vote or call for a division, though certain of defeat, to secure a moral victory and show to the public the perversity of the attitude of the Government who would not, by the weight of numbers and sometimes by the influence of the head of the Government, allow even a recommendation to be made to themselves. Important schemes of expenditure are shut out of discussion on the ground that the subject is under correspondence, and the powers of the Council with regard to the framing of the budget are nil. Questions and resolutions are disallowed arbitrarily by the President. It has been ruled that a member has no right even to move for leave to introduce a Bill without the previous sanction of the Government. As regards the Indian Legislative Council, a standing official majority is constituted, though the Government of India were content to dispense with it. A feeling of helplessness is felt by the elected members at every step, and they are placed entirely at the mercy of the Government. While there is a general recognition of the benefits of the reformed Legislative Councils, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that a feeling of disappointment and resentment has settled on our Councils, and the warning of Lord Morley against the evils of official majorities has been in vain. His Lordship pointed

out how the system of official majority "tends to throw the non-official member into an attitude of peevish, sulky, permanent opposition and has an injurious effect on the minds and characters of members of the Legislative Councils." That the practical majority secured by the officials has thrown the non-official Indians into a permanent opposition is borne testimony to even by Anglo-Indian Journals. The *Statesman*, speaking of the United Provinces Legislative Council, says that "the permanent opposition in the United Provinces Legislature is more coherent and more highly organised than it is in most councils, that is to say, the Indian non-official element attacks in masses, and appears to have developed a considerable amount of fire control." The *Madras Mail*, speaking of the Madras Legislative Council, deplored that "hitherto there has been an excessive and artificial unity. To put it crudely, the non-official Indian members have usually resolved to sink differences in order to press more effectively demands, the satisfaction of which, they were agreed more or less, would conduce to progress," and hoped that this state of things would not continue indefinitely. This attitude of permanent opposition, apparent not only in the Legislative Councils but also in the Indian Press, is due entirely to the way in which the bureaucracy has been trying to keep up their artificial prestige. As a matter of fact, that prestige has seriously suffered during these years, and the Government is being discredited in the eyes of the public by the policy adopted in converting a non-official majority into a minority, and by the various devices introduced to thwart the will of the elected representatives of the people. We have come to such an unhealthy state of things that even ardent supporters of the Government do not care to say a good word openly in favour of the Government, even when their action is manifestly right. The *Madras Mail* says that, "to our knowledge there are Indians of ability and by no means of ill purpose who have countenanced public agitations of which at heart they did not approve, because a breach in the wall might some day be useful." His Lordship the Bishop of Madras points out with his usual insight:—

"The danger of the present situation consists largely in the fact that, with notable exceptions, Englishmen in India are not only opposed to the feelings and sentiments of educated Indians, but also to the inevitable tendency of their work and policy." "We need to realise that we cannot now base the Government of India upon

any other foundation than that of the will of the Indian peoples, that we are here as servants of the Indian people and not as their masters, that a foreign bureaucracy can only be regarded as a temporary form of Government, and that our ultimate aim and object must be to enable India to become a self-governing part of the British Empire, and to develop her own civilization upon her own lines."

In the interests of good government, the present state of things ought not to be permitted to continue, and the time is come when it is no longer desirable or safe to leave it to the rules, but the statute itself should provide for a real and effective majority of the people's representatives to control the administration and legislation of the country.

This is not the first time when the rules framed under the statute failed to carry out the intentions of its framers. At the second reading of Lord Cross's Bill of 1892, Mr. Gladstone said :

After the assurances we have had from persons of the highest capacity and the greatest responsibility, I believe, we shall be justified in looking forward not merely to a nominal but to a *living representation of the people of India*. What I wish is, that their first steps shall be of a genuine nature and that whatever scope they give to elective principle, it shall be real.

Lord Salisbury, the Prime Minister of the day, said that the machinery provided shall effect the purpose of giving representation not to accidentally constituted bodies, not to small sections of the people here and there, but to the *living strength and vital forces* of the whole community of India. Yet the regulations under the statute were so framed, worked and continued for a period of sixteen years in spite of protests from the public that the result was deep discontent throughout the land and a situation of grave anxiety with which Lord Minto had to grapple.

Besides, a striking feature in the public life of the country, during recent years, is its enormous political development to which Lord Hardinge bore witness shortly before he left these shores. The war has contributed its share in this direction and revealed that, notwithstanding the fulsome praise bestowed on Indian loyalty, generosity and bravery in the different theatres of war, Indian manhood has not been encouraged to take part in the war, as has been done in the case of the Colonies. Further, the *Round Table* propaganda demanding for the Colonies a share in the governance of this country along with Great Britain has revealed how helpless India is and how keenly her people resent the subordinate and dependent position she occupies in the Empire. The situation therefore demands, both in the interests of Great Britain and in the interests of

India, that the next step should forthwith be taken in the political advancement of the country, and it is no wonder that in view of the present grave situation all parties, the so-called Moderates and Extremists, Hindus and Mohammedans, sinking all their differences, should have joined hands at Lucknow in unprecedented numbers in making the demand.

For this purpose it is necessary, as urged by Sir S. P. Sinha, President of the Bombay Congress, "that there should be a frank and full statement of the policy of the Government as regards the future of India, so that hope may come where despair holds sway, and faith where doubt spreads its darkening shadow," and that England should make an unequivocal declaration that her policy in the government of this country is to confer Self-Government on India. Sir S. P. Sinha appeals "to the British nation to declare their inflexible resolution to equip India for her journey to that goal." Hitherto the reforms introduced have been in the nature of makeshifts, halting and unsatisfactory, to meet the pressing necessity of the occasion, and there has been no steady policy to prepare India for assuming the responsibilities, and enjoying the privileges of Self-Government. If such a declaration had been made, the majority report of the Public Services Commission would not have been vitiated by the erroneous policy enunciated therein of practically closing the Indian Civil Service examination in England to Indians and holding a separate examination in India for only 25 per cent. of the appointments for the benefit of Indians. Besides how different, if such a declaration had been made, would have been the policy of England towards India, would be evident from the steps taken by her to equip Egypt for assuming the responsibilities of Self-Government in due time and pave the way for her ultimate withdrawal from that country. How such a declaration would have shaped the policy of the Government would also be clear from the measures adopted by the United States to enable Philipinos to govern themselves. The Congress demands, therefore, that the policy of drift should once for all be abandoned and that a Royal Proclamation be issued, announcing "that the aim and intention of British policy is to confer Self-Government on India at an early date."

Further, it is essential that the present system of ruling the Legislative Councils by official majorities, whether secured under statute or otherwise, should be abandoned. The constitution of the Legislative Councils should be so modified as to give them an effective control over the acts

of the Executive Government, and the voice of the elected representatives of the people should be made supreme, both in the Provincial and Indian Legislative Councils, subject to proper safeguards. With regard to the objection that, if there were no official majority, Legislative Councils might pass any number of wild cat bills, Lord Morley himself pointed out that the power of veto vested in the Head of the Government was ample to check such vagaries. It must be remembered that the power of veto would be a real power in this country unlike that in the Colonies, where Parliamentary Government prevails. Further, the scheme provides that the Indian Legislative Council shall have no power to interfere with the direction of military affairs and the foreign and political relations of India, and that no resolution of the Legislative Council shall be binding on the Governor-General in Council in respect of the military charges for the defence of the country. It is hardly necessary to point out that the scheme is not perfect, and only indicates the main lines on which the reform should proceed and is subject to modifications, the main principle underlying the scheme being that the Legislative Councils should be so reformed as to give them an effective control over the acts of the Executive Government in all domestic affairs.

It will thus be seen that the Congress scheme does not set up Parliamentary Government in this country and falls short in important essentials of what should constitute Self-Government or Home Rule. It proceeds on the lines of the present constitution and is in no sense revolutionary. It was deliberately intended to be a half-way house. Lord Sydenham himself complains that Provincial autonomy, outlined in the Despatch of the Government of India of the 25th August 1911, which he considered as the *greatest constitutional need of India*, has not yet been given effect to, though five years have elapsed since then. The Congress, therefore, asks that to put a stop to the present unhealthy state of things, a definite step towards Self-Government should be taken for the orderly and progressive development of the country.

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G. A. Natesan & Co., Sunkurama Chetty Street, Madras.

Mr. A. P. Smith.

HERE is a growing conviction among Anglo-Indians (Eurasians) that in the inevitable reconstruction of the government in India they will be completely submerged, unless they face the fact that they are natives of India, and that it is necessary for them, if they would share in the benefits of what all India is clamouring for, self-government on Colonial lines, they must throw in their lot for good or for ill with Indians. Up to now Anglo-Indians have walked in a vain shadow by claiming kith and kin only with Europeans, and repudiating all connection with India and its people. Waiting for the crumbs to fall from the master's table, they have congratulated themselves on Government patronage, whenever it was extended to them in the shape of preferential employment in the telegraph and military medical departments, and in the volunteers. The parsimonious treatment by Government of European education was submitted to without a murmur. Never have Anglo-Indians claimed a right. They have preferred to pursue a wait-and-see policy, and now they see that to continue that policy will be fatal to their future prospects. Twenty years ago I wrote an article under my name in the *Madras Review*, then edited by Mr. (now the Hon'ble Sir) Sankaran Nair, which was disapproved of by many Anglo-Indians. Mr. H. K. Beauchamp was Editor of the *Madras Mail* at the time, and a Vice-President of the Anglo-Indian Association, and he did me the honor of discussing the Anglo-Indian problem with me. I took the standpoint that Anglo-Indians—we were Eurasians then—being statutory natives of India, our future was bound up with the people of this country and that to succeed we should make common cause with Indians in their aspirations for political amelioration. Mr. Beauchamp pooh-poohed my arguments and said Anglo-Indians should "level up, not level down." I explained that it was not a question of levelling up or levelling down, but of adaptation to environment. In clinching my remarks I asked him whether, if by some international arrangement—Russia was the possible bogieman then, and not Germany—every Englishman were compelled to leave India, Eurasians would be included. "I think," he smiled and said, "you people would be counted as Indians." That settled the matter.

During the last 20 years my opinion has not altered, and I look upon it as a most healthy

sign that now there are other Anglo-Indians, beside myself, who think that, to have kept aloof from Indians in their political campaign for self-government, was a grievous mistake. The telegraph and military medical departments cannot much longer be kept as a kind of close preserves for Anglo-Indians. If an Indian I.M.S. officer is good enough for military service, so is an Indian assistant surgeon, and the position of Government in the telegraph department cannot be maintained much longer. As for volunteering, the opening of the volunteer arm to Indians cuts the last plank away from the Anglo-Indian. What then remains? Anglo-Indians are the gainers by the concessions obtained from Government by Indians, but it is not just that they should hang back and expect their compatriots to pluck the chestnuts from the fire. They must join them. The united voice of Anglo-India must swell the appeal of Indians for self-government. Whether complete autonomy will be given on Colonial lines is another question. Anglo-Indians must seek representation in the Councils of the Empire, they must seek the friendship and earn the goodwill of Indians—to whom they are bound by blood and birth and domicile—and whom they have up to the present time repudiated.

ed. As a small, separate, but by no means negligible, community, it is necessary for Anglo-Indians to participate in any scheme of reconstruction of the Indian administration after the War. They must cultivate closer relations with Indian public men, learn to love this great country, cultivate sympathetic relations with the Indian people, and work and strive to make India one of the greatest, if not the greatest, possessions in the Empire. The possibilities in this direction are incalculable. No country can be really happy unless she is self-governed. India under self-government may make mistakes, may be involved in troubles, but she will emerge purified, stronger and more able to stand on her own feet. Held up by the Nurse and never allowed the freedom to walk alone, the Indian people will ever remain weaklings. The careful mother is anxious that her toddling child should not walk over a precipice, but she does not attempt to hinder free movement to gain strength and confidence and full activity. Under theegis of England, India self-governed will, after some time, be able to say, "I am strong! I am free! I am happy," and that contentment and happiness should be England's great reward for all she has done for India.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.

BY PROF. S. J. CRAWFORD, B.A., B.LITT.

It is premature to write an article on the Russian Revolution, and whatever is said must, in the nature of the case, be hypothetical and full of reservations until lapse of time brings us fuller details of one of the most amazing political transformations of either ancient or modern times. Not even the most experienced of political augurs, though cognizant of certain symptoms indicating that all was not well in the body politic of Russia, can have expected that the disturbing features were destined to lead to so remarkable an upheaval within such a brief period. But the attainment of wisdom after the event is not altogether unknown in diplomatic circles, and doubtless within the next few months there will be many an 'I told you so' from those accustomed to form the political thought of the average man and woman.

But instead of indulging in more or less philosophic speculations on the events, it will, perhaps, be most useful to try to set forth, so far as we know, what has really happened. To do this it will be well to sketch the Russian constitution as it

existed before the Revolution, and then describe with due reservation the existing state of affairs.

A month ago Russia called itself a 'constitutional hereditary monarchy'; but it differed from other constitutional monarchies in allowing the 'legislative, executive and judicial powers to be united to a great extent in an Emperor, Nicholas II, who continued to bear the title of autocrat.' A step towards making the government representative was taken, in 1905, by the creation of the Duma. This assembly was given even legislative powers. At the same time it would be a mistake to regard the Duma as a popular assembly in the English sense of the term. The election of members of the Duma was indirect and made by electoral bodies of the chief towns of governments (as the Russian provinces are called) and of the greatest cities, composed of delegates chosen by the district or town elective assemblies. In towns all lodgers occupying for twelve months lodgings let to them may vote, also salaried clerks of state and public administration: in the country, all owners of a fixed area of land, or of non-industrial,

more than 50,000 roubles (a rouble is worth 2s. 1½d.) in value, are electors: the *volosts*, or peasant communities, and manufactories with more than fifty workpeople, are represented in the electoral assemblies by delegates, two for each *volost*, and one for each thousand workmen. Students, soldiers, governors of provinces (in provinces governed by them) and police-officers (in the localities for which they act) may not vote.* Such, then, is the constitution of the Duma which has occupied a prominent place in the Revolution.

But in addition to the Duma, there is another assembly with equal legislative powers—the Council of the Empire, consisting of members partly nominated by the Tsar, partly elected by the *Zemstvos* or provincial assemblies, and important bodies like the universities, the Synod of the Orthodox Church, etc. The Council of the Empire is, therefore, a kind of House of Lords, but more popular in its character than our own. All laws must receive Imperial sanction.

The administration of the Empire is in the hands of great Boards, such as the *Ruling Senate*, which, in addition to other functions, is the High Court of Justice for the Empire, the *Holy Synod* which superintends the religious affairs of the Empire, the *Committee of Ministers*, and most important of all the *Council of Ministers*, to which all the Ministers of the Crown belong and the general directors of the chief administrations, such as war, foreign affairs, public instruction, etc.

In addition to the central government, Russia has also seventy-eight Local Governments with their own organization. The larger cities have municipal institutions, and here alone we find anything approaching democracy in the western sense of the term. The Tsar's subjects numbered 171,059,900 in 1912: of these 100,331,516 are classed as Aryans, and 5,070,205 as Jews. The Orthodox (Greco-Russian) Faith was the established religion of the Empire, and people of other faiths suffered from severe disabilities. The *Pogroms* or persecutions of the Jews were notorious, and protestant dissenters had an almost equally hard time. One of the first acts of the new regime has been to remove all religious disabilities. It may interest Indian readers to know that in Russia the Mahomedans (13,906,972) come next to the Orthodox in number, and next in number are the Roman Catholics, chiefly Poles.

In the whole Empire, there are less than 7,000,000 pupils in the schools and about fifty

per cent. of the population is illiterate. The backward condition of education will be one of the greatest problems for the new Government to solve, and also, we think, one of its greatest dangers.

Some acute person has tried to win fame by the maxim, 'History never repeats itself.' In general this may be true, but the following quotation from M. Rambaud, the best known of great historians of Russia, may make us wonder if the old adage had not a good deal of truth in it. Speaking of the reforms of Alexander II in 1861, M. Rambaud says, "He felt that the disasters of the Danube and the Crimea were mainly due to the administration, which was protected in its abuses by the silence of opinion, the servitude of the press, and the rigours of the police and the censorship. An important moral was learnt from the events of 1855—a population, of which the majority of the peasants are subjected to serfdom, cannot rival European nations in intellectual, scientific and industrial progress: *Success in modern war is the resultant of all the moral and material forces of the state.*"

Alexander's maxim was never truer than it is to-day. Success in modern war is still "the resultant of all the moral and material forces of the state"; and it is because the Allies believe that the present Revolution is an attempt to realise the unfulfilled ideal of Alexander II's words, that both for ourselves and for Russia's own sake the Revolution has been so universally welcomed, and we believe that Russia united within, morally and materially, is unconquerable, and that Germany is being defeated, because she has forgotten that the moral is as necessary as the material to success even in war.

Let us try to outline some of what to us seem to be the chief causes of the Revolution.

Whatever opinions we may hold regarding the value of war, no one now can have any manner of doubt of its value as a test of national strength. In our own case the result has been to unite the Empire more firmly than ever and to bring about an interaction of national effort unimaginable in pre-war days; but this result is due to the inherent soundness of our national life. Even as it is, many false gods have fallen never to be replaced in their pedestals. But the storm which sent a tremour through the heart of our own Empire, causing it to strike its roots deeper and strengthen its hold on its foundation principles, has had a more serious effect on our great ally, for her internal dangers are greater. It is

* The Statesman's Year Book, 1914, p. 1224.

* A Rambaud: *Histoire de la Russie*, p. 675.

true that England was threatened by an abortive revolution in Ireland, but the Irish problem was envisaged in quite a different way from that adopted towards national aspirations in Finland and Poland by the Russian bureaucracy which, in spite of pledges to the contrary, has again and again infringed the national rights of its Polish and Finnish subjects. The powers that were in Russia were out of sympathy with the democratic aspirations of these peoples, while the British democracy is anxious to satisfy every legitimate aspiration of the Irish people. Nor was the bureaucracy any more sympathetically disposed towards the ideals of the thinking sections of the Russian people themselves. It is true that the Duma has assembled year by year since 1905, but its members felt that they had no real power, and when their protests became too outspoken, the Duma was dissolved and too many of the most moderate Russian reformers exiled to Siberia. Many of these were men who had no sympathy with Nihilism or the extreme revolutionary party, and were sincerely anxious to see a really constitutional government established in Russia. The outbreak of the war soon proved that large numbers of those in power were not alone antagonistic to reform, but also grossly incompetent to guide the state through the crisis, and, what was worse, corrupt and unscrupulous, or, as recent events have shown, sometimes actually in the pay of Germany.

It soon became apparent that many of those responsible for the conduct of the war against Russia's deadliest enemy, were men who had no desire to see Germany defeated but were anxious to do all they could to promote the interests of the Fatherland in Russia. Not a few were of German descent, though doubtless it would be unfair to say that all the German inhabitants of the Baltic provinces were traitors to Holy Russia; but bitter experience has taught us to suspect Germans in any shape or form. Others, again, had been educated in Germany, and while Russians in name were Germans by training and ideals.

The Russian Revolution appears therefore to be, from one point of view, a reaction of Russian nationalism, and an effort to purge the national life of people corrupt or at least inimical to the growth of a truly national life, and an uprising of outraged patriotism against those willing to betray their country's cause—hence the unanimity which prevails both in the Duma and the army for the cause of the revolution. The repressionists are rightly identified both by the 'Liberals' and the army with the common enemy.

The revolt against the policy of persecution followed by the state church under the restless regime of successive Procurators of the Holy Synod is another feature of new Russia. Unfortunately for themselves, the royal family had identified themselves with this, and fortunately, perhaps, for Russia some of the court ecclesiastics like the notorious monk Rasputin, who was in high favour with the Empress, got mixed up in the pro-German intrigues which were going on in Petrograd. The death of Rasputin has, it would seem, to some extent discredited the established church which was already, to put it mildly, not loved by the 'Liberals'.

The War has also emphasised the economic weakness of Russia and the need for a thorough reorganisation of all its resources. As a recent writer, in the *Asiatic Review*, has clearly shown, Russian trade was largely in the hands of German capitalists and traders, and almost entirely neglected by British financiers. As he points out, Russia is one of the wealthiest countries in the world, her great resources are still undeveloped. Had they been well organized on a national basis, many of her difficulties during the war, which have undoubtedly added greatly to discontent with the existing regime, would have been almost non-existent. The organisation of the material resources of the Empire for war is one of the great tasks occupying the attention of the Duma, but we cannot hope that this will be accomplished without much aid from foreign capital.

I have only been able to touch on a few of the main features of the Revolution. It is too early to foretell what the ultimate result of the Revolution will be. We cannot even say if monarchy has for ever gone, to be replaced by Republicanism. The condition of the Russian people hardly warrants confidence in anything approaching socialism as a satisfactory solution of their national problems, though in some ways Slav national institutions are more socialistic in character than any others.

But, speaking generally, it would seem that the net result of the Revolution is likely to be the banding together of all sections of the Russian people against the common foe, the birth of a vast democratic state, whose ideals will react on Germany and be a guarantee for the peace of the world, a closer union between the peace of the world, a closer union between the Russian and British peoples now rejoicing together in the possession of free institutions, and that union of all the material and moral resources of the Russian Empire, which her great Tsar declared to be the pledge of success in modern war.

RAJA RAM MOHAN ROY.*

BY MR. SHAMBU CHANDRA DEY, B.L.

RAJA RAM MOHAN ROY was born at Radhanagar in A.D. 1774, a year memorable in the annals of British India, as in it were established both the Supreme Council and the Supreme Court—the highest Executive and the highest Judiciary. Ram Mohan was happy in his parents. His father Ramkanta was a small zamindar and was held in esteem by people of the surrounding villages as well as of his own. His mother "Phool Thakurani" was a woman of great piety and remarkable firmness of character.

Young Ram Mohan learned the elements of the Bengali language at the village Patshala. But mere knowledge of Bengali was not of much use in those days. Persian was still the language of the Court, and persons who wanted to make their sons cut a respectable figure in life never failed to educate them in Arabic as well as Persian. Accordingly, Ram Mohan was placed under the care of the Moulvi of the village; and when it was found that he had acquired a fair knowledge of Persian, he was sent in his ninth year to Patna, the chief seat of Arabic learning in Bengal. Here Ram Mohan stayed for a little more than three years, and mastered Persian and Arabic within a comparatively short period. He read many of the eminent poets (*shairs*) and philosophers (*sufis*) of Persia and Arabia. Among the Persian poets, Hafiz and Sadi were his great favourites. But the mystical philosophy of the Sufis pleased him most, and this fondness became deeper still when, on studying later on the *Vedanta* and *Yoga*, he found its great resemblance with Hindu philosophy. He also read Aristotle and Euclid in Arabic in order to qualify himself in Grecian lore so far as it was then known in the East.

He was in his fourteenth year sent to Benares to study Sanskrit. He mastered the classical language of the Hindus with the same ease with which he had mastered that of the Mohammadans. Ram Mohan stayed at Benares till his sixteenth year; and it was here that he imbibed the monotheistic tenets of the *Vedanta* and the *Upanishads*, which made him a determined enemy of idolatry.

* Condensed from a lengthy sketch specially written for G. A. Natesan & Co.'s "Biographies of Eminent Indians" Series.

Thus, he returned home quite an altered man—one who was destined to upset the traditions of his family.

Soon after his return home, Ram Mohan wrote a work condemning idolatry as being opposed to the religion taught in the Vedas. This little book was written in Persian with an Arabic preface, and was very properly styled *Tuhfatul Muwahhiddin*. It gave great offence to the young man's father, Ramkanta. A rupture took place, in consequence, between father and son, and Ram Mohan found his home too hot for him; Accordingly, he left his paternal roof, and started at once on travels.

His travels occupied about four years during which he visited several places, both within the bounds of Hindusthan and outside it. Even distant Tibet was included in his programme, and he went there for the purpose of learning the doctrines of Buddhism. The doctrines of Buddhism, as they were taught there, did not, however, commend themselves to Ram Mohan Roy's mind, and as he was a bold outspoken man, he did not make secret of his own religious convictions. His assertion of monotheistic doctrines gave such offence to the Lama worshippers, that they resolved to lay violent hands on him, and they would certainly have executed their resolve but for the help which the poor Hindu received from a quarter whence it was least expected. Some kind-hearted women of the place readily came to his rescue and by their timely help saved him from imminent danger. This circumstance made a very deep impression on his mind, and ever after he became a warm friend and staunch advocate of the tender sex.

While Ram Mohan Roy was thus touring far away from home, Ramkanta, whose fatherly feeling had been swayed by religious bigotry, felt the separation very much and yearned for the boy. Misguided as he thought his son had been, Ramkanta sent out men after him, who, on finding him out, acquainted him with his father's wish. Ram Mohan Roy consented to return; and on his arrival was warmly received by Ramkanta who, with a view to bind him hard-and-fast to the world, got him married. The ceremony was performed in the usual orthodox style,

and the wedded couple commenced to pass their days in peace and comfort. But domestic happiness was not all to Ram Mohan Roy whose mind constantly turned to study, which was the most exhilarating recreation of his life. About this time this indefatigable student was also initiated into some other foreign languages, namely, Hebrew, Greek and Latin. For, Ram Mohan was not satisfied merely with the study of Hindu Shastras; in fact, this study was only the means to an end which was to hold controversies with the Brahmins, and to convince them of their errors. He carried on controversies with the priestly classes upon idol worship and Sati. One very painful circumstance had turned the young man's attention to the latter subject. Ram Mohan had an elder brother named Jaga Mohan. When this man died, his wife, who was devotedly attached to him, burned herself on his funeral pyre. This incident made a very deep impression on his mind, and it was one of the immediate causes which made him declare open hostility to orthodoxy.

The young reformer took up the cudgels against idolatry and several other practices, and renewed the fight with redoubled zeal and energy. Upon this, the leaders of Hindu society tried several means to put down the proud rebel, which resulted in his expulsion from home. This melancholy event took place in the last year of the eighteenth century.

In the very year in which he was cast out of his paternal abode, he had a son born to him. This was his first-born, who was named Radha Prasad after Krishna's favourite wife Radha. Fortunately for the discarded young man, it was not long before he got a clerkship in the Rangpore Collectorate. He afterwards served for some years in the ministerial department of Ramgurih and Bhagulpur until the exigencies of service brought him again to Rangpore. As Ram Mohan was a man of parts and diligence, his rise in the service was almost assured, and he at last rose to the very top by being made Dewan, as the ministerial head was then called. Ram Mohan Roy spent about a decade of his life as Dewan.

While at Rangpore, he did not altogether forget his favourite study of the Hindu Shastras. In the odds and ends of time, he held controversies with the Brahmins on several religious subjects, more especially idolatry and widow-burning.

When Ram Mohan Roy found that he had

amassed money more than sufficient for the fulfilment of the great object he had in view, he resigned his appointment and came down to Calcutta with the purpose, as he said, of "engaging in religious culture and in the investigation of truth." This turn in his life took place in the year 1814, when he had attained his fortieth year. Having made enough money he settled down in Calcutta with his mother, Tarini Devi, who had all along managed the family property in pursuance of the arrangement which had been made by her husband, Ramkanta.

With his knowledge of languages, coupled with competence and leisure, Ram Mohan Roy was now free to translate the Vedas and the Upanishads into Bengali and English. In the very year in which he came to Calcutta, he, in concert with a few friends, established the Atmiya Sabha (*Friendly Society*) for the worship of the One Invisible God as inculcated in the Vedas and the Upanishads. In the year following, he brought out a work on the Vedanta in Bengali. This was followed in the next year by an abridgment of the Vedanta and the translations of the Kena Upanishad and the Isha Upanishad, to which were added, in 1819, translations of the Munduka and the Kait'ha Upanishads: all these publications run in the same direction as they, more or less, speak of the unity of the Godhead. With the aid of all these works, Ram Mohan Roy demonstrated what real Vedic religion was, and in so doing showed beyond doubt that the rites and ceremonies which, in the popular mind, were associated with it, were but morbid excrescences. In this way he tried to put down idolatry and restore the Hindu faith to its original purity.

Ram Mohan Roy was a warm admirer of Christianity and held in high esteem and regard its good and great founder. He studied the Bible with great care and diligence, and acquired a deep and thorough knowledge of its tenets. In fact, his knowledge of the Scriptures was far superior to that of most Christians. As the teachings of Jesus Christ have found place in the four Gospels of the New Testament, he drew upon them and prepared a book on the subject for the edification of his countrymen. This book he styled, "The Precepts of Jesus, the guide to peace and happiness," and published it together with translations into Sanskrit and Bengali in the year of grace, 1820. The chief value of these Precepts lies in the fact of their being recorded in the very words of the

Evangelists, so that there could be no doubt about their meaning. But Ram Mohan Roy gave only Christ's precepts, separating them from the other portions which are open to comment.

This separation between the essentials and non-essentials of the religion of Jesus was not palatable to the missionaries in general and to the Serampore Baptists in particular, who protested against what was alleged as the heathen interpretation of, and meddling with, the Christian religion. Then ensued a controversy in which the victory of Ram Mohan Roy was complete, though bigoted Christians denied him the credit. [For a detailed account of the controversy with the Serampore missionaries, the reader is directed to my sketch of Raja Ram Mohan Roy published by Messrs. Natesan & Co., of Madras.]

The Raja's work for the social amelioration of his countrymen was even more successful than his controversies with the Christian missionaries.

(a) The Sati Rite.

The credit of first moving in this painful matter is due to the Serampore Missionaries, with Carey as the head and prime mover. In 1814, when India was ruled by Lord Wellesley, the Missionaries sent out ten agents to travel from village to village within a radius of 30 miles round Calcutta, to collect information, and after sufficient inquiries were made, they duly brought the matter to the notice of the Governor-General; but as Lord Wellesley was to retire a week later, he did not feel at liberty to take action. Accordingly, the matter dropped for the time being, and it was not revived until 1818, when Ram Mohan Roy published his first tract against Sati. It was originally written in Bengali. As the attack was alarmingly violent, it excited great opposition among orthodox Hindus.

Ram Mohan's second Essay appeared in 1820. Indeed, like the first, it was originally written in Bengali and afterwards translated into English. It settles once for all that, according to Hindu Shastras, a woman, on her husband's death, may adopt an ascetic mode of life. The triumph of Ram Mohan Roy was complete, when he proved the illegality of the practice of Sati on the basis of traditions and the Code of Manu.

Fortunately for him, the helm of the State was then in the hands of a very good and great ruler. When, after suitable inquiries, Lord William Bentinck found to his great satisfaction that Sati was, so far from being supported by law and good custom, directly opposed to

them, and that it did not at all form part of the Hindu religion, he, in consultation with his hon'ble colleagues, passed in 1829 a Regulation declaring the practice of Sati illegal, and the persons taking part in it punishable in the Criminal Courts. This victory proved an infinite source of joy to Ram Mohan Roy, and he hastened to offer thanks to Heaven whose:

"protecting arm," as he says, "has rescued our weaker sex from cruel murder under the cloak of religion, and our character, as a people, from the contempt and pity with which it had been regarded on account of this custom by all civilised nations on the face of the globe."

(b) Kulinism.

Polygamy, was badly rampant in the time of Ram Mohan Roy. He plainly saw that it was an evil practice and ought to be put a stop to. In his excellent Essay on the *Ancient Rights of Females*, he observes:—

"This horrible polygamy among Brahmins is directly contrary to the law given by ancient authors; for Yagnavalkya authorises second marriage while the first wife is alive, only under eight circumstances: 1st, The vice of drinking spirituous liquors. 2ndly, Incurable sickness. 3rdly, Deception. 4thly, Barrenness. 5thly, Extravagance. 6thly, The frequent use of offensive language. 7thly, Producing only female offspring. Or, 8thly, Manifestation of hatred towards her husband."

He also cites some other authorities to show that a Hindu is not legally free to take any number of wives, but that, as a matter of fact, during his wife's life-time, he cannot marry again except under certain specified circumstances. Although Kulinism was damnably prevalent among Brahmins and was doing immense mischief in Hindu society, still Ram Mohan Roy did not deem it prudent to disturb it except by making a few sensible remarks against it. In fact, the custom had got so firmly rooted in Hindu minds and had had such long continued use in its favour that, perhaps, he thought that the time had not come for its removal from the social system, and, accordingly, did not busy himself much about it. That well-known statesman and lawyer, Thomas Babington Macaulay, also seemed to have thought in the same way; and when it was suggested to him, very probably by Ram Mohan Roy himself and a few others like him, that polygamy might be put a stop to by a legislative enactment, he did not follow up the suggestion but left the matter to the solvent influence of time and education.

(c) Widow Marriage.

Widow marriage, which under certain circumstances is very desirable, also attracted the far-seeing eye of Ram Mohan Roy. But it seems that he did not in all seriousness take the matter

in hand, evidently on some such consideration as had dissuaded him from earnestly interfering with the objectionable practice of polygamy. The time had not then come for active interference; nor had it come even when the venerable Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar fought tooth and nail for it. True it is that an Act of the Legislature had been passed, legalising such marriages; but except among a handful of men who are a drop in the ocean, it has remained almost a dead letter.

We now turn to his educational activities. Being a highly educated man himself, it was only natural that Ram Mohan Roy should have had more than ordinary regard for education. Though a well-known Sanskrit scholar, Ram Mohan Roy had very little regard for the niceties of Sanskrit grammar, or the subtleties of Hindu philosophy. Accordingly, when, in 1823, it was proposed to establish a Sanskrit school under Hindu Pandits for the purpose of imparting such knowledge as might be derived from a study of Sanskrit grammar and the Darshanas, as Hindu philosophy is collectively called—knowledge which was already pretty prevalent in India, at least among a certain section of the Hindus—he entered a powerful protest against it, and in order to acquaint Government with his views, he addressed a letter to the then Governor-General, Lord Amherst. In that letter he very forcibly urged that if the improvement of the native population was the object of the Government, instead of affording them facilities for learning Sanskrit grammar and Hindu philosophy, it would far better fulfil its object by promoting a liberal and enlightened system of instruction, embracing Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Anatomy, with other useful sciences, which might be well accomplished with the money sanctioned, by employing a few gentlemen of talent and learning educated in Europe and by providing a college furnished with necessary books, instruments and other apparatus. He, however, did not altogether condemn the study of Sanskrit, which, he admitted, has a value of its own, as it enables one to get a deep insight into the rich and rare stores of Sanskrit literature—a literature which, as Heeran says, “incontestably belongs to a highly cultivated people, whom we may with reason consider to have been the most informed of the East.” Such a study might, he thought, be well left to the keepers of *Tols* in the different parts of the country, who were engaged in teaching the Sanskrit language together with other branches of learning, which

were intended to be taught in the proposed seminary; and if their more diligent cultivation were desirable, it would be effectually promoted by holding out premiums and granting certain allowances to the most eminent Pandits, who had already undertaken on their own account to teach them, and who would, by such rewards, be stimulated to still greater exertions. The Government, it seems, was impressed with the arguments adduced by Ram Mohan Roy, and it was, perhaps, in consequence of the agitation made by him that the Hindu College was founded in 1817. But though Ram Mohan Roy laboured very hard towards its establishment, still with remarkable disinterestedness he kept himself aloof from its management, fearing that the orthodox leaders of the Hindu community might not like to act in concert with a man whom they looked upon as no better than an outcast. Not satisfied with merely assisting David Hare and men of that sort for the spread of English education in this country, he himself established an English school of his own in the year 1822.

Some time after the establishment of the Hindu College, there began the famous controversy between the Orientalists who advocated education in Oriental classics, and the Anglicists who were for imparting instruction through the medium of English. The former party was headed by that great antiquarian, James Prinsep of Prinsep Ghat fame, and the latter by that eminent historian, poet and essayist, Lord Macaulay. The battle raged loud and long for more than a decade. Ram Mohan Roy, who always took part in every movement that tended towards the amelioration of his country, ranged himself on the side of the Anglicists, and it was an open secret that he gave his powerful aid to those with whom he sided. The controversy was so very keen and each side so strong that it was long doubtful which side would come out victorious. Lord William Bentinck, who was then Governor-General of India, weighing the arguments on both sides and sincerely believing that the country greatly wanted English education for its improvement and edification, decided in favour of the Anglicists. It is very much to be regretted that Ram Mohan Roy did not live to see his laudable efforts crowned with complete success, as the Resolution of the Governor-General on the subject was not passed until the 7th May 1835, more than a year and half after his death.

Ram Mohan Roy was equally in favour of female education. He took his stand on the ancient literatures of India. When the two

grand Epics—the Ramayana and the Mahabharata—were written, Hindu women were not kept in seclusion. The Zenana system was quite unknown, and women were allowed to appear in public and attend meetings on great occasions. Learning, too, was not a forbidden fruit to them, and the literature of the times furnishes us with the names of more than one lady who vied with the most learned men of that period in culture and religious knowledge. Gargi, Maitreyi and Lilavati were well able to hold their own against any sage or savant of their times. In fact, female education was quite common in days of old, and it was only in later times that it fell into disuse. Ram Mohan Roy's advocacy of female education helped not a little towards drawing the attention of the public to it; but no tangible measure was taken in that direction until the arrival of Mr. Drinkwater Bethune. He came out as the Law Member of the Supreme Council in succession to the celebrated Macaulay. But though a lawyer by profession, he was not slow to turn his attention to other matters, of which the one which mostly exercised his mind was the education of Indian women; and as he found some earnest natives to back him up, and also expected the support of Government, he entered into the subject more deeply, and, at last, succeeded in establishing a female school in Calcutta, to which he lent his own honoured name. This very important event in the educational annals of Bengal took place in the year 1843, nearly fourteen years after the death of Ram Mohan Roy. The Bethune School has since been raised to the status of a college, and is now in a condition which leaves almost nothing to be desired.

Although neither law nor politics was Ram Mohan Roy's forte, still there arose occasions on which he had to express his views regarding the administration of the country in one or other of its departments. When, for instance, the question of the renewal of the Charter of the Honourable East India Company was on the tapis, and several individuals connected with India were examined as witnesses on the subject, the authorities in England wished Ram Mohan Roy to give evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons. His evidence, which possesses high value and importance, shows what a thorough statesman he was, and it places beyond doubt the very wide and extensive range of his mind. This evidence has since been published in pamphlet form under the title of “Exposition of

the Judicial and Revenue Systems of India.” As to the merit of this performance, it is sufficient to say that it embraces some of the most important questions relating to the administration of India, such as the reform of courts, the jurisdiction of the country's courts over Europeans, the jury system, the separation of the executive and judicial offices, the codification of laws, the advisability of consulting the people in matters of legislation, the establishment of a native militia, the larger employment of natives, the age and education of civil servants, the amelioration of the condition of the tenantry and the framing of laws for their protection, and the last, though not least, the permanent settlement. His arguments in favour of the separation of the judicial and executive offices, need to be particularly attended to, now that the question is before the Government of India. As to the manner in which a Code of Criminal Law should be framed suitable to the wants of the people, he thus expressed himself:—

“A Code of Criminal Law for India should be founded as far as possible on those principles which are common to and acknowledged by the different sects and tribes inhabiting the country. It ought to be simple in its principles, clear in its arrangement and precise in its definition, so that it may be established as a standard of criminal justice in itself and not stand in need of explanation by a reference to any other books of authority, either Mahomedan or Christian.”

In his excellent Paper on the Revenue System of India, dated the 19th August 1831, Ram Mohan Roy has clearly shewn that the Permanent Settlement of Bengal, concluded according to the Regulations of 1793, during the rule of Lord Cornwallis, was “advantageous to both the contracting parties, though not perhaps in equal proportion.” Indeed, the matter is so very plain and clear that one only wonders how there could have been any difference of opinion about it.

One great feature of Ram Mohan Roy's character, which strikes one on reading his works and letters, is his ardent love of freedom. Liberty of thought and liberty of action he considered the only sure paths leading to the progress and happiness of a people. In 1823, an occasion arose for the exercise of this laudable passion on his part. Lord Hastings left India in that year, and Lord Amherst was appointed to fill his place. But as the latter had not arrived in India when his predecessor left it, Mr. Adam, senior member of the Supreme Council, acted as Governor-General till the arrival of the permanent incumbent. But short as Mr. Adam's tenure of

office was, he made himself very unpopular by decreeing the removal of the liberty of the Press. This is how this unpleasant affair came to pass. Mr. Silk Buckingham, the Editor of the *Calcutta Journal*, in an evil hour made some severe comments on official acts and officials in his Paper. This appeared to the Government as very unseemly, and the Provisional Governor-General ordered his removal, and he was actually deported from the country. But the matter did not end here. The Government took it into its serious consideration and, on the 14th March, the acting Governor-General passed a Rule and Ordinance—as it was called in the official language of the time, curbing the freedom of the Press. According to the Act of Parliament, 13 Geo. III, Cap. 63, every Regulation made by the Governor-General had, as the law then stood, to be sanctioned and registered by the Supreme Court before it passed into law. Leave was obtained by Mr. Ferguson, Barrister-at-Law, on behalf of Mr. Buckingham, for protesting against sanction being given to the Rule and Ordinance by the Supreme Court. A Memorial signed by six well-known Natives was also presented to the Court. This Memorial was from the pen of Ram Mohan Roy, who was also one of the signatories, and it was a well-written and well-reasoned document. The matter was heard by the Hon'ble Sir Francis Macnaghten, the sole acting judge of the court; but unfortunately for the people his Lordship allowed the Rule and Ordinance to be registered. When the Memorialists found that their prayer, though fair and reasonable, was not heard, they got up a petition to His Majesty King George IV, and sent it to England. This petition, too, was written by Ram Mohan Roy. In fact, he was the guiding spirit in the matter and bore the brunt of the whole work. The petition is a remarkable piece of document and is certainly a masterpiece of its kind. It is a very lengthy document, which concludes:—

"Your Majesty's faithful subjects, from the distance of almost half the globe, appeal to your Majesty's heart by the sympathy which forms a paternal tie between you and the lowest of your subjects, not to overlook their condition; they appeal to you by the honour of that great nation which, under your Royal auspices, has obtained the glorious title of Liberator of Europe, not to permit the possibility of millions of your subjects being wantonly trampled on and oppressed; they, lastly, appeal to you by the glory of your Crown, on which the eyes of the world are fixed, not to consign the natives of India to perpetual oppression and degradation."

The petition, however, did not prove successful at the time, but it certainly lent some force to the

cause; and when proper time came, the consummation, which was so devoutly wished for, was made. This was done when on the retirement of Lord Bentinck, Sir Charles Metcalfe acted as Provisional Governor-General before the arrival of the next permanent ruler, Lord Auckland. Thus, it happened that what had been taken away by one Temporary Governor-General in 1823 was fully restored by another of the same fraternity in 1836. As a token of gratitude for the entire liberty of the press which Sir Charles allowed, the inhabitants of Calcutta named the public library of their city the Metcalfe Hall, which is now known as the Imperial Library.

We have said that Ram Mohan continually fought against idolatry and polytheism. Many earnest and pious men gathered round him, and the ranks of his 'Salvation Army' went on increasing. He had founded the *Atmiya Sabha* for divine worship and had also established the *Ved Mandir* for the study of Vedic lore, as well as some institutions for debate and discussion on religious and social subjects. But the main object of his life still remained to be fulfilled, and he was now earnest in materializing it. It is not enough to believe in one God, it is also necessary to worship Him. For this purpose a special church was supplied in the year 1828, when the Brahmo Samaj was established "for the worship and adoration of the Eternal, Unsearchable, Immuta-ble Being, who is the Author and Preserver of the Universe."

Among the men of light and leading who helped Ram Mohan Roy in raising this Memorial of his apostolic labours and stood by him through good report and evil report in his laudable work, the names of Ram Chandra Vidyabagish, Kali Nath Roy, the two famous Tagores, Dwarka Nath and Prasanna Kumar, Tara Chand Chakravarti and Chandra Sekhar De deserve special mention. Ram Chandra Vidyabagish took the greatest interest and laboured the hardest. He was the minister of the Samaj from its very beginning, and when after Ram Mohan Roy's demise, others deserted the church, he alone kept it alive, till the great Devendra Nath Tagore accepted the Brahmo faith and took over the charge from his hands. He found a very able and worthy co-adjutant in Keshab Chandra Sen, who latterly abandoned the Adi Brahmo Samaj and established a Samaj of his own, which is flourishing side by side with the parent tree.

Now that he had accomplished the dear object

of his life and established the Brahmo Samaj on a firm and permanent basis, Ram Mohan was on the look-out for an opportunity to go to England. The Emperor of Delhi,—now reduced to a mere shadow of a sovereign,—having taken umbrage at some acts of the powerful East India Company prejudicial to his interests, wanted to send an ambassador to His Majesty the King of England, for the purpose of having his grievances removed, and as Ram Mohan Roy was, by his ability and experience, eminently fitted to go on such an important mission, he was selected by His Majesty, who, to add dignity and importance to the person of his representative, conferred upon him the title of Raja. Besides representing the Imperial grievances, Ram Mohan Roy had two other objects in view namely, first, to be present at the approaching discussion in the House of Commons for the renewal of the East India Company's Charter, upon which the future Government of India, whether for good or for evil, largely depended; and, secondly, to present memorials in favour of the abolition of Sati and to counteract the agitation carried on by powerful leaders of orthodox Hindu society.

Ram Mohan Roy sailed for England on the 15th November 1830, accompanied by his foster-son, Rajaram Roy, and two Hindu servants, Ram Ratan Mukherji and Ramhari Das. They sailed in the *Albion* which was bound for Liverpool. At the time of which we are speaking, a voyage to Europe was a very long and tedious affair, and it was, therefore, no wonder that the ship did not reach its destination till April 1832, that is, nearly a year and a half after. The voyage was anything but peaceful. While the ship was steering its course over the Indian Ocean, it was overtaken by a terrible storm and was thereby placed in such a critical position that most of the crew and the passengers had given up all hope of life. But, at last, the storm subsided, and the sky resumed its normal state. The dreaded "Kalapani" (*Black Water*), against the crossing of which Hindu custom and superstition had placed an almost insuperable barrier, was passed in safety. Surely, this was no ordinary feat for a Hindu of rank and position like Ram Mohan Roy, and we cannot but admire his moral courage in having performed it in the face of such serious opposition. By this time Ram Mohan Roy had established his reputation as a scholar, philosopher, and reformer. He had written Bengali works on the *Vedanta*, translated into English some of the *Upanishads*, defeated some very noted Christian Missionaries in religious controversies, and

established the Brahmo Samaj. He had, also, given his strong support to the Governor-General Lord William Bentinck, of laudable memory, for the abolition of *Sati* or the burning of Hindu widows on the funeral pyre of their husbands. He had also won the warmest regard of that Prince of Indian Missionaries, Dr. Alexander Duff, and, as a matter of fact, won a very high repute. When such a remarkable man, "the great Apostle of the East," whose name and fame had long preceded him to Europe, reached the shores of England on the 8th April, it is not surprising that he should have received a cordial welcome from the great men of that land. His arrival in England excited considerable interest. No sooner was his advent known in Liverpool than almost every man of distinction in the place hastened to call on him. One of the first visits he received was from the three sons of Roscoe, the celebrated historian of the Medici. They came, not merely on their own account, but to convey to him the "affectionate greetings" of their distinguished father, whom paralytic affection had for years confined to his apartments. Ram Mohan Roy hastened to see the great scientist. The interview was deeply affecting, as it was their first and last meeting on this side of Eternity. Ram Mohan Roy heard of Roscoe's death while residing in London.

The first public place he attended at Liverpool was Mr. Grundy's Unitarian Chapel. The sermon was proper to the occasion, in exposition of the duty of unlimited charity in our judgments of the creeds of other men, and of their principles of belief. He listened to it with the utmost attention and afterwards expressed himself very much pleased with it. After the sermon was over, the congregation, instead of dispersing, thronged up every avenue to get a near view of him; and it was not till they had heard him address them in their own language and shaken hands with him that they would be prevailed upon to allow him to return.

After staying a few days at Liverpool, Ram Mohan Roy started for London. On his way thither, he halted at Manchester to see the great factory.

On the very night he reached London, Mr. Bentham, the great philosopher, came to see him. Thus, a very warm friendship sprang up between these two great minds, which lasted until death. The Englishman was proud of his Indian friend and gladly addressed him as an intensely admired and dearly beloved fellow servant in the service of humanity. In fact, many of the distinguished

Londoners honoured him and sought his friendship. Among these were Mr. (afterwards Lord) Brougham, Sir William Horton, Sir Henry Strachey and Sir Charles Forbes. With Brougham, then only known as the great advocate of popular education and of the abolition of slavery, Raja Ram Mohan Roy lived on terms of the closest intimacy.

The Raja was also presented to the King, who gave him a cordial reception, and at the grand ceremony of the Coronation, he was given a seat by the side of the Ambassadors of the Crowned Heads of Europe. On the opening of the London Bridge, he was invited by His Majesty to the Royal Dinner. The Court of Directors, though they refused to recognise his embassy and his title, treated him with honour. They entertained him at a public dinner on the 6th July, in the name of the Honourable East India Company at the London Tavern.

The Raja gave evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Revenue and Judicial systems of India, presented petitions to the House of Commons for the abolition of Sati and had the satisfaction of being present there, when the appeal against such abolition was rejected on the 11th July, 1832.

While in England, Raja Ram Mohan Roy was taken care of by some English families, not only as a distinguished guest but also as a friend. Of these families, the most notable was the family of his most intimate friend, David Hare, who has done more for the mental and moral improvement of the natives of India than any other foreigner. There he became acquainted among others with Dr. Lant Carpenter, who afterward wrote an excellent memoir of him. This Dr. Carpenter was the father of Miss Mary Carpenter, whose name has almost become a household word in this distant land. She was then quite in her prime, and as she was well able to appreciate real sterling merit wherever it was found, began to cherish deep regard for Raja Ram Mohan Roy, so much so that she there and then conceived a very strong desire to see the wonderland which had given birth to such a great personality. But this desire, though often given vent to, she could not fulfil until the year 1866; and though her stay in Bengal was not long, she had roused the people from their long lethargy and succeeded in directing their energy and attention to matters which most concerned them.

After a short sojourn in France, where he was the recipient of Royal favours, the Raja's health began to fail. He had been invited to visit

Bristol and to take up his residence at the house of Miss Castle—a ward of Dr. Carpenter—in the neighbourhood of that city. In broken health he started for Bristol accompanied by Miss Hare, the daughter of his esteemed friend David Hare, who had resided with her uncle in Bedford Square, in the early part of September to spend a few weeks at Stapleton Grove, intending to proceed thence to Devonshire to pass the winter there. Nine days after his arrival, he was attacked with fever. Drs. Pritchard and Garrick attended upon him. Medicine afforded him, however, only temporary relief. His fever returned with redoubled vigour, and grew into what the native physicians would call *Bikar*. The delirium was followed by a stupor from which he never recovered, and he breathed his last a little after 2 a. m., on the 27th September, in the presence of his foster-son Rajaram, and his Hindu servants, by whom he had all along been enabled to preserve his caste in the form in which it was allowed to remain with him. Ram Mohan Roy died in peace and, even while lying cold and lifeless, his body had "a beautiful majestic look." Hindu that he was, Ram Mohan Roy's body should have been cremated according to Hindu rites; but, as a matter of fact, the custom prevalent in that distant land was observed and the body, instead of being reduced to ashes, was consigned to earth. He was buried on the 18th October in a retired spot in a shrubbery, whence, on the 29th of May 1843, his remains were removed to the cemetery of Arno's Vale near Bristol, where a tomb was erected over his grave in the early part of the following year by his friend, Dwarka Nath Tagore, with the following inscription:—

"Beneath this stone rest the remains of Raja Ram Mohan Roy. A conscientious and steadfast believer in the unity of the Godhead, he consecrated his life with entire devotion to the worship of the Divine Spirit alone. To great natural talents he united a thorough mastery of many languages and early distinguished himself as one of the greatest scholars of the day. His unwearied labours to promote the social, moral and physical condition of the people of India, his earnest endeavours to suppress idolatry and Sati rite, and his constant zealous advocacy of whatever tended to advance the glory of God and the welfare of man live in the grateful remembrance of his countrymen. This tablet records the sorrow and pride with which his memory is cherished by his descendants."

The spot, where stands the memorial of the Raja, is to be regarded, as one of his countrymen has beautifully said, "a sacred place for Hindu pilgrimage," and as a matter of fact, it is almost invariably visited by every Hindu sojourner in England.

WOMEN IN WAR: IN EAST AND WEST

BY MR. J. CLIVE ROOME.

FOR women in Europe, the war has opened new worlds. It has enabled them to achieve silently and without any strenuous effort within two brief years what they had regarded for nearly fifty years as the ideal consummation of their desires for participation in the world's activity. There is now a wide gulf between the Lady of the Lamp and the woman worker of the days of the Somme. Women are now no longer the passive and helpless spectators of the ravages of war which they were in the Crimean War. They have entered what was, not so long ago, regarded as exclusively man's province of labour. In the banks, in shops, in factories and on the fields, women are now doing work of vital importance to the nation which otherwise would have been left undone. The opening of new fields of labour to women has brought new problems of the relations of the sexes.

Nowhere in the countries, now at war, have women shouldered man's burden so heroically as in England. No one can say how long these novel conditions of labour will continue. With the end of the war still hidden from view, one can even picture England at the conclusion of peace in that stage of historical experience, at once puzzling in its issues and fraught with far-reaching sociological results, which the ancient Hindus designated as "Sthri-raj" or woman-rule.

"Sthri-raj," as the Hindus knew it, it is true, was not a mushroom growth in their social system but was the outcome of a protracted war of races in India. It had its beginning at a period when the first wave of Aryan invasion swept across the valley of the Indus. It reached its consummation when the Aryans completely subjugated the Dravidians after a long and strenuous struggle in Southern India. As the Dravidians retreated inch by inch before the advancing Aryan hosts, they were constantly called upon to fill their gaping ranks with new warriors, and their women were compelled by force of circumstances to take over one province after another of national activity. The Aryans themselves had no lack of recruits, with the result that they were able not only to maintain the pressure on the Dravidians undiminished in strength but also to consolidate their territorial gains.

With the Dravidians, it was a tragic epic. Continually harassed by an untiring enemy, they were fast coming to the end of their resources in men and were unable to divert their attention

from military pursuits to the arts of peace. Agriculture was neglected; civil administration grew lax, and their social organisation, in a word, was shaken to its very foundations. In Southern India, they found themselves nearing the limit of their endurance. With no possibility of further retreat and the Aryans as determined as ever, the Dravidians realised that on the issues of the battles in Southern India hung their destiny as a people. They became so engrossed with military cares that they had no time to spare even for the administration of their lands. When, at last, they emerged from the struggle completely crushed and broken-hearted, they found that their social organisation had also undergone a complete revolution. Women owned all the property that was still left to them, and women had acquired civil rights which reduced men to a very subordinate position in the social system.

That the change in the social order was not superficial is evident from the fact that traces of "Sthri-raj" still persist in Dravidian society in India. The *marumakathayam* law, under which claims to property are decided by descent in the line of a nephew or sister's son, is still valid in Malabar, Canara and Travancore, although it is gradually falling into disrepute and efforts are being made to abandon it altogether.

India is by no means singular in its experience of "Sthri-raj," although the phenomenon of woman-rule seems to have had a fuller scope for its operations in India than in any other country. The concentration of national effort on military efficiency produced in Sparta conditions of "Sthri-raj" more or less similar to those it produced in India. The rigorous system of military discipline, under which the Spartans lived, compelled them to delegate rights to women which, women of no other State in Greece possessed. In Sparta alone, women were placed on a footing of equality with men. With the rise in power of Sparta, the rights of Spartan women also increased in number, and within a short time two-fifths of Laconia belonged to women.

As in Sparta, *Sthri-raj* in India was the ultimate result of a series of events linked together by long years of war. England and the other countries in Europe, now at war, are not likely to see the conditions of "Sthri-raj," as observed in India or Sparta, reproduced line by line but the entry of women into spheres of labour, regarded before the war as exclusively masculine, will bring its own problems in its train.

THE HOME LIFE OF A KANNADA POET

BY MR. M. VENKATESA IYENGAR, M.A.

WE very rarely meet with instances in the literature of our country of an author taking his reader into his confidence, and writing of his life. Beyond the somewhat usual mention of the author's name in the poem, and in some cases of his descent and such other matter-of-fact detail, there is little that is personal in our literary works. This is only one aspect of a larger want, that poverty of historical material is so often mentioned against India by the learned and unlearned of the West. Whether because our writers were entirely devoid of the historical sense, or less appalling cause, writers in our country in the past failed to think the writing of history or biography a proper field of literary activity. To one class of persons this poverty is the direct consequence of an absolute want of the historic instinct; they follow the logic that would say of the Buddha, that because in the prime of life he left wife and child to go to the forest for the grand purpose of thinking, therefore he had not the instinct for home. To others it might seem not improbable that the instinct was there, but was refused free play from considerations of graver import. He who says constantly, "I am Thy servant's servant's servant" is not likely to sit down to write an autobiography. And he who believes that uttering a single syllable of the sacred book would annihilate the deadly sins, and considers poesy as a gift intended for glorifying the Highest, is likely to consider writing biographies a perversion of a noble gift to unworthy ends. So it has come to pass that we have innumerable versions of the Ramayana, and of biography and history very little.

Any passage of literature which brings us into intimate contact with an author is, therefore, of special value and a source of rare pleasure. One such passage occurs in a masterpiece of Kannada literature, Sri-Ramashwamedham,* a poem in prose by Muddana. The story purports to have been told by the poet to his wife, and in the conversations between himself and his wife which the poet has incorporated in his work, we get a glimpse of their happy home-life.

Muddana was poet at a prince's court. We do not know of what land the prince was ruler. Our

* Published in the Karnataka Kavyakalanidhi Series at Mysore.

poet was a young man yet, for he calls his wife Manorama, a romantic, highly affectionate, and very intelligent young woman, all sorts of pretty names; and the young lady, of course, takes them all very coolly, occasionally calling him a pretty name in return. They must have been newly married, for they had in all likelihood no children yet; Muddana's powers of eating are still unimpaired, no doubt from absence of younger mouths to fill; and Manorama feels tired of being alone all through the day, thus showing absence of the all-absorbing interest of a woman's life.

Such were husband and wife. And then came the season of long days and wearisome hours, when the god of day lost his wonted vigour and the peacock danced with joy, the chataka opened its mouth to welcome showers, when cuckoo and parrot mourned in silence the passing of spring, when the skies were overcast with clouds, dark and heavy, which came up from the southern ocean and drenched the land with seas of rain. Manorama felt the days too long.

Therefore, when one evening the poet came home and his wife had given him water for washing his hands and feet, brought him a plank to sit on, and given him fruits and milk, and when he had refreshed himself, she said, "How long these days are! I wish you would tell me some story. I am sick of these wearisome hours." "My love," said Muddana, "what is there to prevent it? If you want a story I shall tell you one. What shall I tell you of and what rasa do you like best? Sringara rasa, vira rasa, soka rasa, which?" "Tell me a story which has all the rasas," said Manorama. Muddana: "Very well, shall I tell you of Vikrama or Bhima or—" "Not Vikrama nor Bhima," said his wife, with that partiality which is not uncommon among Hindus, men and women, "not Vikrama nor Bhima. But tell me some story from the Ramayana." "Shall I tell you of Sita's marriage?" "Nay, you have told me that already." "Well then, I shall tell you of Rama's Asvamedhaya-gam. Shall I tell it you in verse or prose?" "Verse or prose?" said Manorama without any hesitation, "prose of course. Verse is coarse, prose like the rose is pleasing, tell it in prose." "Just as you like," said Muddana, "I shall tell you the story in beautiful, limpid prose, glowing with Sanskrit words." "No

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Sanskrit, I pray you; what have I, a poor unlearned woman, got to do with Sanskrit? Kannada is enough for me. Is not Kannada fragrant as the musk?" "Not so," said Muddana, "there should be Sanskrit words. My prose will be beautiful and limpid, Kannada intermingled with Sanskrit, a necklace of pearls interspersed with precious stones." Manorama agreed. But Muddana would not tell a story for nothing: His stories were valued at court, and he got rewards for them. So he said, "Yes, and what will you give me as reward when I have told you the story? The people at the palace would give me some present for my pains." "I shall give you myself," said Manorama. "Why, what a woman!" said Muddana—he was obviously as good a business man as he was poet—"Do you not know that erstwhile your father and mother gave you to me, that you are mine already, and not yours to give?" "What shall I give then?" said Manorama, "Well, tell me the story and I shall give you the present afterwards; the people at the palace hear your stories before they press their presents on you, do not they?" "Very well," said Muddana, "now for the story."

And he begins to tell the story of Rama's Asvamedha. In words that bring the tears to our eyes, he describes how Rama wished his brother to take Sita to the forest and leave her there; how Sita wept as if her heart would break at this abandoning; how at the last, at parting from Lakshmana, she to be alone in the wood and Lakshmana going back to Ayodhya, she said, "Child, do not tell your brother that I grieved, for it will tear his heart;" how Lakshmana left her in the far-off wild and went to Ayodhya. "Here in Ayodhya, Sitarama," he proceeds, but Manorama, all in tears, bursts in with, "Burn the sacrificial horse. Tell me what befell Sita, left alone in the wood. O! my heart is bursting —." Muddana on this tells her the events up to Valmiki's taking Sita to his ashram, and then proceeds with his narration.

"Here in Ayodhya, Sitarama—."

Mano.—My beloved lord, what talk is this? How is he Sitarama, having thrown away Sita? Was that hard-hearted man Rama or Bhima?

Mudd.—My beautiful woman, this is not right. Was he hard-hearted? Do you know how much he grieved at parting with Sita?

Mano.—What, was he executioner and mourner also?

Mudd.—My dear, what mean you? Who was executioner? The man of good name did not

want that name to be sullied. You do not mean that he hated her, surely?

Mano.—Hate or no hate, a poor unfortunate was consigned to the forest.

Mudd.—And Rama grieved much.

Mano.—At having no wife, belike.

"Tut, tut," said Muddana, "that will do," and proceeded with the story.

In the course of the story, not unwilling perhaps to draw her into conversation, and to have some respite from the exercise of narration, he said "Devi," addressing her.

"Devi," says Manorama, "Sridevi, or Bhudevi?"

"It was you that I called Devi.

"Are you beside yourself with this long narration that you call me Devi as though I were your mistress?"

"I do not know. Am I beside myself?"

"What Devi do you mean I am?"

"What Devi else? Rathidevi, of course."

"Then you must be Madanadeva."

"Even so, if such be the goddess's pleasure."

"O! thou Madana, enchanting Manmatha, pray sing of your Rathidevi."

"It is rather large orders," said Muddana. "Can I sing of her?"

Mano.—What sort of a Madana are you if you cannot sing of your Rathidevi?"

Mudd.—I can, indeed, if it comes to that. Am I Madana and can I not sing? Detractors be aside—Here goes: "Thin-bodied, flower-eyed nymph, moon-faced, slender-waisted queen, berry-breasted, elephant-gaited, loose-haired."

Mano.—(Looking at him from the corners of her eyes.) Ah, you are a poet of poets; what can I say to this description of yours, these new-fangled phrases which no one knows? Is your Rathidevi thin-bodied? Perchance she is consumptive? What is the moon in the face, and the flower in the eye? And is she possessed with the devil, that her hair is loose? Go to, you are no Kama, only Bhima.

Mudd.—(Smiling.) Goddess of my ancient house, why all this anger? All this temper comes of my levity. Bear with me a little, I beg of you, and I shall pray to the Goddess of Learning to get control over the treasures of language, and then—and then, by this sacred thread of mine I swear, I shall sing thee, my Rathidevi, a hundred times greater than that paragon of symmetrical features, the real Rathidevi.

Hymn to Saraswati.
O Lady of Learning,

Who completely scorning
The birth-mode of all, in the flame of the Four-faced,
With Book and with Pencil,
And singing utensil,
Didst rise in thine armour of Beauty so well-drest,
Give me, great Lady,
The power, I pray thee,
To sing the sweet beauties of this my fair wife;
Send down an army
Of good phrases for my
Necessity, and make me thy debtor for life.

The original is burlesque prose, and I have attempted to convey the sense as far as I can. If "singing utensil" is rather grotesque, it is not much worse than the context needs.

"Is the Goddess of Learning, the great Saraswati, propitiated?" asked Manorama.

Mudd.—Yes, by praise and prayer have I learned the favour of the goddess. Now for the description. "Black as the blackness of Mahakali—"

Muddana obviously wanted to describe her fully from head to toe, and began with the hair of her head. But his description was doomed to a premature stop. For Manorama said, "To praise Rathii, you begin with Mahakali."

Mudd.—Ah, you interrupt. Yes, alas, I forgot the obstacle-god, the great Vighnesvara. Because I did not remember him, this interruption has come at the outset. "O, great Vighneswara, thou mighty God of the single tooth and the yard-wide ears, of the crooked nose and the capacious stomach, mouse-riding lord, my obeisance to thee. Grant that no obstruction come in my way in this attempt to sing the beauties of this Rathidevi of mine. If you grant this, I promise to give you first of all a share of the dainties and eatables which my wife, pleased with my praise of her, will be giving me."

Mano.—How will he eat, your obstacle god of the single tooth?

Mudd.—Why, my dear, could the God eat? And if he did, would I offer him a share?

Mano.—You gormandizer! what, then, would you eat all yourself?

Mudd.—Are you sure to give anything?

Mano.—Supposing I did?

"Why, then, I cannot eat all of it myself. *Chakkuli** and *garige* for Kamadeva, *aval** and *hurigadale* for Muddana, the sugarcane for the poet, and the cocoanut for—myself."

"That is clever; what to Rathidevi?"

"It is the Goddess that gives; what will she take?"

"What to Manorama?"

* Kannada names for various eatables.

"O I see," said Muddana, "in praising Rathii I have forgotten Manorama. Since all the eatables are exhausted, I suppose I must give her the leavings."

Mano.—What a cruel man; let be, now with your description.

Here follows a description, of course, not to the taste of Manorama, and husband and wife have a discussion over it. This portion does not lend itself to translation, as it is mostly "quips and cranks and jests" and other linguistic tricks. At the end of a little of it, Manorama says:—

"That is fine. Now, what is it that you like best, what shall I give you for this praise?"

"Do not be in a hurry," said Muddana, "wait till I have described her fully and then—"

Mano.—Why wait? To taste of the sea, is it necessary to drink up the oceans as Agastya did? One drop is good enough.

That is the end of that interlude. We shall go to another.

Muddana observes in describing the reception extended by a Rishi to the army of Satrugna that they were all sumptuously fed.

Mano.—My dear lord, what sumptuous feeding? Was it verbal feast and welcome?

Mudd.—No, no; attending to their wants, giving them food and flowers and incense, and making them feel at home.

Mano.—And did the Rishi of the forest attend to the wants of the thousands of Satrugna's army?

Mudd.—Yes, he did.

Mano.—I wonder how. Was he able to do it?

Mudd.—Is the power of *japa* and *tapa* small? Whatever he might want that could he get soon with that power.

"What greatness. What was the formula?"

"There is the one-lettered, the two-lettered, the three or the four or the five or the six-lettered."

"What comes of repeating them?"

"By repeating them they propitiate their gods, and the gods appear to them and ask them what they would have."

"With such formulas to hand the Rishis must be happy, untroubled by want?"

"Yes," said Muddana, rather laconically.

"By the by," said Manorama, "poets like you are mad after writing books, and care not for the needs of home. What of them, what should they eat, and what drink? Is it not desirable that they should learn from some great Rishi some formula such as this one?"

"You are laughing at the like of us, are you?" asked Muddana. "What do we want for? I suppose the going and learning of a jungle sage is to be done if we have no formula of our own? Is the poet, whose mighty word makes country desert and desert country, smaller than the small old Rishi? His word is truth, his touch is gold. Why say more? By the virtue of their mere word, they can make or mar, praise or blame, raise or ruin, describe, trample, live over the three worlds. Is the poet whose word is so potent a mean person?"

Mano.—(With wonder, whether real or feigned, Goodness knows!) Then you and your class also have formulas?

Mudd.—What doubt?

Mano.—Have you also one?

Mudd.—It is the warp and woof of my being.

Mano.—Then you are also a great man. When and by whom were you initiated?

"By my teacher, when I was of tender years."

"My lover, tell me what the formula is."

"Fie, fie; formula, and tell her. It may not be taught to woman-creature."

"As if I did not know; as if I wanted you to initiate me. I asked only for the name of the formula."

"O I see," said Muddana; "this one is not of the formulas of the Rishis. The way of our formulas is a way apart. Would one-lettered, two-lettered formulas serve our purpose? Ours are larger, not little things. It is not one or two, three or five, or even six-lettered; it is a root-formula of seven letters. Hence it is the crown of all formulas, the mighty seven-lettered."

Mano.—And who is the goddess thereof? Who first repeated it?

Mudd.—Go, go, what have you got to do with all this?

Mano.—I merely want to know.

Mudd.—Listen then; the goddess of this formula is the elder lady Jyeshtha. Ishwara repeated it of yore and reaped the fruits thereof.

Mano.—Ah, what a great formula. My master and lord, I touch your feet, grant me a boon by the love you bear me. Tell me what the formula is.

Mudd.—Why, it is the seven-lettered; I told you.

Mano.—No, I do not want the name; I want the formula itself.

Mudd.—Ha, what an audacious woman. Then she wanted its name, now she wants it. What will she want next? By this sacred thread, by

the man's clothes I wear, I tell you, it cannot be told. You have no power to hear or repeat it. It is bad for the eyes, bad for the feet.

The reader might well be wondering what this mighty formula of seven letters is, of which Jyeshtha is the presiding deity, and which Ishwara repeated and reaped the fruits of, and to repeat and pursue which is bad for the feet, and bad also for the eyes. Let him read some more description of it yet, and see what it is.

"Where is the harm in simply hearing it?" asked Manorama. "Does not a woman hear even the Veda?—when it is being repeated? Where is the harm? How proud you are?"

Mudd.—Proud, my dear. I am not half enough proud. The Veda is one thing, and this formula is quite another; like the goat and the elephant. Besides, they say, "Secretest of all things secret is the secret *mantra*." Therefore, neither may I tell, nor may you hear. So let us go to the story. The Rishi having treated the—

Mano.—Go, go, I will have none of your story. I must know the formula; by my neck, by this ring, tell me.

Mudd.—O the constancy of inconstant woman! I tell her I cannot repeat it to her; she will not hear me. How shall I bring myself to divulge and defile this formula, this sacred possession of ours? Alas, this is the lot of us poets—curse the fates,—caught in the toils of beauteous young sirens. (After pretending considerable thought:) Look here, my dear woman, you are never, never, never, on any account, to divulge it to anybody. Do you hear?

Mano.—Never, never.

Mudd.—Then, listen; Bha—va—Put your hand in mine, and promise not to betray.

Mano.—Here is my hand on it. In the name of the God of our house, in your name, I say solemnly, I shall not betray.

Mudd.—Yes. Bhava—thibhi—"Put not your trust in woman," say the wise. If you betray us, then are we undone.

Mano.—My dear master, am I a dunce? Have not I promised secrecy?

Mudd.—Then here goes. "Bhavathi bhikshandehi."* This, my dear, is the seven-lettered formula. Be sure, and do not tell anybody.

Mano.—Leave go, sir; I thought you were serious. Are you bard or buffoon? At this rate, only unlearned women like me may like your story, not others.

* A phrase shouted at house-doors by those who come for alms.

Muddana then resumes the story. Towards the end of his narrative, he is describing the condition of Ayodhya, after the return of Sita. "Then on all sides reigned peace and happiness, ease and contentment—."

Mano.—So you have reached the end of your story?

Mudd.—Yes; the wretched yarn has somehow come to an end.

Mano.—Fie, call you Rama's story wretched?

Mudd.—No, not Rama's story; but the spiritless, tasteless, valueless, wearisome stuff that I have spun.

Mano.—Did ever wise man praise his own work? That is why you are undervaluing the luscious and fragrant poem you have made.

Mudd.—So you are pleased with the poem?

Mano.—(Forgetting the old covenant regarding the present or pretending to forget.) Why I in particular? All who hear would be pleased.

Mudd.—(Laughing.) You are talking out of love to me.

Mano.—My beloved lover, indeed, no. Even as your name is, your poem is dear to the world.

Mudd.—I am afraid you are playing upon me.

Mano.—Did ever anybody hate good? It is the plain and simple truth. Your beautiful story holds captive the minds of all who read it. Indeed, I feel that I would like to hear it again and again.

Mudd.—Will you swear by me?

Mano.—Yes, by you; the jasmine must please.

Mudd.—By my grandmother?

Mano.—Yes, by your grandmother. I am not jesting. There never was book like this, and I think there never will be either.

Mudd.—Let that be; anyhow you are pleased. That is enough for me.

Mano.—Indeed I am. It is a good poem.

Mudd.—And now, my good girl, bring us your present.

Mano.—(Pretending surprise.) How cunning; I have been deceived. Well, speak the benediction, and I shall give you the present.

Mudd.—I cannot speak the benediction. We should have a feast.

Mano.—Why should we have a feast? Is this thy nuptial day?

"Yes," said Muddana, "yours and mine."

And when he had spoken the benediction, Manorama got up to go.

Mudd.—(Taking hold of her.) How brave you are. Are there women that can cozen Muddana? You cannot go away till you have given me the present.

Mano.—What present shall I give? What do you ask for?

Mudd.—Am I a beggar and come to your door? I do not ask for anything; I shall take what you give.

Mano.—I told you I was a dependant. What can I give, and how can I give?

Mudd.—I have nothing with what and who. Give something that will please me, that will be worthy of the story and that will meet with the approval of the world.

Mano.—Then here is the present—

Obviously this was a kiss. One hopes that Muddana did not tell Manorama that her parents had given him that also. And the reader of the above conversations will have no doubt that the kiss was a more valuable present to him than all the wealth of the prince's palace.

You are going on a common road, the land about you quite common; some bushes, brambles, here and there, and a little grass in places. To one side is a long wall, high and impassable, and on the other side of it, some say there is a garden, and some, that the land there is as common as the land here. Men know not. And you cast some wistful looks at the wall and can see nothing but its high obstructiveness. Suddenly to your upturned gaze there appears, borne high by a single thin stalk, one single flower, a very vision of loveliness. The eager winds come to it, and it gives generously of its fragrance. On its slender mother-stalk, rich with gold and purple and the colour of the heavens, it waves on as in triumph. You look and look and are not satisfied. How many flowers like that are there beyond? And about you, the common land, the common shrub, the common bramble. And your whole soul is possessed with a restless unsatisfied longing.

Such a flower, it seems to me, is this picture of Muddana's home-life. We read it and read it and wish we had more like it; but the wish is vain.

Criticism places Muddana at different periods, some holding that he may be some centuries old, others that he is very recent. Whatever the facts, and they are by no means finally established, the mind likes to conjure up that presumably far off time when Muddana, poet at prince's court, arrived home as the soft evening twilight began to envelop the world, and washing his feet and hands with water that his wife brought him, entered the little home of their new-wed life, and sitting in the presence of his household gods, told sweet Manorama stories of the love and travails of the great and noble Rama and Sita.

Native States & the British Government in India

BY MR. P. S. RAMAKRISHNA IYER, M.A., L.T.

HANKS to the present great war, the ruling princes of this country have come into great prominence. Formerly, if they were not altogether unknown or uncared for in the West, certainly very curious and erroneous notions prevailed about them. By reason, however, of the present war and the magnificent services that, in several ways, they have rendered and are rendering still, many of our ruling princes have become quite familiar to Englishmen and the names of a few of them, at any rate, have become almost household words in England. Further, their work and worth have come to be properly appreciated, and it has been seriously mooted if their status and position should not substantially be improved after the war. It is proposed in the present paper to sketch briefly the relations between Native States and the British Government from early times as well as to make a few general observations as regards the future of these states.

I

One of the striking features of modern India is the presence in the country of a large number of Native States, i.e., of political communities, occupying well-defined tracts of territory, larger or smaller, outside British India, and ruled by princes who, under the suzerainty of the British Government, enjoy most of the attributes and functions of internal sovereignty. In all, these states number nearly seven hundred: they cover an area of 700,000 square miles, which is more than half of that of British India and contain a population of about 63 millions. Of these nearly 700 states, about 100 are controlled directly by the Government of India and the rest by local Governments. As regards size, geographical position, scenery, climate, productions, the languages spoken, the religions followed, the character of the government obtaining, the states will be found to present a great deal of diversity. While, there are one or two states with an area of about eleven thousand square miles, there are a great many others which do not exceed five hundred square miles. While there are states which, in point of scenery, are the glories of India, there are others which have hardly any attractions to offer. The arid wastes of Rajputana or the rugged uplands of Mysore must certainly present a striking contrast to the charming snow-clad hills and dales of Kashmir or the picturesque backwaters of Cochin and Travancore. Almost

all the languages and almost all the religions of this country will be found represented in these states. While, again, there are states that are highly progressive and enlightened and are almost models of good government, there are many others that are still very backward. Such contrasts or variations as these are generally presented by the Native States of this country.

Before I proceed to sketch the policy of the British Government towards Native States from early times, a word as regards the origin of these states may not be out of place.

In the first place, it must be noted that some of the states came into existence as a result of the partition or break-up of larger kingdoms. This was the case, for example, with the states of Cochin and Travancore. Originally parts of the larger kingdom of Kerala, they came into existence as separate kingdoms about the ninth century or so, after the dismemberment of Kerala. Taking Mysore, that too has had a similar origin. It was once part of the famous empire of Vijayanagar and after the break up of that empire, it became a separate state.

In the second place, it must be observed that strategic considerations have had much to do with the foundation of certain states. This was certainly the case with the states of Rajputana. It was to escape from the armies of Islam and to live in peace and safety unmolested by enemies, that a great many of the Rajput clans migrated about the twelfth century from the fertile plains of Hindustan to the inaccessible deserts of Rajputana and founded there fortified states which, it is to their glory to record, have survived the wreck of dynasties, the crash of empires, and the many storms that shook them from time to time and at the present day attest, in no unmistakable manner, the rough tenacity and vigour of the Rajput race.

In the third place, it will be found, as regards certain states, that they owe their origin to periods of anarchy and confusion. We all know that, during the eighteenth century, the great Mughal Empire was tottering to its fall and that general anarchy and confusion prevailed in many parts of India. Taking advantage of all this, many distant governors of the Mughal Empire set themselves up as independent rulers and thus many new kingdoms were formed. Of these the most important is the modern state of Hyderabad. It was again during this period of confusion that,

in Western and Central India a great many states were carved out by adventurous Mahratta Chiefs—Scindia, Holkar, the Gaekwar, etc.

In the case of a few states such as Kashmir, they have actually been created by the British Government in comparatively modern times.

II.

Having said so much about the origin of Native States in India, I will now proceed to consider the successive phases of policy that the British Government have followed towards them from early times.

It is well known that, after the famous battle of Plassey fought in 1757, the supremacy of the English was established in Bengal, and that, a few years later, they acquired Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. About the same time the influence of the English was established in Southern India, too, after the overthrow of French power. It is then about the middle of the eighteenth century that the first real beginnings are to be traced of English power and dominion in this country and that, the East India Company, from being a merely commercial body, slowly developed into a political and ruling power. There were a great many native princes in the land at that time. The policy followed by the Company in relation to the princes for about a century after the battle of Plassey was one of non-intervention or limited liability. In other words, the policy may be described as one of ring-fence. The East India Company had its own territories and it was the aim and policy of English Governors-General and Governors during the period to keep themselves strictly within the ring-fence of the Company's territories and not in the least interfere in the affairs beyond. This was the first phase of British policy towards native rulers. Beyond the ring-fence of its territories the Company avoided intercourse with native chiefs, refused alliances with them and regarded with absolute unconcern the course of events that went on. It should not, however, be understood that during this period absolutely no treaties were concluded or alliances made or responsibilities incurred by the Company. What should be noted is that the alliances that were formed or the wars that were waged during the period were generally such as were forced on the Company from motives of self-preservation.

What were the considerations that dictated on the part of the Company a policy of non-intervention such as this? In the first place, it should be noted that the Company was, all through the eighteenth century, but feeling its way in the

troubled waters of Indian politics. Its resources were limited; it was but one among many powers, and it felt that it could not act more wisely than by minding its own business and fighting shy of responsibilities as much as possible. Secondly, it must be observed that the development of the Company into a territorial power in India was regarded with no little anxiety and alarm by British statesmen, and the grave abuses that were reported to have crept into the Company's administration in India served no little to enhance that anxiety and alarm. It became then the policy of the British Parliament to suppress the political ambitions of the Company as much as possible and accordingly we find that, in 1793, an Act was passed by Parliament to the effect that

to pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominion in India are repugnant to the wish, the honour and the policy of the nation.

Thirdly, it was expected by the Company that, with a policy of non-intervention on its part, the smaller powers of India would be absorbed by the larger outside the Company's ring-fence and that a few powerful and friendly states would gradually arise.

This last expectation was, however, disappointed and truly disastrous results followed. Instead of a few friendly powers arising and India settling down in peace and tranquillity, as was expected by the Company, large parts of the country only drifted into a condition of anarchy and chaos, and the condition of the people became deplorable. The roads became unsafe; large gangs of dacoits and freebooters began to prowl about unchecked and unmolested; the Pindaris reared their heads and went about playing their nefarious traffic; adventurers and soldiers of fortune were only too ready to fish in the troubled waters; the Jats and the Mahrattas only served to increase the general confusion. In a word, the condition of many parts of the country became such towards the close of the eighteenth century, that no civilised nation could for a moment regard it with complacency.

In the second place, it must be remembered that, thanks to the policy of non-intervention, the power of the English themselves was, towards the end of the century, threatened with imminent peril. A great many of the Indian princes became openly hostile to the Company and began to carry on intrigues with the French. The intrigues of Tippoo Sultan of Mysore with Napoleon Bonaparte are well known to us. In 1798, Napoleon made an expedition to Egypt, his

idea being to make Egypt the starting point for an advance against India. From Egypt he wrote letters to Tippoo and raised high his hopes. However, in 1799, Napoleon's grandiose plans of Indian conquest were completely shattered by Nelson at the famous battle of Aboukir Bay. Many of the Mahratta Chiefs, too, were at this time engaged in close relations with the French. French Generals were employed by Scindia, Holkar and other Chiefs to drill and train their armies and French men were enlisted. Seeing that, during the period 1793-1815, England was engaged in a formidable struggle with France, the intrigues of Indian Chiefs with the French could not but cause real anxiety and alarm to the English, who thereby found their interests seriously imperilled in this country. The policy of ring-fence stood condemned and a change of policy was needed.

III

With the accession of the Marquis of Wellesley as Governor-General in 1799, we enter on a new phase of British policy in relation to Native States. Wellesley clearly realised the evils that had risen and would still arise, from there being a great many free and independent powers in this country and the Company having absolutely no relations with them. He saw that there could be no peace and order in India and absolutely no security to the British Power unless the native princes, greater and smaller, were brought under some sort of control and the English made the predominant power. Hence the system of subsidiary alliances inaugurated by him. Treaties of alliances were concluded by him with the Nizam, with Mysore, with Baroda, with Gwalior, and some other states. By these treaties these states were, in the first place, allied with the British Government and, secondly, brought to some extent under its control. The contracting parties employed towards one another all the complimentary language befitting independent powers, and British interference in the internal affairs of a state was excluded. The native prince bound himself to have no negotiations with foreign powers or states in alliance with the British without the consent of the Company, but he was left with full powers of dealing with certain other states in India. The Company was to supply a subsidiary force to the prince, which was only to be employed on important occasions and the cost of the force was to be met by the prince himself. It will thus be found that, as regards internal government, native princes were left completely

free and, further that, as regards foreign affairs, they were only to be somewhat controlled but by no means to be represented by the Company. As a result, the Native States of India, instead of being completely effaced internationally, still continued to exist as international entities to a certain extent. The subsidiary policy of Wellesley, although it was not completely imperial, marks, at any rate, the beginning of British Imperial policy in India.

The policy of Wellesley was, however, renounced by his immediate successors, and a policy of non-intervention resumed. Disastrous results followed once more. Chaos and anarchy became rampant; the Pindaris became more troublesome than ever; the Mahrattas began to prey on their weaker neighbours and spread confusion everywhere. A strong man and a strong policy appeared indispensable.

IV

It was at this juncture that, there came out to India a Governor-General of singular parts and powers, by whom the policy of non-intervention was once for all relinquished and the forward policy of Wellesley was further developed and extended. In connection with the inauguration by the Company of an Imperial policy in this country, the administration of Lord Hastings constitutes indeed a landmark. As Westlake observes:—

His administration may be singled out as the turning point in the course of shifting the affairs in India from an international to an imperial basis.

While Wellesley was content with merely making the British the preponderant power in India, Hastings made it the paramount power. The British Government now declared that they were not merely the strongest power in this country, but the rightful superior. Native Chiefs were now completely excluded from having any relations at all with other powers and, in future, they were to be represented by the British Government in all foreign affairs. Thus they were completely deprived of their international existence by Lord Hastings.

The policy introduced by Hastings is generally known as the policy of subordinate isolation and military co-operation, and it denotes the third phase of British policy in relation to Native States. In the first place, these States were subordinated to the British Government; secondly they were isolated from one another, which only meant the negation of an international society; and thirdly, they bound themselves to co-operate

in maintaining the *Pax-Britannica* in this country. Any the least interference in their internal government was, however, disclaimed by the British Government, and so far as internal government was concerned, the policy of non-intervention was clearly declared. In the time of Lord Hastings political settlements were effected in several distracted areas of native territory, such as Rajaputana and Central India, scores of new states were brought into subordinate alliance with the British Government and its suzerainty was firmly established in the land.

Thanks to the policy inaugurated by Hastings, the rulers of Native States were for many years completely left to themselves in the management of their affairs. Shielded from their enemies by the strong arm of the British and left without any effective control, a great many of the native princes abused their powers, gave themselves up to a life of luxury and debauchery and grossly misgoverned their subjects. Their administration became, in short, a bye-word for oppression and extortion, and their courts became notorious for profligacy and extravagance. This was the case in Oudh, in Satara, in Nagpur and in many other states. In the interests of suffering millions, it now became necessary for the British Government to intervene.

V

It was at this crisis that there appeared in India a Governor-General of brilliant gifts and colossal powers, to wit, Lord Dalhousie, who, for about eight years, guided the destinies of this country with no little capacity and vigour. As regards strength of character, capacity for industry, and devotion to duty, he is certainly deserving of high admiration, although his policy and measures may be somewhat open to objection.

With the accession of Dalhousie, we enter on a new and startling phase of British policy in connection with Native States. It appeared to this Governor-General that the proper remedy for the evil of misgovernment in the territories of native rulers was the annexation of those territories. He appears to have believed that native governments were rotten, and that peace, happiness and prosperity were possible for a people only under British rule. Hence a regular policy of annexation was inaugurated by him, and by the rigid application of the "Doctrine of Lapse" and otherwise, a great many Indian states were added to British Dominion.

With all my admiration for Lord Dalhousie in other ways, I feel constrained to observe in this

connection that his policy of annexation was a somewhat mistaken one. In the first place, he appears to have started with a wrong notion, that is, that good government necessarily meant British Government. In the second place, he did not much care to know how his policy and measures would be received by Indian princes and Indian peoples. As a matter of fact, we do find that a great deal of discontent, if not panic, was caused by his policy, which, in no small measure, appears to have been responsible for the outbreak of the Great Indian Mutiny. To say the least, his policy was unwise and inexpedient. Thirdly, he did not sufficiently realise that annexation was only one of the remedies, and not the only remedy, for misgovernment in any state, seeing that annexation could very well have been avoided by a temporary deposition of the Raja and the temporary administration of the state by the British Government, as was done in the case of Mysore. In case of failure of heirs in Native States, heirs could very well have been secured by means of adoption if only the right had been allowed. Lastly, it may be observed that, had it not been for his wholesale annexations, there would have been a much larger area under native rule in this country to-day, and we know by experience that, in not a few cases, native rule has proved even more enlightened and progressive than British rule.

Soon after Lord Dalhousie's departure, the storm of discontent that had been gathering for some years finally burst and for some time spread havoc and desolation in certain parts of this country. The storm of the Mutiny was, however, soon quelled by the British Government and then some important changes were introduced in the government of the country. The East India Company was abolished, and the Company's territories were brought under the direct rule of the British Crown. Secondly, Lord Dalhousie's policy of annexation was abandoned, and the right of adoption was granted to all native princes who were thus fully assured of the permanency of their dynasties. An enlightened policy of mutual trust and confidence, of active union and co-operation was inaugurated in relation to Native States. The policy of subordinate isolation was replaced by a policy of subordinate union, and this policy has continued ever since.

VI

The British Government at last realised that the policy of subordinate isolation, at once so sterile and jejune, that had so long been followed

would no longer suffice and that the native chiefs should be closely connected with the British Government and be made to unite and co-operate with the latter for the promotion of public good. Hence the policy of subordinate union. What were the features of this policy? In the first place, as regards their foreign relations, native rulers were to continue in the same condition as before, i.e., were to be controlled or represented by the British Government. In the second place, as regards internal government, instead of being left completely free as before, they were made strictly responsible for the good government of their states and placed under the constant and vigilant supervision of the British Government, as exercised by the Resident. Native princes now bound themselves

to pay at all times the utmost attention to such advice as the English Government shall occasionally judge it necessary for them to offer with a view to the economy of their finances, the better collection of revenue, the administration of justice, the extension of commerce, the encouragement of trade, agriculture and industry, or any other objects connected with the advancement of the princes or the happiness of the people or the mutual welfare of both states.

In the third place, they were to work in a spirit of union and co-operation with the British Government in all matters of common welfare. The following is Sir William Lee Warner's comment on this policy of subordinate union:—

It must be borne in mind that the policy which, after the suppression of the Mutiny, was inspired by a new spirit of co-operation and union . . . has introduced the Native States to a higher position of responsibility as well as of honour. The protected sovereigns of the United States have been admitted as partners of the Queen's Government not only in the defence of the Empire and in the output of its foreign treaties and its international activity but also in the material and moral progress of the united country. Larger attention is now given to matters of common welfare . . . The barriers of isolation have been broken down, and the rights and duties of the protected principalities have gained strength and expansion from the closer union into which they have entered.

VII

Under this policy of subordinate union, the Native States of this country have been steadily progressing during the last half century. Civilised methods of administration have been introduced; trade and industries have been stimulated; arts, sciences and letters are being judiciously fostered; and in a great many other ways, the prosperity and happiness of their subjects are being zealously advanced by native rulers. Almost all the ruling princes of this country have become active centres of progress,

and a few of the states will even be found to be decidedly ahead of British administration in certain respects. Experiments are being tried and reforms introduced in Native States, which however are found impracticable or undesirable in British India. A system of free and compulsory education, for which British India is not yet ripe, has been successfully introduced in a few states, such as Baroda and Mysore. An important judicial reform, which is still found impracticable in British India, has been introduced in certain Native States, and that is the separation of the judicial from the executive functions. In not a few states, industrial progress is being stimulated in many ways, and the activities of the Mysore Economic Conference are well known to us. Further, popular assemblies, the like of which do not obtain in British India, are the common features of many Native States. It seems to me that a bright future lies before these assemblies so long as they are judiciously handled and properly encouraged. From all this, it must be clear, that the condition of the Native States to-day is not what it was half a century ago; but that, in the matter of enlightenment and progress, they occupy a deservedly high position. All this is only as it should be, seeing that Native States have certain special advantages over territories under British rule. In the first place, Native States are smaller and more compact in area; secondly, the machinery of administration in them is simpler, the ruler being still the important factor; thirdly, there is not the same clash in Native States, that there often is in British India, between Anglo-Indian and Indian interests.

Not only have Native States made remarkable progress in many ways but they have also established their loyalty to the paramount power beyond doubt or suspicion. From time to time they have given clear and undoubted proofs of their loyalty and devotion. The magnificent rally they have made to the Imperial cause in the present war and the magnificent services they have rendered and are rendering still, have exceeded all expectations.

Having regard to these circumstances, it is now recognised in all quarters that the time has come for some modification of British policy towards native rulers and for a substantial improvement in their position and status. It cannot be a secret to any of us that, with the growth of education and culture on their part and that with the growing progress of their states, these rulers themselves are coming to feel a spirit of discontent with their position and an ardent

earning for a position more consistent with a sense of honour and responsibility. Of late, the angle of vision of the British Government towards native rulers has also been slowly changing, and it is being recognised by the paramount power that a policy of trust and confidence, rather than of surveillance and control, should be followed towards them in the future. That certainly was the policy of the late Viceroys, Minto and Hardinge. The following memorable words were uttered by the latter on an important occasion :—

Our policy towards Native States at least during the recent years has been one of sympathy and trust; of sympathy with their aims and sentiments and noble traditions, and of trust in their fervent loyalty to the person of His Majesty the King-Emperor and to the power whose protection they enjoy. Irksome restrictions and the exercise of sovereign powers are apt to chafe and irritate a proud and sensitive spirit, with the result disastrous not only to the ruler and his people, but also to the Empire at large. We have, therefore, made it our aim to cultivate close and friendly relations with the ruling princes, to show by every means that we trust them and look on them as helpers and colleagues.

It may further be mentioned in this connection that quite recently the position of our ruling sovereigns after the war was seriously discussed by such an important and responsible paper as the *London Times* and not a few suggestions were made by it in that connection. Having regard to all these signs of the times, it must appear that a bright future certainly looms before the Native States of this country. The present war is going to be followed by a re-settlement not only in Europe but also as regards the British Empire.

INDIAN COOLIES IN CEYLON ESTATES

BY MR. KARUMUTTU THIAGARAJA.

I beg leave to submit the following report on the condition of Indian emigrants in Ceylon, to ascertain which I visited many estates in several planting districts.

HOUSING AND SANITARY CONDITIONS.

There are many blocks of buildings. In each a long central wall divides two parallel suites of apartments. Each of these measuring 12 feet length 10 feet broad and approximately 9 feet high, is provided with one door only (and no window) leading to a verandah 4 feet wide. The walls and floors are of mud, and the roof of corrugated iron sheets and sometimes of tiles. This is the universal type. Each lodging is meant to

An imperial council or parliament will probably be formed to keep closely together the scattered members of the British Empire. In British India, a long stride will probably be taken towards self-government. Our native sovereigns, who have made such splendid sacrifices in the war, who have placed all their resources and a few of them, even their lives, at the disposal of Great Britain, cannot certainly be left alone. It will certainly be not too much to hope that, in the course of the re-settlement, their position and status will considerably be improved, that a council of princes, as suggested by the *Times*, will be formed in India itself :

to establish an organic connection between the Government of India and the ruling princes as a body, to enable them to have a voice in the settlement of questions in which they and their subjects are interested; that they will be given some control as regards their foreign relations, that the policy of isolation will be considerably relaxed, and that, in their mutual interests, they will be allowed to establish free and close relations with one another, and finally, that they will be freed from all irksome restrictions and be enabled to work out their salvation in their own way. Possessed of rights and privileges such as these and animated by a spirit of independence and self-reliance, it may legitimately be hoped that the Native States of this country will steadily continue to thrive and prosper in the future and that, in the fulness of time, they will become models of Constitutional Government and of material and moral progress.

house four working coolies. The accommodation on many estates is usually less, and five or six coolies, with their children, occupy each chamber. The drainage is very unsatisfactory. Latrines are seldom provided. The new sanitary department is now getting this defect remedied.

The dwellings are often in the midst of clumps of trees. Ventilation is not specially provided, unless the bad joinings of the doors and the cracks in the walls are considered as sufficient for admitting fresh air in, and letting bad out.

HEALTH AND MEDICAL AID.

The health of the coolies is not gratifying. On all estates and in all lines visited, I met sickly

coolies. Malarial fever and anchylostomiasis are very common. Dr. Lunn, Inspecting Medical Officer, Ratnapura, writes of one set of estate cooly lines that he visited :—

"Not a single person in these lines was free from anchylostomiasis, and some had malaria in addition. Diarrhoea, dysentery and skin diseases are not rare. The medical care of the coolies is entrusted to dispensers, in whom the coolies have no faith whatever. I myself met a few dispensers, and I therefore readily believe what the coolies have to say of them. Quinine is said to be their favourite or only drug. The lines of the coolies are required to be visited by that "Doctor" every other day, but in practice this is done only once a week, and it makes no difference whether he does this every day or only once a week."

"SICK RICE."

I believe, it is given rarely and in exceptional cases, though the law requires it in every case. The superintendents say that not only rice, but milk, sago, conji, and all other necessary things are provided on estate account. My impartial and searching enquiry into this common and identical complaint on all estates does not support the superintendent's statement in the least degree. If a cooly falls ill, he must die unless there are near relatives to take care of him. A woman, after confinement, is given half a bushel of rice from the estate and Rs. 2 in cash, which latter is placed against her account. Estates neither have trained midwives nor engage them.

Though it is the duty of the superintendent to send ill coolies to hospital, and it is an offence if he does not, yet they are seldom sent. I have met coolies seriously ill on the lines.

The death-rate on some estates in certain years is remarkable. In 1913, 227 out of 950 coolies on Niwitigala died. Last year, I was told out of 60 infants born on an estate in the Dickoya district, 45 died.

FOOD.

Rice is always supplied by the estates. Prices vary from Rs. $4\frac{1}{2}$ to $5\frac{1}{2}$ a bushel. This is not necessarily due to the difference of the rice in quality, but to the fact that the greater the distance of the estate from Colombo, the dearer and the worse the rice is.

A very few estates supply "Coconada Mill" rice which is very good; a few supply "Ragoon Kallunda" which is also good, but the great majority supply "Sulai" and "Pakkudi" rice, which are extremely bad and even deleterious. The coolies are forced to take these.

The quantity of rice given per week is, men $\frac{1}{2}$ bushel each, women $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{8}$ bushel each, on alternate weeks, and young working boys and girls, $\frac{1}{8}$ of a bushel each. It must be remembered that rice is provided in part payment of wages earned; unless a cooly works the required number of days in a week, the allowance is reduced and often stopped. In such cases and when coolies fall ill, they are allowed no food. It must be repeated here that coolies do seldom get "sick rice," which the estate is bound to give under Ordinance 11 of 1865, Section 27.

Coolies often have not enough cash to buy curry-stuffs.

Drinking-water is obtained from streams, but often from wells. A few estates have water taps.

The Ceylon Government has kindly provided almost every estate with an arrack tavern near.

No interval is allowed to take mid-day meals. Many coolies take only two meals, one early in the morning before 6 A.M., and another soon after sunset, while some contrive to find an interval to take a mid-day meal.

On all estates, each dwelling has a piece of ground in front of it equal to it in size to grow vegetables upon.

TASKS, HOURS OF WORK AND WAGES.

Cultivation, manuring, weeding, forking and transport are common to all plantation, tea, rubber, cocoa and also to cocoa-nut estates.

Plucking tea leaf, picking and breaking cocoa pods and weeding are always done by women and, to some extent, by young boys and girls. Tapping rubber is also done by women to a certain degree. The rest are done by men. In fact, the tasks are not hard in themselves. But the many supervisors—sub-Kanganies, head Kanganies and conductors—make them hard. Bribing these immediate superiors prevails, many coolies complain. The superintendents are responsible for this, as they are said to be too prone and anxious to hear complaints against the coolies for their "bad work."

The hours of work in some districts are from 6 A.M. to 4 P.M., and in other districts from 6-30 to 4-30 P.M., 10 continuous hours' work a day. On a tea estate visited by me, the closing horn was heard only at 5-10 P.M. instead at 4-30 P.M. As was said before, no interval is allowed for mid-day meal. This point I discussed with the superintendents who, while admitting the fact, reasoned thus :

a. On big estates, coolies working at a great distance from their dwellings would take a long time to go and return for their mid-day meal, and

the estates could not afford to allow such a lengthy interval.

b. Small estates follow the same custom.

c. When the superintendents, after a light refreshment in the morning, can afford to wait till twelve or one o'clock for their lunch, the coolies, after taking a full meal in the morning, can easily afford to wait a few hours more.

Coolies employed in tapping rubber return home by about 1 p.m. Coolies employed in all other works cannot be back home before 5 or 5-30 p.m. Even if they are released punctually at the exact hours, it takes more than an hour to register their names, etc. Factory work is from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m.

The wages of the coolies, though paid monthly, are calculated at so much per day, and no cooly can claim wages for any day on which he has not worked. The great part of the work is done on daily wages, while tapping rubber and, on some tea estates, plucking leaf are contract work.

By far the great majority of the male cooly from 80 to 90 per cent. employed on all plantations, are paid 33 cents. ($5\frac{1}{2}$ annas) per day. Pruners get 40 cents. ($6\frac{3}{4}$ annas) per day, but the work goes on only at certain seasons in the year. A considerably low minority of coolies, about 5 per cent., employed in factories, in superintendents' burgalews and in the work of sweeping lines, is paid at 40 cents ($6\frac{3}{4}$ annas) per cooly per day.

On all plantations the women employed are paid 25 cents ($4\frac{1}{2}$ annas) each per day. For this pay, they must turn out a certain amount of work, and for more or less than this they are rewarded or fined respectively. Very seldom is their work in excess.

Boys and girls who can show a certain amount of work, each get from 16 to 20 cents. (about $1\frac{3}{4}$ to 3 annas) a day.

The increased wages for Sunday work, on which day the work is optional, the men getting 40 cents ($6\frac{3}{4}$ annas) and the women 30 cents (about $4\frac{1}{2}$ annas) each are paid in ready cash on Monday morning.

Coming to work done on contract on all rubber estates for tapping rubber, and on some tea estates for plucking leaves, wages are calculated on the weight. The rates vary according to the products of the estates. They vary from half a cent to $1\frac{1}{2}$ cents ($1/200$ of a rupee to $1/70$ of a rupee) on each ounce of rubber, and 1 cent to $1\frac{1}{2}$ cent ($1/100$ of a rupee to $1/70$ of a rupee) on each pound of tea leaves.

An industrious cooly can make about 50 cents (8 annas) a day by tapping rubber. By plucking tea leaves by contract, he can get 25 cents.

Some men working 26 days in a month without being in bed make $10\frac{1}{2}$ rupees, while many make only $7\frac{1}{2}$ rupees. Women in the same way can make $6\frac{1}{2}$ rupees, and boys and girls between 4 and 5 rupees.

Men and a few women, engaged in the work of tapping rubber, can earn from 12 to 15 rupees and from 8 to 10 rupees respectively.

The above figures cannot be said to be the average income of the coolies if their consequent illness and the time, when women cannot work, are taken into consideration. Most coolies do not get more than three rupees in cash a month. Even those employed in the paying work of tapping rubber get only between 5 and 6 rupees a month in cash. On a tea estate, the accountant showed me the check roll in which I found the wages earned by many coolies (deducting the price of rice which had been charged Rs. 5-2-0 a bushel, and the salary of the dhoby which is 20 cents (about $3\frac{1}{2}$ annas) a month, and in a few cases certain amount for debts, to be 2 and $2\frac{1}{2}$ rupees only.

In short, the earnings of the coolies are scarcely enough to live upon.

Singhalese coolies are employed in some districts to a certain extent, and are paid much higher rates than the Indian coolies, though the former do not turn out as much work as Indian coolies. Only a small number of the Singhalese coolies live on the estate and others come from the villages.

COST OF LIVING.

In Ceylon, a cooly needs at least Rs. $8\frac{1}{2}$ a month to live upon, while in India Rs. 6 would do. The average price of a bushel of rice in Ceylon is 5 rupees, and 20 cents for the dhoby for two washes. These two items of expenditure are, of course, paid by the estate from the wages earned. I give the following table of the other necessities:—

Salt	.. 1 measure	.. 8 cents.
Dholl	.. 1 "	.. 18 "
Coriander	.. $\frac{1}{2}$ "	.. 9 "
Chilli	.. $\frac{1}{2}$ pound	.. 12 "
Tamarind fruit	.. $1\frac{1}{2}$ "	.. 18 "
Onions	.. "	.. 12 "
Cocoanuts	.. 2 "	.. 12 "
Green species of pulse	.. "	.. 9 "
Salted fish	.. $\frac{1}{2}$ "	.. 12 "
Masi	.. $\frac{1}{2}$ "	.. 18 "
Meat	.. "	.. 62 "

Mustard, saffron, etc.	.. 15 cents.
Vegetables	.. 25 "
Cocoanut oil	$\frac{1}{4}$ measure .. 18 "
Gingili oil	$\frac{1}{4}$ " .. 18 "
Lamp oil	.. 24 "
Match box	.. 1 .. 3 "
Betel	.. 12 "
Arecanut	$\frac{1}{4}$ pound .. 6 "
Tobacco	.. 15 "
Barber	one shave .. 6 "

(100 cents make one rupee.)

Add the items of rice and dhoby.

The prices of things may slightly differ in each district.

Many coolies do not earn this amount of Rs. $8\frac{1}{2}$. A cooly wants about Rs. 125 a year.

Here is the detailed account:—

Rice 13 bushels at the average rate of Rs. 5 a bushel	.. Rs. 65
Dhoby	2-40
Dhoties 3 pairs	.. 6
Upper cloths 3	.. 1
Coats 2	.. 3
Blanket 1	.. 2
Baniars 4	.. 2

Curry stuffs, etc., (compare table above.)

For women it would cost a little less. Only a small minority of coolies make more than 100 rupees a year. In some cases the earnings of the wife and junior members put together make up the living, while many run into debts.

ADVANCE AND DEBTS.

There is absolutely not a single cooly on any one estate without debts. The only question is about the difference of amount. The debt of each cooly varies from Rs. 50 to Rs. 200 and more. Seldom does a cooly owe less than Rs. 50. The average debt of a cooly is roughly Rs. 100. These debts are said to be accumulated in different ways. First, the amount advanced by the Kangani before recruiting and the travelling expenses; secondly, value of things brought from the Kangany from time to time; thirdly, cash lent by Kangany during illness and on other occasions. These debts are first entered in the hand-books of the coolies by the "Kanakkapillai" and then registered in the check roll. The cooly is defrauded in various ways. More is marked in the book than is really due. A graduate of the Madras Presidency, a reliable gentleman, tells me that when he and a few of his friends visited an estate during their pleasure trip in the planting districts, they actually heard and laughed at a

Kangani saying 8 and 5 made 15, to which the coolies assented with an "Em." One knowing the ignorance of the coolies would not be surprised at this. The coolies generally buy cloths from the Kanganies, who give them on credit. The Kanganies' prices are certainly very exorbitant. Still, the coolies prefer buying a thing at double the price on credit to paying half of the price in ready cash. Apart from the debts to the estates, the coolies have private debts of from Rs. 5 to Rs. 15 each. Coolies have a tendency to change estates and do change. Before doing so they have to pay their debts. They are always in gangs of 10 to 20. The head of a gang, called sub-Kangani, obtains a "Tundu," which gives leave to quit the estate after paying the debt marked in the "Tundu." He takes that "Tundu" to another estate and obtains that amount or more, if possible, to pay off the sundry debts and also to keep cash in hand. Out of this cash the sub-Kangani is given a good share as bonus for the negotiation. The coolies sometimes have no idea of the transaction. Thus, the coolies' debts are increased year by year.

For the debts the head Kangani is responsible to the estate, and sub-Kangani to the head Kangani, and, of course, the coolies to the sub-Kangani.

When the wife, husband or other members die, the debt of the deceased is put to the account of the living. The law does not certainly bind the wife to the husband's debt, yet this illegality freely prevails on Ceylon estates and is practised by the Kangani, the superintendents countenancing it.

The advances are seldom fully realised. The sub-Kanganies chiefly and Kanganies and, to a small degree, even the estates are said to be the losers. On federated estates a certain amount of the debts of the deceased is written off on estates account.

After a year's service, the travelling expenses of the coolies are cancelled.

It is this cursed advancing system that ruins the coolies. It prevents the estate from increasing the pay, the superintendents say. It turns Ceylon into an Andaman to coolies, for rarely, very rarely, indeed, do the coolies return to India for good. They must return home after paying off debts they are enticed to contract. How can coolies, earning 25 and 23 cents. ($4\frac{1}{2}$ and $5\frac{1}{2}$ annas) repay debts of hundreds of rupees?

A man going there is like one who is transported to the Andamans for life. This happy method of punishing rowdies has been resorted to

in Kallal, Ramnad district, by Chettiars who, wishing to get rid of them, have presented large bribes to enable recruiting officers to offer them large advances and entrap them in Ceylon for life.

FREEDOM OF COOLIES.

This is in some cases seriously interfered with, while in others it is not.

The coolies cannot easily go to courts. If the coolies are found going out of the estate for such purposes without the leave of the superintendent, they are prosecuted as bolters. Naturally, coolies do not ask leave of the superintendents to go to court against them.

Facilities for meeting friends, celebrating festivals, and performing marriages are quite satisfactory. However, outsiders, other than coolies, are not allowed to meet and talk to coolies inside the estate.

PUNISHMENT.

One is often fined half a day's or a day's wage for bad work. Caning and thrashing also prevail for bad or neglected work or for disobedience. Bolters, when caught, without warrants, are not sent to court for justice, but are punished by the superintendents. When coolies insist on getting "Tundas" and the estate cannot afford to spare them, they are punished, caned and kicked.

TREATMENT OF COOLIES.

That coolies are ill-treated is clear from the foregoing. It is supported by the fact that bolting is common. But for the wife, the little ones and watchmen, many would bolt.

The relation between employers and labourers is bad. This fact is strengthened by the great number of prosecutions before courts.

Coolies are dismissed from the estates when they become unfit for work, and are left to themselves to shift for the rest of their days.

JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION.

The coolies have many disadvantages. They do not have means to pay for legal advice, to purchase medical certificates to prove they have been assaulted, and have no assistance and do not know to defend themselves. The only witnesses they can call are their fellow-workers, who are unwilling to speak against their masters. Few magistrates attach any weight at all to the statement of the coolies. The Labour Law is too severe, absurd and inhuman. It allows rigorous imprisonment for failing to work, nay, for harbouring them out of compassion.

RECRUITING AND RECRUITERS.

The kind of work and the wages are not correctly represented to the coolies when they are

recruited, and many great things are promised. That educated men, teachers and clerks, not to speak of carpenters and engine drivers, have been captivated by the recruiters is a clear proof that they are recruited only under extremely false pretences.

On tea and cocoa estates, the recruiters get Rs. 5 on each cooly recruited, and on rubber estates Rs. 10.

A superintendent of an estate, when giving his evidence before a Commission appointed by the Ceylon Government to enquire into the conditions of Indian coolies, confessed that he gave Rs. 15 on each cooly recruited, and subsequently put that amount to the account of the coolies.

In addition to the recruiting fees, the recruiters—Kanganies—are given "pence money." On every cooly (male and female) working, the recruiters—Kanganies—get 6 cents (about one anna) a day.

For instance, if 100 coolies work a day, the Kanganis get Rs. 6 that day. On rubber estates and on some tea estates, where the wages are paid by weight, the Kanganies get so much for a certain weight, which would come to more or less the same rate as the above.

Again, in addition to recruiting fees and "pence money," the Kanganies are also decently paid. There are sub-Kanganies under Kanganies, who have their own standard arrangements, and they are also well off.

MORALS OF COOLIES.

I, as an Indian, feel ashamed to deal with this question, which constitutes the gravest blot on the system. The evil is, that the number of women is much less than that of men. Troubles among the coolies here are most common. Ah! superintendents and Kanganies have necessarily to be moved to kindness by the coolies' wives and daughters.

EDUCATION.

Only a very few estates have provided schools, while the great majority have not.

REPATRIATION.

Seldom can coolies be repatriated for good as said before. When coolies want to go home, he or she has to leave wife or husband and children as security. Without sufficient security, they cannot at all dream of their homes.

Such is a plain statement of the grievances Indian coolies experience in Ceylon, which call for kindly notice and early redress.



CUT UP-BADLY

[Kut-el-Amara has been re-captured by General Sir Frederick Maude, on February 24th. The Turks under Khalil Bey were in full retreat and were pursued by the British troops, and H. B. the Commander-in-Chief in the Imperial Council repeated General Maude's statement, that the Turkish forces, which were badly shattered, would reach Bagdad as a disorderly mob, and added that in their pursuit our troops had captured about 6,000 prisoners, and taken possession of a considerable quantity of ammunition and arms. Bagdad has been captured and occupied by the British.]

—Hindi Punch.

THE INDIAN BUDGET FOR 1917-18.

The Hon. Sir William Meyer's Budget for 1917-18 was looked forward to with quite unusual anxiety and interest in view of the strong rumours afloat that India would be called upon to contribute heavily towards the tremendous expenditure incurred for the War and bear an increased burden of taxation. Calculated on the present basis of taxation, our surplus would have been about £2½ million. But the Government of India, in consultation with the Home Government, decided to make a contribution of the sum of £100 million towards the expenses of the war. This requires the Indian Government to undertake, with effect from 1917-18, an annual charge of about £6 million, and in order to meet this new liability, the Government have resolved to raise more than £3 million by additional taxation. It is some satisfaction that the salt tax is not to be increased nor is there to be any special cess upon land. The proposal to levy a large excess-profits-tax on industrial and commercial profits enhanced by reason of the War has had to be given up.

The Government proposed to supplement the ordinary income tax by a super-tax on the largest incomes such as has been in force in England.

Ordinary rates of income-tax will remain unchanged, but people having incomes in excess of Rs. 50,000 per annum will pay a super-tax.

The rates will be in addition to the one anna income tax, so that a person possessing an income exceeding Rs. 2½ lakhs will pay in all a rate of 4 annas per rupee or 5 shillings in the £ on that excess.

The export tax on jute will be doubled.

The import duty on cotton goods is raised to 7½ per cent., the excise duty remaining at 3½.

There will be a surcharge on railway goods traffic at the rate of one pie a maund of coal, coke and firewood, and 2 pies a maund on other articles.

The new taxation then will yield:—

Super-tax on Big Incomes	£1,350,000
Additional Export Tax on Jute...	500,000
Additional Import Tax on Cotton Goods	1,000,000
Surcharge on Railway Goods Traffic	500,000
Total	£3,350,000

The estimated surplus according to the proposed budget would therefore be £130,000, which, as pointed out by Sir William Meyer, "is little enough having regard to the circumstances of the time." The Indian Finance Minister has had to make the best of a bad situation and the thanks of the people of India are due to Sir William Meyer for presenting a budget without inflicting any serious hardship on the poorer classes.

INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE WAR.

I. The Hon. Sir William Meyer.

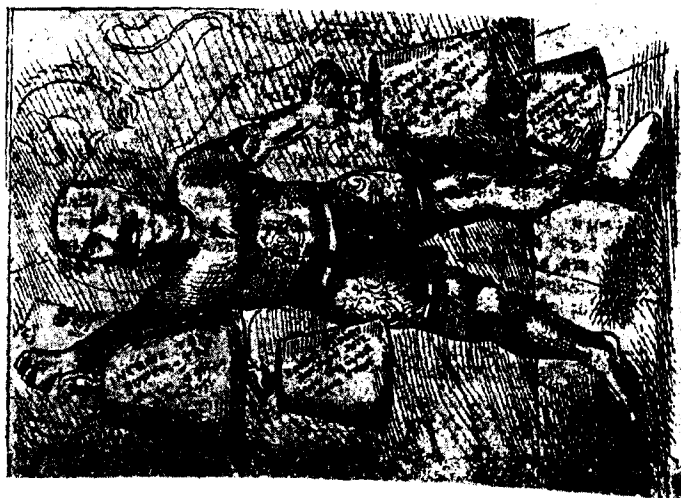
We have been subjected to much criticism in certain quarters for not contributing more than we have done, and we have been reminded in this connection of a resolution moved and carried in this Council, on the 8th September 1914, by Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis, to which Your Excellency referred in your speech on the 7th February, in which the Council expressed the opinion that 'the people of India, in addition to the military assistance now being afforded by India to the Empire, would wish to share in the heavy financial burden now imposed by the war on the United Kingdom, and request the Government of India to take this view into consideration and thus to demonstrate the unity of India with the Empire.' Also of a further resolution, moved and carried on the 24th February 1915, by Mr. M. S. Das, which affirmed the 'unswerving resolution of Indians to support the honour, dignity and prestige of the Empire regardless of the sacrifices it may entail on them.' We have been told that it is a very inadequate compliance with the spirit of these Resolutions to be merely bearing the normal peace cost of the expeditionary forces which we have despatched over-seas; and we have been accused, with reference to remarks made in paragraph 14 of my speech introducing the last financial Statement and paragraph 5 of that introducing the final Budget, of having tried to squeeze His Majesty's Government in respect even of these normal charges.

Well, I must remind these critics that Section 22 of the Government of India Act forbids the application of the revenues of India to defraying the expenses of any military operations carried on beyond our external frontiers otherwise than for preventing or repelling actual invasion or under some other sudden or urgent necessity, and that the specific consent of both Houses of Parliament is requisite to set these provisions aside. As the law stands, the whole cost of the expeditionary forces supplied from India was, therefore, primarily debitable to His Majesty's Government, as had been the case, for example, in regard to the troops we lent for operations in South Africa during the Boer War, and in China about the same time. We felt, however, that in the circumstances of the present war, we could not properly claim such full payment, and accordingly, after the passing of Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis' resolution, which I may say was brought forward with the full cognisance and approval of Lord Hardinge's Government, we proposed that we should bear the normal charges. Resolutions to this effect were passed in both Houses of Parliament, first in September 1914, and, again, in November of that year, and the latter resolution governs India's present contribution in money to the war. Its terms are as follows:—

'That, His Majesty having directed military forces charged upon the revenues of India to be despatched out of India for service in the war in which this country is engaged, this House consents that the ordinary pay and other ordinary charges of any troops so despatched or that may be so despatched during the continuance of the war as well as the ordinary charges of any vessels belonging to the Government of India that may be employed in these expeditions, which would have been charged upon the resources of India if such troops or vessels had remained in that country or seas adjacent,



LOYALTY AND PATRIOTISM
[Parting with her jewellery to serve the Empire in her hour of need.]
—Hindi Punch.



A FEAT OF STRENGTH BY THE GREAT ACHORAT MEYER
[Without imposing a new cess on land or a higher tax on salt, Sir William Meyer has made provisions for new taxation in the Indian Budget for 1917-18.]
—Hindi Punch.

shall continue to be so chargeable provided that, if it shall be necessary to replace the troops or vessels so withdrawn by other vessels or forces, then the expenses of raising, maintaining, and providing such vessels and forces shall be repaid out of any moneys which may be provided by Parliament for the purposes of the said expeditions.

So long as this resolution is in force, His Majesty's Government and we are equally bound by it, and we can neither increase nor decrease the amount of financial assistance which we render in accordance with its terms. In effect, what the resolution lays down is that, although we sent a large number of our best troops out of the country at a time when mere considerations of local safety might well have dictated their remaining here, we pay for them just as if they were still employed in India and at our beck and call.

Further, as regards what constitute 'normal charges' in respect of the many items of expenditure involved, we are bound to satisfy our auditor-general as to the correctness of the classification or to submit his objections for the decision of the Secretary of State. There have consequently been discussions with His Majesty's Government in regard to the proper interpretation of the term "normal charges" in respect of various items, some of the more important of which were mentioned in the portions of my speeches above referred to. But in every case the discussion has been of the most friendly nature, and whenever there was any reasonable doubt, we have been very willing that the decision should be given against ourselves. I may add that the War Office have cordially acknowledged the fairness and clearness with which the accounts have been compiled on this side, and the credit for this is primarily due to Mr. B. N. Mitra, C.I.E., the Controller of War Accounts.

The gross amount that we shall thus have contributed up to the end of the present year may be taken at £19 million; but against this must be set charges relating to British troops actually serving in India which are being borne by the Imperial Government in pursuance of the provision in the resolution of both Houses of Parliament, that the cost of substituted troops (territorial and garrison battalions) shall be borne by the Home Government. With that adjustment, our total net contribution towards the cost of the war in respect of the Expeditionary Forces is about £11½ million up to the end of the current year, to which we must add another £4 million estimated in respect of 1917-18.

It has also to be borne in mind that quite apart from these charges, we have had to add to our military expenditure very considerably in connection with the war, which has, in particular, rendered it necessary to take special measures for the protection of the North-West frontier. I need not go into details here, but will let the lump figures of military expenditure speak for themselves. The last budget framed under peace conditions, that for 1914-15, assumed a total net military expenditure of £20½ million, which was higher than the outlay for any preceding year subsequent to 1908-07. In 1915-16, the net military expenditure amounted to £22½ million; in the current year, as I have already explained, it has run up to nearly £25½ million, while we expect it to amount to close on £28 million in 1917-18. The bulk of the increased expenditure thus shown is directly attributable to circumstances connected with the war, and with the precautionary attitude which further possibilities have forced upon us.

It has also to be remembered that we have been put to very considerable additional expenditure, in conjunction with His Majesty's Government, by reason of the political situation in Persia set up by the war. The total additional cost thus thrown upon us may be taken at £1,200,000 from the commencement of the war up to March 1918.

We have further, as I have already indicated, had to strain our resources very seriously, and to impose prejudicial limitations on legitimate trade activities, in order to finance very heavy charges in this country on account of His Majesty's Government, while we have re-lent them a large part of our recoveries by taking up Treasury Bills through the Paper Currency and Gold Standard Reserves. In all, as I showed in paragraph 37, we have since the beginning of the war put £46½ million into British war securities, of which £35 million represents wholly new investment. And, in 1917-18, we expect that our anticipatory payments for the Home Government will be about as heavy as in the current year, while we must anticipate a recurrence of the attendant difficulties.

Finally, at the cost of cutting down our capital expenditure programme to the quick, we have abstained from indenting on the home money market with the intention of leaving it free for His Majesty's Government's loan operations. Thus, in 1915-16, allowing for the discharge of debt, our net borrowings in London amounted only to a sum of £2 million, while in the current year we are making no fresh sterling borrowing, but are on the contrary redeeming £7½ million of previous debt. Nor do we propose to indent on the home market in any way in the coming year.

We have been reproached in certain quarters for not having taken steps, a year or two ago, to float a special war loan in India, the proceeds of which would have gone to His Majesty's Government. I need only say that we carefully considered the desirability of such action and came to the conclusion that it was at that time not expedient. That conclusion, as the Secretary of State announced some time ago in the House of Commons, was fully accepted by His Majesty's Government, who realised that the best assistance we could then give was to abstain from borrowing in the home market and rely on India for our own essential requirements.

I now revert to the question whether we might have done more in respect of direct contribution to His Majesty's Government, with reference to Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis' resolution of September 1914. The answer is that the situation at that time did not permit it. Our finances had been most gravely dislocated by the war: We were faced not merely by a large decrease in revenue but by a very serious drain on our Post Office Savings Bank deposits, which had compelled us to borrow £7 million from the Gold Standard Reserve, while the Secretary of State had incurred £7 million of temporary debt in London. In framing the Budget for 1915-16, again, we were faced by what we thought would be a heavy deficit, and having regard to political and financial considerations, Lord Hardinge's Government felt strongly that it was necessary at that time to avoid additional taxation. In connection with a Budget for the current year, such taxation had become a necessity, but the position on the North-West frontier was still so uncertain that we could not safely undertake fresh direct liabilities in connection with the prosecution of the war outside India. We had still, moreover, heavy temporary debt liabilities, £4 million remaining due to the Gold Standard Reserve, while we did not then see our way to

repaying more than £1½ million of the Secretary of State's India Bills.

We have always felt, however, that if and when our circumstances warranted this, we should take up the question of making a further direct contribution by India towards a struggle in which her own political and economic future is so closely involved, and throughout which her trade and security have been so materially assisted by the command of the sea established by His Majesty's Navy; and we have been in constant touch with His Majesty's Government in regard to this matter. We hold that the time has now come at which we can safely put our wish into effect, and thereby gratify still further the patriotic feelings unanimously expressed in this Council on the occasion of the resolutions moved by Sir G. Chitnavis and Mr. M. S. Das. We are able to do this without misgiving, since we have now, as I have already explained, cleared off the whole of our temporary liabilities, and have accumulated balances strong enough to enable us to carry out our reduced capital expenditure programme without further borrowing in India on our own account next year.

Accordingly, at the beginning of January, Your Excellency addressed a telegram to the Secretary of State, from which I quote the following passage:—

'I feel, and I speak throughout with the cordial and unanimous assent of my colleagues that the time has come for India to place her credit and her taxable capacity at the disposal of His Majesty's Government, to be utilised to the farthest extent which her limited resources and a just appreciation of the circumstances of her people render practicable, and in such time and manner as His Majesty's Government may deem expedient. We are prepared to borrow, in India, as a war loan for His Majesty's Government, the largest sum which can be raised, and to offer for this purpose terms no less liberal than those which have been granted in England. If it should be found that Indian credit can also be usefully employed elsewhere, we should gladly assent to its being so employed, and in so far as the aggregate funds which India can thus directly borrow for the use of His Majesty's Government constitute a contribution not adequately proportioned to her resources, we propose that she should also undertake the service of a portion of the existing British war debt. In this spirit, and in the confidence that such an offer will evoke a generous response from the Princes and Peoples of India, we have addressed ourselves to the task of defining practical possibilities.'

The telegram went on to indicate that we were prepared to accept an ultimate total special contribution of £100 million to the war, and to put forward proposals for increasing our resources in order to meet the consequent recurring liabilities, which may be taken at £6 million a year allowing for the gradual extinction of this debt by a sinking fund. Deducting from this £100 million the amount raised by our borrowing in India for the benefit of His Majesty's Government, and by any special issues which that Government might think it desirable for us to undertake elsewhere, we would liquidate the balance by taking over a portion of the Home War debt.

His Majesty's Government have gratefully accepted this offer, and the £100 million we are thus contributing amounts, I may point out, to nearly double our total Imperial revenue as it stood before the war.—*Budget Speech, March 1, 1917.*

II. The Hon. Pundit M. M. Malaviya.

Men's memories are short and there has been a persistent and regrettable attempt on the part of some people and papers, both here and in England, to belittle the support which India has rendered to the cause of the Empire and of the Allies in this unprecedented war. While we feel grateful that our trade and security have been materially assisted by the command of the sea established by His Majesty's navy, it seems to be forgotten in some quarters that the timely help of the troops and officers, whom India had trained and maintained for years and at enormous expense, was of inestimable value in saving the cause of the Allies in the early days of the war, and that but for that help the prestige of the Empire might have been in serious jeopardy in the East. Though the actual numbers have not been published, I believe I am not wrong in saying that since the war began, India has placed over 25,000 trained soldiers in the service of His Majesty's Government. She has rendered invaluable aid by furnishing supplies of all sorts of foodstuffs, clothing, ordnance, equipment, and munitions by training and despatching horses, by lending to the Admiralty a great part of her Royal Indian Marine fleet, and by fitting out transports. As the Hon'ble the Finance Member said in his statement, the other day, our total net contribution towards the cost of the war in respect of the Expeditionary Forces is about £11½ million up to the end of the current year and £4 million more will be added to it by the end of the next financial year. Besides this, owing to the war, our military expenditure has risen from £20½ millions in 1914-15 to £25½ millions and will amount to close on £26 millions in 1917-18. We have also had to incur expenditure to the extent of £1,200,000 in Persia, owing to the political situation set up there by the war. In addition to all this we have since the beginning of the war put £46½ millions into British war securities, of which £35 millions represent wholly new investments. When our unkind critics seek to belittle our contributions to the war by comparing them with those of the Self-Governing Dominions, they seem to forget that, unlike the Dominions, we have throughout our connection with the Empire borne our own share of the military burdens. All this has been done not only by maintaining a high level of taxation, but by raising it higher and higher, and is it too much to ask that those who desire that India should make a further direct contribution to the war might, in fairness to her, say so without belittling what she has already done.

Till last year Government set their face resolutely against a special war loan and, if I may say so, they had the best of reasons for doing so. In my humble judgment, the most substantial of those reasons have neither disappeared, nor have they lost their force. The only change that has taken place is that £11½ millions of our debt has been paid, but the Secretary of State and the Government of India have now come to the conclusion that it is expedient to float such a big loan. That decision must now be carried out, in view of the official circumstances of the case. I support the proposal that we should make a further direct contribution to the war. I am at one with the Government here.—*Speech in the Imperial Council, March 7, 1917.*

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN ANCIENT INDIA.*

This is an attempt at constructing a full and connected picture of the ancient Indian polity obtaining between 500 B.C. and 500 A.D., with the help of the Vedic and Buddhist religious literature, the shastras, the epics and the dramas, and the accounts of foreign travellers. The book is written in a simple and clear style, and will be found very useful to the college students. The present edition is rather costly and seems to be intended mainly for libraries. A popular edition, bringing it within the reach of the average Indian student, would be much appreciated.

The book is divided into a number of chapters, which are necessarily of varying interest and importance. Its perusal will show how well developed and efficient was public administration in ancient India. Professor K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, of Trivandram, in his Sir Subramania Aiyar Lecture, of 1914, referred to certain historical prejudices and superstitions of Western scholars in the following passage:—

First, among these is the assumption that in India political conditions have ever been uniform and homogeneous. Next, comes the old belief on the unchanging character of the East—China and Japan alone recently excepted—to which even so subtle a thinker as Mr. Balfour has professed adherence. Then we have the allied opinion that, excepting perhaps for some forms of poetry, almost the only talent of India was for metaphysical speculation and that the characteristic of India in the realm of practical life has been an invulnerable quietism. This opinion has now risen to the rank of a tenet of historical orthodoxy.

Dr. Banerjea's book, like Professor Rangaswami's lecture, shows how unfounded every one of these notions is.

Ancient India had not one form of government; there were republics, oligarchies and monarchies. Tribal government was common even in the time of Alexander's invasion. But as the size of the State increased, monarchy displaced all the other forms of government as it did in ancient Greece and Rome. The monarchy also was a kind of limited monarchy.

There were various checks on the authority of the monarch. The king had to abide by the law as laid down in the Shastras or embodied in the customs of the country. In the practical work of administration he was guided by his ministers, who occupied an important position in society and wielded the real power in the State. Then, there was the influence of the learned Brahmanas as a class, who were looked upon by the people as the natural guardians of society. . . The Shastras

* Public Administration in Ancient India. By Dr. Parmathanath Banerjee. 7s. 6d. net: Macmillan & Co.

he regarded as embodying a sort of political constitution as well as ethical law, and the ancient system may thus be called a constitutional monarchy—the checks being more moral than political.

In the Vedic and early Buddhist days, kings were elected and deposed, and even after the hereditary principle had been universally adopted, an incompetent or diseased heir was sometimes passed over in favour of a near relative, a brother, uncle or someone else. The theory of the divine origin of kings was a later growth. The king was the chief of the nation, not the owner of the land. He received the land and other taxes only in return for services.

The conception of the king as the servant of the State was one of the basic principles of political thought in ancient India. Thus Bodhayana says: 'Let the king protect (his) subjects receiving as his pay a six part (of their income).'

Several other authorities, including Chanakya, the author of the *Arthashastra*, are given.

The Aitareya Brahmana prescribes the following oath for the king: 'Whatever good I have done (during my life), my position (in the next world), my life and my progeny be taken from me if I oppress you.' The Mahabharata tells the king: 'Take the oath in mind, word and deed, namely, I shall always look to the welfare of the country regarding it as the supreme being. Whatever is law and whatever is prescribed by the rules of ethics and politics, I shall always abide by. I shall never be independent.'

When the heir-apparent attained proper age, he was made the Yuvaraja or Crown Prince, and given special training in administration. He learnt the political sciences under learned professors and acquired practical knowledge by serving on the great council of the king, or as governor of a province or as a commander in the army.

There were assemblies and councils, which advised the king on all important matters and occasions. In the South Indian State of Kerala, according to the *Mani-Mekalai*:—

During the first and second centuries of the Christian era there were five assemblies, namely, (1) the assembly of the people, which consisted of representatives of the people summoned from the various parts of the State and which acted as a check on the king; (2) the assembly of the priests who directed the religious ceremonies of the State; (3) the assembly of the physicians which acted as a sort of board of public health; (4) the assembly of the astrologers who fixed auspicious times for the public ceremonies; and (5) the assembly of the ministers, whose chief duties consisted in the collection and disbursement of revenue and the administration of justice.

The council of the ministers was, of course, the most important, being the cabinet where, however the responsibility was individual and not collective, each minister being answerable to the king.

COOLIES.

BY

"GRYLLUS DOMESTICUS."

*Heu miserande puer!**Virgil. Aeneidos lib. VI.*

A piece of cloth tied round the head,
And a basket of iron, or cane,
For carrying earth—or a hat instead—
Or to shelter from sun, and rain—
See reader here, in a splash of the pen,
The foremost of India's laboring men.

That road on which you walk, ride, and bike,
That causeway of granite black,
With pointed stones in two long rows,
O'er which in the monsoon the river flows,
And which also serves as a dyke,

That railroad track,
And that bridge with girders—a hundred tons—
Those buildings five and six stories high,
That tunnel through which the railway runs,
Those great mill chimneys piercing the sky,

That church with steepled bell,
And the yellow wall of the cemetery,
And every grave as well,
And every tombstone you may see—

Look round about—
There's nothing in brick, or stone, or lime,
To the house in which you dwell—
If it had a tongue it would cry out:—

"At some place, or some time,
That poor man there with his mother wit,
That laboring man had a hand in it—
With only a cloth tied round his head,
And a basket of iron, or cane,
For carrying earth—or a hat instead—
Or to shelter from sun, and rain
And a little cloth bundle in which he takes
His breakfast of dry jawari cakes."

Our political reformers will be interested to know that in ancient India the police force was kept in an efficient condition by being required to make good the value of stolen articles in case where they failed to trace the thieves. The Agni Purana says:

The king should pay the owner the price of an article stolen by a thief and reimburse himself out of the salaries of police officers.

The system of the administration of justice was well developed. At the head of the judicial system was the King's Court, which was occasionally presided over by the King himself, but generally by a learned Brahmana assisted by three or four other judges. This court had original jurisdiction over the capital and received appeals from the lower courts, which were established in all important towns and headquarters of districts and sub-districts. These courts had their judges appointed by the central government and received appeals from still lower courts in the districts. Lastly, there were the village courts, each composed of the head-man and elders of the village. Dr. Banerjea tells us that there were professional lawyers in ancient India, whose fee, according to Sukra, was to be one-sixteenth of the value of the suit.

The sources of the State revenues were various, and some of them are certainly repugnant to modern ideas. Brahmanas were exempted from all taxation, and the military expenditure was very high. As Professor Rangaswami Aiyangar says:—

It is mainly on this account that benevolences, and the fruits of trickery, as well as the existence of State-workshops, institutions for foreign and municipal trade maintained by the State for its own profit, the monopolies in the manufacture and sale of intoxicants, in precious stones and metals, in horses and elephants (referred to by Megasthenes), in salt, in the produce of mines and the forests, the institution of State brothels and gambling dens, and the complicated tariff of import and export duties were all equally acceptable to writers like Kautilya, who likewise apparently reflecting the practice of their day do not hesitate even to recommend them.

Taxes and rents were sometimes remitted in order to encourage the people to repair tanks and canals. Many departments of service had been created, some of which like the forest, agricultural and accounts departments, we are prone to believe, as institutions peculiar to the British administration of India.

The annual accounts of every department were regularly submitted to the accounts department, and after they had been examined by the superintendent they were audited by competent auditors. They were then submitted to the ministers in charge of the different departments, and considered by them sitting together as a cabinet.

THE WORLD OF BOOKS.

[ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION.]

Considerations on some Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity. By Prof. K. V. Rangaswamy Aiyangar. Sir Subrahmanya Iyer Lecture, Madras University.

The book under review is a very valuable one and throws light on a very important but obscure branch of Indian culture. Every student of Indian literature and history knows how the science and art of government had been carried to a high state of perfection in ancient India, though they have now to be brought into line with the highest political ideas of the West and applied to the needs of modern life. The learned author first discusses the sources of information on the matter and classifies them under six heads: religious, political, historical, literary, philological and astronomical. In the second lecture he says: "Some implications of this attempt to define the State should also be borne in mind. The first is that *unity* is the inseparable feature of the State and has to be preserved at all costs. The second, naturally following the first, is that the normal form of government is *monarchy*. The third is that the administration is highly specialised. The fourth is that the State rests on a territorial basis. The fifth is that it imagines small States, and the last is that it is founded on a weak international law." A famous chapter in the *Ramayana* shows what a lofty conception of the State and the institution of kingship the great minds of India's past had and proclaimed; and all our books on Indian polity declare that Dharma rules alike both kings and subjects and show the existence of an excellent and highly organised judicial machinery. The learned author shows how the aim of the Indian State was to preserve the Society and the State in conformity with the established moral order of the universe. This book of lectures is rendered even more valuable by his scholarly notes.

Confessions of a Thug. By Colonel Meadows Taylor. Oxford University Press, Bombay. Colonel Meadows Taylor's "Confessions of a Thug" is already a classic in historical literature, and the Oxford University Press have done well to include it in their well-known "World's Classics." Mr. C. W. Stewart, B.A., has supplied a judicious introduction and glossary. This handy and pocket edition will now be easily accessible to every lover of historical romance.

The Population Problem in India. By P. K. Wattal, M.A. Bennet Coleman & Co., Ltd., Bombay. (Re. One. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.)

Mr. Wattal's interesting study of the "Population Problem in India" is provocative of a multitude of thoughts. He deals with figures and statistics with perfect ease, and carries the reader through the controversy with great agility. Students of political economy are familiar with the laws of supply and demand, and Mr. Wattal's "Study of the Population Problem in India," with reference to the available means of subsistence opens up a vista of interesting social and economic controversies. It is impossible to give an adequate estimate of Mr. Wattal's extraordinary deductions, but it cannot be doubted that they afford food for ample reflection to the sociologist. Some of his conclusions and remedies may not be quite palatable to the orthodox school of economists, but no one can deny the urgency and importance of the problems propounded by Mr. Wattal's inestimable study of the great question of the poverty of India.

Auto-Suggestion. By Herbert A. Parkyn, M.D., C.M. Published by L. N. Fowler and Company, London, E.C.

This thoughtful little book supplies new methods of bodily and mental healing. Dr. Parkyn, the author, explains the principles of Auto-Suggestion or Self-Suggestion which, in his practice, has helped to cure general obstinate cases of illness. That the mind largely controls the bodily organs, internal and external, cannot be denied at this time of day, and the best reply to critics of this system of cure is the number of concrete examples where the cures have been undoubted. We may refer to the Series of "Optimistic Suggestions," at pp. 88-89, to illustrate the author's methods.

Modern Weapons of War by Land, Sea and Air. By Cyrill Hall. Messrs. Blackie and Sons, London.

In this book the author has avoided as far as possible the use of too technical language and has described and explained to his readers the various weapons and how they are manipulated. It is exceedingly difficult in a book of this sort to avoid its being a mere descriptive catalogue, but the author has more or less successfully done so, for instance, in explaining the highly complicated working of a big gun or a battleship, he simply takes his readers into action with him and gives them quite an exciting time.

The Tilak Case, 1916. Edited by D. V. Gokhale, B.A., LL.B. The Printing Agency, Poona City.

This is a handy volume of 200 pages, containing a complete text of the proceedings against Mr. Tilak, commencing chronologically from the order of the District Magistrate to the date of the judgments in his favour, cancelling the execution of the bonds of security. The book opens with a handsome frontispiece containing pictures of Mr. Tilak, Mr. Kelkar and Mr. Karandikar, followed by those of the judges and lawyers, who took part in the great trial. A verbatim translation of Mr. Tilak's speeches is also given.

The Efficient Life. By Luther H. Gulick, M.D. Published at Garden City, New York, by Doubleday, Page and Company.

This is a vigorously written book on general principles of health, and offers practical suggestions and methods for keeping the body efficient. The author gives sound advice on exercise, sleep, eating, medicines and other usual topics, which enter into the question of sound bodily functions, and his treatment is characterised by great practicality and wisdom. He avoids hackneyed directions which are seldom fit to be carried out, and there is a healthy tone about the whole book that enlists our attention and regard.

Glimpses of the Bhagavat-Gita and the Vedanta Philosophy. By M. W. Burway, Esq., B.A., Judge, Small Cause Court, Indore.

This is an edition of the text and translation of the Bhagavat-Gita, with an introduction of 128 pages, wherein the author discusses the true principles and doctrines set out in this sacred work. The author maintains that the Gita is an exposition of the Adwaita Philosophy, as taught in the Upanishads and by Shankaracharya. At the same time it is as full of practical wisdom as of speculative law. The author strongly criticises the views of Pandit Tatwabhushan on the teachings of the Gita and the historicity of Sri Krishna, and exhorts his readers not to be influenced by the shallow criticisms of foreign critics and their Indian followers. The author rightly deplores caste dissensions, and points out that they are inconsistent with the lofty principles of the Gita. The introduction will repay perusal by all interested in Hindu religion and philosophy. The text is in bold Devanagari type, and the translation is simple and readable, and mainly follows that of Mrs. Annie Besant.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

TALKS WITH GOLDEN CHAIN LINKS. By Ethel M. Whyte. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar.

SEA WARFARE. By Rudyard Kipling. Macmillan & Co., London.

THE HIGH PRICE OF SUGAR AND HOW TO REDUCE IT. By Harold Hamel Smith. Bale, Sons & Danielsson Ltd., London.

AUSTRO-MAGYAR JUDICIAL CRIMES WITH A PREFACE. By William Joynson-Hicks, M.P. H. Howes & Co., Ltd., London.

NATURAL HEALTH versus ARTIFICIAL HEALTH. By Satis Chandra Lahiri, B.A. Metcalfe Press, Calcutta.

POINTS OF CONTROVERSY. Translation of Katha Vattu. By Sheve Zan Aung, B.A., and Mrs. Rhys Davids, M.A. Pali Text Society, London.

THE ESSENTIALS OF A UNIVERSITY IN A GREAT CENTRE OF POPULATION. Government Printing, Calcutta.

STRAY BIRDS. By Dr. Sir Rabindranath Tagore. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London.

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF REMY OLLIER. By A. F. Fokeer, Port Blair, Mauritius.

BOOKS RELATING TO INDIA.

THE MAXIMS OF TIRUVALLUVAR. By V. V. S. Aiyar. 89, Dharmaraja Coil St., Pondicherry. Price Rs. 2-12-0.

EVIDENCE: A POCKET BOOK OF CASE LAW RELATING TO EVIDENCE IN BRITISH INDIA. By Arthur Eggar, B.A., Bar-at-Law. Higginbothams Ltd. Madras.

MAHARANA KUMBHA. By Har Bilas Sarda, F.R.S.L. Ajmere.

ZARATHUSHTRA AND THE BUDDHA. By Miss D. J. Stephen. THE C.L.S.I. Madras.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF THE LATE R. JAGAHNADHA SASTRY. By R. Satyanarayana. Chodavaram, Vizagapatam.

OBSERVATIONS ON INDIAN HOME RULE. By R. G. Pradhan, B.A., LL.B. Satara.

REPORT ON THE OPERATIONS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE, MADRAS PRESIDENCY. Government Press, Madras.

STUDIES IN THE TEACHING OF CHRIST (Tamil). By Rev. Sydney Cave, B.A., B.D. THE C.L.S.I., Madras.

THE LIFE OF CHANDRALELA (Telugu). THE C.L.S.I., Madras.

DIARY OF THE MONTH.

- February 22. The southern portion of the Sanna-i-yat position in Mesopotamia was captured in the first assault to-day.
- February 23. Operations on the Tigris and successful crossing of the stream in the neighbourhood of Shumran Bend.
- February 24. Capture of the Shumran Peninsula and retreat of the enemy in the direction of Bashallah.
- February 25. The whole of the enemy position from Sanna-i-yat to Kut-el-Amara has been secured. Kut itself has fallen.
- February 26. In the Congress to-day, President Wilson asked authority to establish armed neutrality.
- February 27. Public meeting of the women of Bombay to protest against the continuance of the Indenture System was held at Madhav Baug with Lady Pherozeshah Mehta in the chair.
- February 28. At to-day's meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council, H. E. the Commander-in-Chief presented the report of the Select Committee on the Defence of India Force Bill.
- March 1. The Indian budget and India's contribution of £100 millions to the cost of war. Successful raids on the Ancre. German evacuation of Gommecourt. German intrigues in Mexico exposed.
- March 2. The Mexican revelation of German intrigue and Japan's spirited repudiation. Sinking of Dutch ships.
- March 3. The Allied Ministers have presented a memorandum to the Chinese Government sympathising with its attitude towards Germany.
- March 4. Second Lieutenant F. I. Thesiger, Field Artillery, heir of H. E. the Viceroy, has been wounded.
- March 5. H. E. the Viceroy received a deputation of the Press Association of India at the Viceregal Lodge this morning.
- March 6. Startling revelations of German attempts to kill President Wilson and dynamiting factories. The President's appeal for united action.
- March 7. Meeting of the Viceregal Council passed many important resolutions—those on India's contribution and super-tax, etc.
- March 8. Great recruiting meeting at Madras, with Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyar in the chair.

- March 9. A largely attended meeting of Indian Ladies was held at the Ram Mohan Library, under the presidency of Lady J. C. Bose, to protest against the continuance of indenture.
- March 10. It is announced that Sir Harcourt Butler succeeds Sir James Meston as Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, while Sir Reginald Craddock will take up the Lieutenant-Governorship of Burma.
- March 11. British occupation of Bagdad. The *Times* testimony to Indian heroism. Lancashire Deputation to Mr. Chamberlain re : Indian cotton tariffs.
- March 12. Prohibition of labour emigration from India under the Defence Act.
- March 13. Mr. Chamberlain moves in the House of Commons that the Indian war gift of £100 millions be accepted.
- March 14. H. E. the Viceroy publishes a special message regarding the War Loan. Similar messages from Lord Carmichael, Sir William Meyer, Sir Reginald Craddock, Sir G. S. Barnes, and Sir Claude Hill also appear.
- March 15. Surprising news of the abdication of the Czar is announced in the House of Commons by Mr. Bonar Law; the Grand Duke Michael is appointed regent.
- March 16. The Russian national ministry has been formed. British occupation of Bapaume.
- March 17. Post-War Reform Meeting at Madras, with Dewan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai in the chair.
- March 18. German retreat in the Western front. British troops are entering Peronne. The French have taken over 1,000 Bulgarian prisoners.
- March 19. The French Cabinet has resigned. M. Ribet is forming a new cabinet.
- March 20. The first meeting of the Imperial War Cabinet was held to-day in London at the Premier's house.
- March 21. The American steamer *Healdton* was torpedoed to-day. Seven survivors arrived at the Hague. Rioting in Berlin is reported.
- March 22. Stubborn battle in Galicia. Franco-British forces nearing St. Quentin. Allied gains in the Balkans.
- March 23. Great War Loan Meeting at the Senate House, Madras, H. E. the Governor presiding. About two lakhs of rupees were subscribed on the spot.

TOPICS FROM PERIODICALS

INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE WAR.

Mr. Yusuf Ali, writing in the February issue of *The Nineteenth Century and After*, explains all the various phases of India's contribution to Britain in this war and dispels from the English mind the belief that her effort in the war has not been commensurate with her resources, and that her claim to Imperial partnership is neither an idle dream nor a source of potential weakness to the Empire. The fighting resources of India have done and are doing untold service throughout the far flung British battle line. "With the Canadians the Indian ranks have fought at Ypres; with the Anzacs they were in Gallipoli. They fought against terrible odds in East Africa before General Smuts brought over his triumphant troops from South Africa. Their magnificent work in Mesopotamia, in comradeship with the British troops and in face of many discouraging factors, has been recognised in the highest quarters. . . . Indians are proud of the stand which their countrymen made in Mesopotamia."

India's financial resources, both public and private, such as they are, are being thrown into the pool. Besides her direct contributions, India has given or released millions in short-time loans and has helped most substantially by refraining from borrowing in every available market at the sacrifice of her own needs and interests. "In estimating India's contribution to the military financing of this war, we must not merely look at the figures of the extra expenditure she is now incurring, but also at her military budget for years past, compared to her local needs and to her own resources, in aid of Imperial defence." India's pre-War insurance for Imperial defence was £18 millions annually, at nearly the rate of 22 per cent. to the total budget revenue. There has been, since the War, a good deal of expansion in India's military budget, a rise of £4 millions per annum. The military charges incurred in connection with Indian troops, when they are out of Indian territory, something like £8 millions annually, are borne directly by the Indian Exchequer. India's chief wealth consists at present in her raw produce, and she has placed this freely at the service of the Empire and its Allies, at considerable self-sacrifice. "Her food-stuffs have had their influence on the British markets. Her jute has made, and is making, sandbags for the Allied trenches. Her mineral resources, such as

manganese and coal, have been of the utmost value. . . . Such manufacturing facilities as India possesses have been concentrated in the making of munitions and stores of war, and Government and Railway workshops, as well as private works and technical schools, have put their quota in the common effort."

Mr. Yusuf Ali then criticises the existing military system of India, and suggests several feasible measures for a substantial expansion in India's powers of offence and defence in an Imperial scheme. The present War has shown a shortage of officers, military and the military-medical reserves; and the old-fashioned prejudices which restrict Indian enlistment to a few races deemed warlike, and have to look outside the country for a great portion of the supply of Sepoys, has resulted in a lamentable falling off in recruiting in peace-time. And it is necessary that new sources should be tapped. The so-called volunteer force is practically closed to Indians. It is only the other day, as will be seen from the Viceroy's speech printed elsewhere in this issue, that a Bill to form a United Indian Volunteer Corps was moved in the Imperial Legislative Council by H. E. the Commander-in-Chief. The Anglo-Indians, and the sprinkling of Indian Christians, are not in numbers, physique or education, the stuff which would feed a first-class army. Indian public opinion is ready for a substantial expansion in India's powers of offence and defence in an Imperial scheme, provided that certain elementary conditions are fulfilled. Trust in Indians, improvement in the conditions of enlistment and service for Indian officers and men, the removal of colour and religious bars for Indians, the opening of Commissions to them, the re-examination of recruiting fields in the light of the new evolution of Indian society; the throwing of the weight of Indian defence more and more on the citizens of British India and less and less on the trans-frontier tribes, the making of India self-contained as regards the manufacture of rifles, gunpowder and munitions of war, the development of the Indian Marine into an Indian Navy, on the lines of the Australian Navy; and the building up of a strong, well-trained defence reserve—these are the primary conditions which must be fulfilled, and their fulfilment depends upon those who hold the key of Imperial authority.

FRENCH NATIONALISM.

Dr. H. A. L. Fisher, Vice-Chancellor of Sheffield University, and Minister for Education in the new Government, writing in the *Hibbert Journal* of January 1917, explains the soul and nature of the French nationalist movement. French nationalism is not decisive in the sense in which the term may be applied to the strivings of the pan-Germanic idea or to the restless aspirations of the southern Slavs. It has never obtained entire control of the French Government; it was never a triumphant and overwhelming power in the sphere of opinion. Its central core of doctrine was associated not by inner necessity, but through the tissue of historic circumstances, with suspect causes, Royalism on the one hand, Ultramontanism on the other. And twice within a decade, French nationalism had associated itself with an ill-judged enterprise and experienced a resounding defeat. On the other hand, it may be said that the errors of French nationalism were the result not of corruption but of impatience. It was full of inexperience, ardour and desperate irritation; but was a vital force because it represented an instinct, a tradition and a dream.

The founder of this nationalist movement, Deroulede, was a soldier-poet, who, having fought in the campaign of 1870 as quite a young man, dedicated the remainder of his long and stirring life to the idea of national revenge. He broke through the malady of cosmopolitanism, of self-questioning, of delicate cynicism, of exact intelligent but essentially despondent labour, which hitherto had the field. He despised the great Paris Exhibitions, deeply distrusted colonial enterprises, as likely to divert the nation from its proper work of recovering Alsace-Lorraine, and poured scorn upon the whole tribe of politicians. Up to his time the atmosphere of Paris was saturated with philosophic rationalism. But he deposed from their pedestal the great captains of rationalism; and nationalism received from its catholic and literary exponents all the illustration and support which deep feeling and penetrative imagination could bestow.

"The nationalist leaven in French thought tended upon the whole to sweeten the body-politic and to rid it of some of its more rancorous humours. It is true that it administered in a very deplorable degree to foment anti-Semite prejudice; but if this aspect of its influence be deducted, the general trend of its operation was to infuse a wider and more generous tone into politics, to inculcate a spirit of comradeship, and a

higher sense of devotion to the large interests of the State, combined with a greater feeling for the historic glories of France, and for that invisible and imperious bond which binds the living to the dead in a spiritual and efficacious communion. This is the valuable side of nationalism viewed as an ethical agent. It was estimable not because it preached the hatred of Germany, but because it preached the love of France not by reason of its antagonisms but in virtue of its affinities, not because it worked for foreign war, but because it endeavoured to compose a domestic peace. Its strength lay in the fact that it did succeed in restoring to the national consciousness a vivid sense of the precious things which had been overlooked, forgotten or trampled under foot." "In general the nationalists rendered excellent service by their exaltation of all the natural forms of local and provincial piety, which had been so greatly overshadowed by the centralising policy of the revolutionary State. . . ."

The weakness of the party was on the side of constructive and practical statesmanship. It represented emotion rather than a plan. The one thing which mattered to them really was the ignominy of belonging to a vanquished and acquiescing nation, and they wished to spread a passionate full-blooded way of feeling about the national problem. On the side of emotion and sentiment, the higher type of nationalist literature contributed in a marked degree to deepen the channels of patriotic feeling and to rekindle a spirit of hope in the destinies of France. Another prominent feature in the nationalist creed was a revolt against the domination of the 'intellectuals' and, in particular, against the cast-iron system of efficient but monotonous education which is part of France's heritage from Napoleon. Patriotism, as understood by the nationalist, is first and foremost the love of a material thing of an extended space upon the globe, and an understanding which vanquishes all reactions of cold discursive intellect.

SCIENTIFIC TERMS IN TAMIL.

The journal of the Tamil Scientific Terms Society is doing a good service in giving the Tamil public an accurate and standard translation for technical English terms. The January-February number contains a list of such words, which students writing in Tamil would do well to take note of. We congratulate the conductors on their painstaking but very useful enterprise in this important work of modernising a beautiful ancient language, so as to make it suit the requirements of up-to-date technical knowledge.

AFTER-WAR ECONOMICS.

Professor A. C. Pigou, the well-known economist, writing to the *Economic Journal* (December 1916) deals with the interesting problems of how far the real rate of interest in England after the war is likely to be effected by Government's prohibition or non-prohibition of the export of British capital, and whether it is desirable that Government should prohibit or otherwise interfere with such exportation. He explains that the real rate of interest, like every other value, is determined by the interaction of the forces of supply and demand. On the supply side, we have to inquire into how far the war would have affected (1) the holding of claims to income from foreigners in the form of interest on capital lent to them in the past; and (2) the current productive power available within the country. On the demand side for capital after the war, there will be in operation (1) a considerable volume of arrears for work which would involve an increase in the domestic demand for capital; (2) a considerable demand for capital to pay off a large mass of short-time obligations to foreigners which, in one way or another, are now being incurred. If the export of capital for new enterprises abroad is prohibited after the war, there would have to be set on the other side the elimination of the large normal demand for British investments in foreign and colonial undertakings.

On the supply side of new capital, with reference to the holding of claims on foreigners, the amount of capital that Britain has called in from abroad since the war began is estimated to be more or less equal to the amount of fresh loans made by Britain to foreign countries, especially to the Allies. And the diminution in our income might be possibly, say, about £200 millions in respect of capital claims upon foreign countries, which would imply a contraction of income from abroad of perhaps £15 millions a year as against pre-war conditions; and this sum is practically negligible in view of the aggregate income-getting capacity of the nation. As regards the current productive power available within the country, we have to take note of land, industrial plant and organisation, the able-bodied and able-minded population, etc.

The equipment of industries after the war in respect of plant and machinery will be considerably below normal; though not very much smaller than what it was before the war. As regards

systems of organisation there are grounds for believing that the situation may have been actually improved by the war. Artificial and conventional barriers restraining women from working in certain occupations, injurious restrictions as to the demarcation of occupations and restrictions of output will have been removed, while the important matter of shift system will be better utilised. And it seems remarkable, on the whole, to expect a distinct improvement in industrial organisation as a direct result of the experiences of the war. The various tendencies affecting labour power cannot, of course, be balanced with any confidence; but we may be sure that the net income-getting capacity of the community after the war is not likely to differ substantially from what it was before the war. Out of this income-getting capacity, we will have to deduct (1) the portion that would be absorbed in the up-keep of armaments; (2) the absorption of a larger part of the real income in ordinary consumption owing to the inevitable increase in the dependent part of the population. After the war, the supply of new capital available in response to any given rate of interest will be somewhat smaller than before.

On the demand side, we have seen how, if the export of British capital for new enterprises is not prohibited, the aggregate demand for it is almost certain to be much larger than it was before the war. And balancing the influences of supply and demand respectively, we may say that if the export is left free, the rate of interest will almost certainly be much higher than before the war. The prohibition of free export of capital would inflict a direct and obvious injury upon those persons who are in a position to make savings, and its immediate and direct effect would probably, though not certainly, be injurious to the working classes, as it would prohibit the sending abroad of machinery, etc., which the workpeople help to make, but do not themselves buy. Freedom to export capital will certainly exercise a twofold influence in enhancing the real income of the country at a later time. No economic case could be made for forbidding the export of capital in a sweeping general way, though Government should have power to prevent obviously anti-social investments, and should be influenced by political considerations also.

IMPERIAL EDUCATION.

In the new number of *The Journal of the Society of Comparative Legislation*, Mr. Edward Jenks discusses the various aspects of the problem of Imperial education, which will press for solution at the close of the great war; as that alone will be the most effective agent in maintaining and crystallising the quickened sense of unity, which the war has engendered among the various members of the Empire. The economic requirements of the decade following the war will necessitate an enormous going to and fro of specialists in all branches of industry; and these specialists, being men of intelligence and of force of character, will unconsciously link together the communities which they serve. The first necessity in the repair of the ravages of war will be the improvement of means of communication, which will facilitate intercourse and stimulate unity and mutual understanding in the Empire. Another link of unity is the English speech, which will be associated with the minds of the nations of the Empire with all that is just and generous and profitable and picturesque. The hitherto neglected fabric of Imperial history must be built up by writers and teachers with the gift of imagination; and on it must be placed, as a golden roof of world-wide splendour, the majestic and united achievements of the great war. Even now a school of Imperial historians should be trained, who will be prepared to show how the sacrifices and triumphs of the war are but the natural sequences of generations of honest industry and upright administration and of heroic endurance and self-sacrifice, which have made the British flag respected throughout the Empire.

The British Isles should remain 'home' to all the citizens of the Empire, and a vital link of Imperial unity. The ancient Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, Dublin and Edinburgh, Aberdeen and St. Andrews, should be made, by their charm and influence, to serve as a bond of unity, of unrivalled and enduring power to unite all the educated classes of the Empire. Much has been done already by the efforts of public-spirited men and women, by extension meetings and the Rhodes Trust, to break down that spirit of exclusiveness and privilege which naturally coincided with the very worst period of academic sloth and inefficiency. Barriers of age and sex, of caste and privilege, of religious and social exclusiveness, must be swept away. It is necessary that the direct benefits and priceless essentials of the older university life should be extended to a greatly increased circle of students from all parts of the

Empire, with a consequential increase of unifying influence throughout the Empire. Many other and more familiar proposals of educational reform, like readjustment of teaching, to meet the needs and opportunities of adult students, the modernisation of curricula, a genuine co-operation among the different religious bodies, to settle ecclesiastical disputes which still disgrace education—these should be tackled with. Law may very well serve as a bond of unity; and a scheme of Imperial law study, which would build up a Common Law of Empire which, like the Common Law of England, should be the product of the best minds of the ages working in the school of experience.

ORIENTAL MONARCHIES.

In reviewing Prof. K. V. Rangaswamy Iyengar's "Considerations on some Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity" in the pages of the *Modern Review* for March, Prof. Jadu Nath Sarkar points out incidentally the essential difference between the ancient and the modern State, whether European or Asiatic. The new 'national' school of writers on Hindu polity say that in ancient India there were republics, that the king regarded himself as merely exercising a trust, that a cabinet of ministers was held to be necessary, or that the people enjoyed self-government. To the mind of the twentieth-century reader, these statements imply the direct influence of the people on the foreign policy of the State, the responsibility of the Executive to the governed, the reign of a law which emanates from a legislature representing the citizens, and the control of government by the will of the people. But every one of these latter connotations is untrue as applied to the ancient Hindu State. The professor assures us that in the ancient Indian State the people were very loosely knit, and the sovereign had no means of making his will felt effectively by the governed. It had local autonomy in parochial matters, but it did not mean the possession of representative government on popular control over the executive and national diplomacy. In ancient times, not the State, but society was omnipotent; and from the tyranny of society the only refuge was the freedom of the homeless man. The sovereign was impotent in the sense in which the modern State is omnipotent for good and evil alike. But the people were equally powerless and devoid of any apparatus for enforcing their will on the government. They could frustrate the royal mandate by passive disobedience, but their united will could not compel the king to adopt any desired line of policy.

The ancient State was weak—both people and king, the king more than the people—because the population was not homogeneous, and there was no organic connection between the king and his subjects, or between the subjects themselves. Within small tribal republics or principalities, however, the dominant race were the rulers, and the State had homogeneity though depressed indigenous races were excluded. There was no internal check on the sovereign and no means of preventing evil on his part except the dagger or the poison-cup. In this sense the term 'Oriental despotism' is as applicable to the ancient Hindu State as to the Empire of the Caesars. In the ancient East and West alike, the people accepted the rule of the Emperor, who had repelled foreign foes and who had saved the people from *Matsya Nyaya*, or who had led them on to a career of conquest. The Vedic kingship was no doubt responsible to the popular assembly of free-men, like the kingship of the ancient Teutonic tribe. But such kingdoms were exceedingly small and primitive. But when these kingdoms grew into larger States, the royal power was unlimited by any constitutional machinery of popular and ministerial control—because there was no constitution but plenty of pious wishes and counsels embodied in *Niti Sastras*.

THE INDIAN VIEW OF CONDUCT.

Srijut Aurobindo Ghosh, in the course of a series of masterly articles on the "Bhagwat Geeta" in the *Arya*, makes some interesting observations with regard to the Indian view of the science of conduct. He says:—

"Indian ethics has always seen the practical necessity of graded ideals for developing the moral and spiritual life of man. The Kshatriya ideal, the ideal of the four orders, is here placed in its social aspect, not as afterwards in its spiritual meaning. "This," says Krishna in effect, "is my answer to you if you insist on joy and sorrow and the result of your actions as your motive of action. I have shown you in what direction the higher knowledge of self and the world points you; I have now shown you in what direction your social duty and the ethical standard of your order point you, *swadharman api cha vekshya*. Whichever you consider, the result is the same. But if you are not satisfied with your social duty and the virtue of your order, if you think that leads you to sorrow and sin, then I bid you rise to a higher and not sink to a lower ideal. Put away all egoism from you, disregard

joy and sorrow, disregard gain and loss and all worldly results; look only at the cause you must serve and the work that you must achieve by divine command; so thou shalt not incur sin."

It is the creed of the Aryan fighter; "Know God," it says, "know thyself, help man; protect the Right, do without fear or weakness or faltering thy work of battle in the world. Thou art the eternal and imperishable Spirit; thy soul is here on its upward path to immortality; life and death are nothing, sorrow and wounds are nothing, for these things have to be conquered and overcome. Look not at thy own pleasure and gain and profit, but above and around, above at the shining summits to which thou climbest, around at this world of battle and trial in which good and evil, progress and retrogression are locked in stern conflict. Men call to thee, their strong man, their hero, for help; help them, fight. Destroy, when by destruction the world must advance, but hate not that which thou destroyest, neither grieve for all those who perish. Now everywhere the one Self, know all to be immortal souls and the body to be but dust. Do thy work with a calm, strong and equal spirit; fight and fall nobly or conquer mightily. For this is the work that God and thy nature have given to thee to accomplish."

INDIA IN INDIAN & FOREIGN PERIODICALS.

THE ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION OF THE NELLORE DISTRICT UNDER HINDU RULE. By Rao Bahadur T. Raghaviah, B.A. ["Journal of the Madras Economic Association," February 1917.]

CHAITANYA: THE SAINT OF NADIA. By Srijut K. B. Bose. ["The Mahamandal Magazine," February 1917.]

THE STATE-COUNCIL IN ANCIENT INDIA. By Narendranath Law, M.A., B.L. ["The Modern Review," March, 1917.]

THE CASTE SYSTEM IN INDIA. By Mr. R. K. Dutt. ["The Vedic Magazine," February 1917.]

IDEAS ON POPULAR EDUCATION IN INDIA. By Mr. Bhawani Datta Joshi, B.A. ["The Hindustan Review," February, 1917.]

MATTAVILASA-PRAHASANA. By T. A. Gopinatha Rao, M.A. ["The Madras Christian College Magazine," February, 1917.]

THE UNITY OF THE HINDU FAITH. By T. R. Rangaswami Ayyangar, M.A. ["The Theosophist," March, 1917.]

TUBERCULOSIS IN MADRAS. By Major F. F. Elwes, I.M.S. ["The Local Self-Government Gazette," February, 1917.]

THE FUTURE OF INDUSTRIES IN MYSORE. By Mr. S. G. Sastri, B.A., M. SC., F.C.S. ["The Mysore Economic Journal," February, 1917.]

THE CABINET REVOLUTION.

Mr. Sidney Low, writing in the last number of the *Fortnightly Review*, points out the main differences between the old Cabinet system and the new one definitely inaugurated by Mr. Lloyd George's ministry and shows that this transformation cuts a deep chasm through British constitutional conventions. The former Cabinet was both ministerial and administrative, it was collectively responsible to Parliament, and officered and recruited entirely from the Parliamentary circle, intimately related to the House of Commons, framed on rigid party lines and conferring with absolute secrecy. The present Cabinet is not the ministry, and it is a body which directs but does not administer. The ministry has exchanged collective for individual responsibility; while the Cabinet has a very loose connection with the House of Commons, and for some purposes it is virtually independent of it; it stands outside the local party divisions, and admits to its confidential deliberations representatives of all the great States of the Empire as well as those of the United Kingdom, and it still holds private but no longer, in the strictest sense, secret meetings.

This new system was superseding the old one before the present Prime Minister came into power. Several of his innovations have been introduced in a more or less incomplete form already; and the ground has been prepared for him by events and the action of his predecessor. Mr. Lloyd George's 'New Model' consists of a Cabinet which is not the ministry, though there are plenty of ministers and more sub-ministers than ever. The four regular members of the Cabinet are relieved of administrative duties; they are not ministers in the old sense; but are only super-ministers. They are a Directory controlling all departments, but not individually responsible for any. As a consequence of this change, the individual ministers can no longer shelter themselves behind the cherished doctrine of collective responsibility. Under this system, the connection between the Executive and the Legislature is much looser. And the present Cabinet is neither a Committee of the House of Commons, nor is it a Party Cabinet. The Premier draws his strength from outside the walls of Parliament and owes his elevation to a kind of informal and irregular, but unmistakably emphatic, plebiscite. The House of Commons did not make him Premier, and it is doubtful whether it could unmake him. The Cabinet ignores parties and has no party-complexion; and it has largely divested

itself of the famous and unique character of secrecy. Parliamentary control has been very sensibly relaxed by the War which conferred quasi-autocratic authority upon the Executive and the formation of the Coalition.

The most searching and permanent change will be the separation of powers, and the concentration of what may be called Imperial functions in the hands of a group of ministers standing apart from those, who are in the main concerned with the local administration of the United Kingdom. Government will be divided into two compartments or councils, one the real Cabinet of Empire and the other occupied with insular and domestic concerns. And the former will include ministers from the Overseas Dominions. And thus there will be something like a federation of the Empire for executive purposes; the Imperial Cabinet dealing with naval, military and foreign policy and common affairs. The situation will be regularised and brought into conformity with constitutional principles when the Imperial Parliament is elected by all the States of the Empire, and when it has delegated to a subordinate assembly its legislative and other powers in the United Kingdom.

RIVER-NAMES IN THE RIG-VEDA.

Sir Aurel Stein, the well known explorer of Central Asia, and the translator of Kalhana's *Chronicle of Kashmir*, gives in the present number of *The Royal Asiatic Society's Journal* an analysis of the river names in the famous "Nadistuti" or "The Song of Rivers" in Hymn X, 75, of the Rig-Veda. The numerous ancient river names of North-Western India therein mentioned furnish an indication more definite than can be found elsewhere, of the area once occupied by or familiar to the Indo-Aryan people. The river names given in the verse strictly prove that they follow each other in strict order from east to west, from the Ganges and the Jumna on the east to the Jhelum, etc., on the west. The exact geographical knowledge thus indicated, ranging over a great extent of territory, may at first sight cause surprise, since it seems impossible to suppose that the composer of the *Nadistuti* could have had before him a topographical record in the shape of either text or map. Yet Stein says that this difficulty is removed by the light thrown by his actual travel experiences in Central Asia, where he has again and again come in contact with men, who, wholly illiterate and unable to keep any but mental records, could

yet without any apparent effort give a brief but reasonable account of the successive stages, with passes, streams and other natural features which they had passed on journeys extending over far more than a thousand miles. And it is safe to assume the same facility of obtaining exact information in ancient times; so that the only difficulty which the composer of the Vedic hymn is likely to have experienced, when recording the river names, was how to fit their sequence with his metre.

The rivers, Parusni, Asikni and Maruvradha intervene between the Sutudri-Satlej and the Vitasta-Jhelum. Professor Roth correctly identified the Asikni with the Chenab, whose classical name Akeshines is undoubtedly derived from the Vedic form by some kind of popular etymology. The identification of the Parusni with the Ravi, though probable, cannot yet be considered as certain. The Maruvradha also is best identified with the glacier-fed river, which joins the right bank of the Chenab and is still known in Alpine territory as the Maroowardvan river. And it does not require elaborate philological argument to prove that in the name Maroowardvan, we have the direct phonetic derivative of a form closely linked with the Vedic Maruvradha. The rivers Arjikiya and Susoma, which are enumerated in the hymn after the Vitasta-Jhelum, may be identified with the Sohan river and one of the chief tributaries which the Jhelum receives on its right bank. Thus, the analysis of all the river names proves that, leaving aside the still uncertain Arjikiya, they follow each other in strict order from east to west.

RAILWAY MANAGEMENT.

In the course of an article on Company vs. State Management of Railways in the February issue of the *Wealth of India*, the writer Mr. B. L. Vaipayee Bhimpuri, B.A., pleads for direct State control of Railways in India. He urges:—

"Although under State management we cannot have all the good results of private initiative, nor the advantages of competition, yet, since the Government are not likely to care so much for their own gains as the companies naturally do, and are not likely to be so shortsighted as the companies, in many cases, have been, and since the Government will probably better encourage the industrial development of India, and since by making a saving of some 19 lakhs annually, by taking over the management of the E. I. R. in 1919, they can reduce the burden of taxation, therefore we advocate strongly the management of the Indian Railways by the State."

ENGLISH NATIONAL EDUCATION.

Dr. Gilbert Murray, in the paper published in *The School World*, February 1917, solves many problems which confront us in the field of education. Some of the charges brought specifically against the English national system of education, he says, are, that too much time is spent on classics and literature, that the system and grade of teaching are not organised according to standards of intellectual capacity, but by distinctions of class, that modern languages are neglected, that the people do not use their time better or take their intellectual work more seriously, that teachers with more real culture behind them are required, and that in secondary schools some large differentiation of teaching is necessary, together with more supervision and help for boys and girls after they have left school.

The charge that the English spend too much time on classics and on literature, and that Germany concentrates on science, is not at all true. Secondary education is far more classical in Germany, where they have more Greek and Latin. English secondary schools give an overdose of classics and literature to upper-class boys, whether they are intellectually fit for it or not; and the middle and poorer ranks are shut out from the possibility of studying the classics at all on the mere ground of social inferiority. It must be made possible for all boys and girls of all classes to have the education for which they are intellectually suited. The alleged neglect of science is probably a case not of neglect but of bad organisation and low standards. The neglect of the study of modern languages is intimately and rather disgracefully true. And though this ignorance is partly due to the fact that English is a great and widely spread language; that English literature is so vast and vital, that literary curiosity might be satisfied without reading much of foreign books, still the neglect and its consequences are glaring and ought to be radically remedied.

Another desideratum is a greater number of real teachers with more real culture behind them, who have not merely the minimum of knowledge, but also an invaluable superfluity of knowledge. We need a further development of medical inspection and care for health, more supervision and help for boys and girls after they have left school, partly by continuation classes and partly by clubs. Both technical and vocational training and the humanistic side, i.e., the culture of the mind and of the imagination must be improved,

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN MADRAS.

The February number of the *Local Self-Government Gazette*, in reviewing the progress of local and municipal administration in the Madras Presidency for the last five years, very appropriately congratulates the Hon. Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar on the excellent work accomplished by him during his regime as member of the Executive Council. There are two lines in which it is desirable that Local Self-Government should proceed in this country. One is the association of large numbers of non-officials with reference to the advisory part of the work and the other is the association of equally large numbers in the actual administrative and executive work of Local Self-Government. In either case it is satisfactory to note that Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar's quinquennium shows marked advance on the old system.

"Nine new municipalities were constituted during the period under review; over fourteen councils had their franchise extended, the number of elective seats in them being raised by 63. At the commencement of the quinquennium there were sixty-one councils with a total strength of 896, of which 168 were officials and 728 non-officials, the elective seats numbering 449. At the end of it, the total strength rose to 1,019, officials, and non-officials numbered 186 and 833 respectively, and the elective seats rose to 502. There was a similar broadening of the constitution of district and taluk boards. On the latter the elective seats rose from 331 to 759."

The rules for the election of members to municipal councils and taluk boards have also been revised and the abolition of the separate qualifications prescribed for voters and candidates is a change in the right direction. A steady advance has also been made in the policy of entrusting the actual administration of local boards to non-official chairmen and presidents:—

"Eight councils were allowed to elect their own chairmen—among them important ones like Tanjore and Palghat. But it is in regard to rural boards that the greatest progress was made in this respect. We are as far as ever from non-official presidents of district boards, but the extended employment of non-official vice-presidents of district boards has been a marked feature of this period, the number of these rising from four in 1912 to eighteen in 1916. We may add that, quite recently, the Government have undertaken to try the experiment of elected vice-presidents in selected districts. More important than this,

the system of non-official presidents of taluk boards received a large extension. During the period, over 28 taluk boards were allowed to have non-official presidents, three of them elected. More than a fourth of the taluk boards in the presidency were thus given non-official presidents during a period of five years—a rate of progress with which there is no reason to be dissatisfied."

Side by side with this, greater powers have also been conferred on local bodies, though the powers as yet granted cannot be said to remove all the irksome restrictions in matters of detail.

The Government's interest in the *Panchayat* system has considerably enhanced since the report of the Decentralisation Commission, but the policy eventually decided on has by no means given any satisfaction to the people. But the creation of more unions with larger electorates must have a decisive interest in the development of this system.

"Along with the broadening of the basis of the constitution of local bodies, there has also been, during this period, a steady effort to make them take an interest in larger questions like town-planning and sanitation. No movement in recent years has been more fruitful than that initiated by Prof. Geddes and developed by Mr. Lanchester. Local bodies have been made to take an intelligent interest in planning the growth of towns, not in the haphazard lines of the past, but according to a systematic programme carefully conceived and worked out, and the conscience of the community made alive to the need for enforcing building regulations. This new spirit, which is bound to grow in years to come, has been sedulously fostered and, largely with the aid of Government grants, schemes of extensions on lines approved by experts are being carefully worked out and executed in large towns."

The awakening in sanitary reforms is due to the energy of this department. A scheme of popular health lectures is being tried, and in large towns the appointment of health officers and sanitary inspectors is generally deemed a step in the right direction. Turning to the legislative activity of the period, there is, of course, the Madras City Municipal Bill.

"The provisions of this Bill relating to taxation, have, we think, justly given rise to adverse criticisms, but it cannot be denied that in its essential features the Bill is a distinct improvement on the existing Act and is conceived on more liberal lines. Bills for the amendment of the District Municipalities and Local Boards Act and a Town Planning Bill have also been prepared."

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

The Public Services Commission.

At the Meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council, on the 7th March, the Hon. Sir Reginald Craddock said with reference to the recommendations of the Public Services Commission:—

In communicating the Report, the Secretary of State requested that the Commission's recommendations should be expeditiously dealt with, and that he should be placed in possession of the Government of India's conclusions, regarding them as early as possible. The procedure, which the Government of India, with his approval, have decided to follow, was explained in H. E. the Viceroy's speech on the 7th February, but a detailed description is contained in the Home Department letter of the 25th January to Local Governments and Administrations, a copy of which is placed on the table. The Government of India have no doubt that the Local Governments, will be careful to ascertain non-official opinion, including that of representative Indians on all important questions, where it will be of assistance, and they consider that the occasion and method of such consultation may safely be left to the Local Governments' discretion.

The following is the text of the letter placed on the table:—"Sir, in continuation of the correspondence ending with the Home Department telegram, dated the 21st January 1917, intimating that the report of the Royal Commission on the Public Services in India will be published on the 25th January 1917, I am directed to address you on the subject of the procedure which the Government of India have decided, with the approval of the Secretary of State, to follow in dealing with the recommendations contained in the report. (2) Over a year has elapsed since the report was signed, and many of the subjects, with which it deals, are in varying degrees and for various reasons so urgent and important that it is desirable to make special efforts to deal expeditiously with the Commission's recommendations, and reach definite decisions, to which effect may be given as financial conditions permit in a pre-considered order of precedence. The ordinary procedure of reference to Local Governments, who in turn make a reference to their local officers, leads to voluminous correspondence, and is necessarily slow, and the Government of India have decided to adopt the following method of treatment in order to minimise the delay, which has attended the consideration of former reports. (3) In the first place, the Government of India, will, as

expeditiously as possible, form provisional conclusions, regarding the Commission's recommendations, involving general principles and of general application, and H. E. the Governor in Council will be informed, without delay, of these conclusions as a definite indication of the lines which the examination of the report should follow and the limits to which the discussions thereof should be confined. His Excellency in Council will, at the same time, be requested to favour the Government of India within a specified time with his views on the general principles provisionally accepted. On receipt of these opinions, the Government of India will consider whether they should modify their conclusions, and the principles finally settled after such consideration will, subject to the Secretary of State's approval, govern the treatment of all the detailed recommendations. (4) Simultaneously the Government of India will commence their examination of the detailed proposals contained in the annexures to the report in accordance with the general principles provisionally adopted, and will endeavour to carry through this examination as rapidly as possible, in order to place the Local Governments, at an early stage, in possession of their tentative views on the Commission's detailed recommendations. During this interval, the Local Governments should aim at collecting information and completing the preliminary work on the same lines in order to be in a position to deal, without delay, with the references from the Government of India when they are received. (5) In all cases where the issues are not so simple as to render such a course unnecessary, H. E. the Governor in Council will be requested, in these references, to nominate an officer or officers to represent his or their views on the various points to be considered at a series of conferences, which the Government of India will hold with the representatives of all the Local Governments and Administrations. After the conferences have completed their work, the Government of India will again examine their tentative conclusions in the light of the recommendations made, and will then communicate their considered views to H. E. the Governor in Council for a further expression of his opinion. On the receipt of the replies of the Local Governments and Administrations to this final reference, the Government of India will once more consider their position and will decide on the definite recommendations which they will place before the Secretary of State. (6) While the Government

of India trust that the scheme, outlined above, will enable all the recommendations in the report to be dealt with in a reasonably short time, they do not desire that this endeavour, after celerity in disposal, should obviate the necessity for observing a proper perspective in giving effect to the several proposals. Some of the subjects to be dealt with are obviously more urgent and important than others, and questions concerning the increased employment of Indians in the higher services are among those calling for an early settlement. In the former class, in dealing with each branch of the report, therefore the necessity for expediting the possibility of postponing till financial conditions are easier, the operation of the decision finally reached should be carefully considered, and the due precedence, which should be observed in giving effect to each scheme, should be specifically indicated, so that this matter may be discussed at the conferences referred to in the previous paragraph."

Sir William Meyer on the "Super-Tax."

The Hon'ble Sir William Meyer, in presenting at the Imperial Legislative Council, on March 7, the Select Committee's Report on the Bill to impose a fresh tax, said:—

We are going on the principle of taxing in one year the profits made in the year previous to that. It is the principle already applied in respect of profits of companies and other sources of income in the existing Act. It is, in fact, the only, feasible method, since we tax the profits actually ascertained, whereas if we taxed current profits we should be dealing with uncertainties. In so far as a man is taxed in a year, in which he has not been doing so well on larger profits in the previous year, he will have the compensation that in the third year the poorer business of the second will relieve him of some taxation. We also have to take into account the fact that certain companies, firms and persons have made large profits in 1916-17, owing to the war, and that, as I indicated in paragraph 61 of my budget speech, we propose to secure a portion of these excess profits to the State. It follows that Section 33 of the principal Act, which is quite inconsistent with this system, would be out of place in the principal Act having regard to the method of assessment there adopted, and marked for omission when we come to the general revision of that Act. As regards the argument that it is a hardship to tax profits of a past year that have already been allocated, I need only say that any new tax involves unexpected calls on

people's income, and in the present case the tax can hardly have been altogether unexpected, for, there was certainly an anticipation of either an increased income tax, a super-tax or an excess profits tax. As indicated in the Select Committee's Report, we fully debated the question as to taxing companies and firms in respect of undistributed profits. That is the British practice and *prima facie* we should be quite justified in standing by it. But, as indicated in the Report, we have made an important concession with reference to the special circumstances of India at the present time, that is, besides exempting from the taxable undistributed profits, the Rs. 50,000 previously contemplated in the difference between the total and taxable income, we make a further allowance not exceeding 10 per cent. on the whole profit in the whole sum, on which the ordinary income-tax is paid for amounts left undistributed in the business. Thus, if a company had made Rs. 40 lakhs and had distributed Rs. 32 lakhs leaving Rs. 8 lakhs allocated to reserve, or otherwise applied to the purposes of the business, that Rs. 8 lakhs would be reduced by Rs. 50,000 plus 4 and the super-tax, so far as undistributed profits are concerned, would be paid on as Rs. 3½ lakhs only. As has been indicated in the Report, in making this concession we have had regard to the special circumstances of Indian enterprise and industry. We wish to encourage the expansion of capital applied to industrial enterprises by allocation thereto of a part of the profits already made. We have also taken into consideration the fact that assessments this year will be made on profits of 1916-17, and that those profits have, in many cases, been obtained at the cost of a special strain on plant and machinery, which would not be adequately covered by the general allowances made for depreciation. The 10 per cent. concession is intended to cover this also, and I desire to emphasise the fact that it is a very special concession not covered by British practice, and that we reserve to ourselves the liberty to reconsider it later on when things have become more normal, if circumstances seem then to point to the fact that the concession is needless. Further, I should like to say that it must not be in any way understood that by giving a concession up to 10 per cent. of the total profits, the Government consider that that is the maximum amount which ought to be put into the expansion of the business. Another point which has been brought to my notice by my hon'ble friend, Mr. Bray, is this:—In the case of com-

panies and firms which make profits in India, but have also an English domicile, they are subject to the English income-tax and super-tax as well as to ordinary Indian income-tax. That raises what may be called the double income-tax question, which the Home Government have already promised to consider and which must, indeed, be considered in connection with *post bellum* measures calculated to draw the bonds of the Empire closer, but for the present we must take things as we find them, and we cannot give up any portion of our ordinary income-tax. I may point out, too, that it is not exactly the question of full double income-tax, seeing that for purposes of Home assessment income-tax paid in India is deducted from the assessable income in England. Well, now, as to the application of this to the super-tax, we cannot take into account at present the operation of income-tax and super-tax in England, but the excess profits tax levied there as a temporary war measure is on a somewhat different footing, and we propose as a measure of equity to lay down that where evidence has been given that in respect of Indian transactions coming under this Bill, a specific sum had been paid to the British authorities in the way of excess profits tax, that amount shall be treated for Indian purposes as working expenses and will not be taken into account in calculating the taxable income. Another point raised in the Select Committee by my hon'ble friends, Mr. Bray and Mr. Wardlaw Milne, was the practical operation of Section 21 of the

principal Act, which is one of the sections to be made applicable in the present Bill. That Section runs as follows:—Any person not resident in British India, whether a subject of His Majesty, or not being in receipt through an agent of any income chargeable under part 4, shall be chargeable under that part in the name of the agent in the like manner and to the like amount as he would be chargeable if he were resident in British India and in direct receipt of that income. I was asked whether, if a company or firm remitted directly to a partner or shareholder resident out of India the amounts accruing to such partner or shareholder by reason of profits or dividends, that transaction would be treated as an agency transaction within the scope of Section 21. My reply is that this would be a strained reading of Section 21 as it stands. We should regard the transaction described as a direct remittance to the beneficiary, and the agency provision would only come in where a third party was employed as an agent. We are prepared to make this point clear by executive instructions, our intention in connection with the present legislation being, as I stated at the last sitting, to disturb the existing law and practice as little as possible. As stated in the Select Committee's Report, we desire to treat Hindu joint families on the same footing, as far as possible, as firms. I say nothing more at this stage and would now move that the Report of the Select Committee be taken into consideration.

UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

The Viceroy on "The Indian Defence Bill."

H. E. the Viceroy made the following speech in the Imperial Council, on February 21st, 1917:—

The moment has arrived when the Empire must make a united and concerted effort to finish this war. We have been asked and we have agreed to send every available man to the decisive sphere of action. This will involve the sending away from India of certain British units. The army in India has always been composed of a blend in certain proportions of British and Indian troops, and military experience has shown that this blend constitutes the very best fighting force which we can supply. This principle of blend is no new thing in military history. Historically there are parallels and precedents, wherever armies have been composed of

different races, and now to preserve the proportions of this blend, we find it necessary to replace these British units which are required for the decisive theatres of the war. To do this effectively and equitably it is obviously imperative to introduce compulsion in time of war. Volunteering is a broken reed. The Government must have power to give orders and enforce them. This was impossible as the law stood, and we propose therefore to introduce the Bill which will be placed before you. Moreover, as things stood on the basis of volunteering, some men were offering their services while others were getting off scot-free. This is clearly inequitable. There must be equality of sacrifice. To secure this we propose compulsion for all coming under the definition of European British subjects. We have seen it suggested that industries will suffer

as a consequence of this measure. You cannot have legislation of this nature without the concomitant inconvenience, but the Government of India hope that under the provisions of the Bill and the regulations drawn up under it, no needless hardship will be imposed. Both the Commander-in-Chief and I had many discussions on this subject with leading businessmen in Calcutta. We recognise that in India there is no reserve of elderly men or ineffectives on which to draw for the replacement of those called up, and we hope that under the machinery of the Bill the least possible disturbances of industry of hardship will take place.

I turn now to our invitation to Indians to offer their services. As I pointed out in my opening speech to the Council, compulsion in this case is out of the question on practical grounds, but we will endeavour to deal with those who apply to be enrolled. Hon'ble Members will have realised from my previous remarks that volunteering, as we have known it under the Volunteer Act, 1868, is dead. It is useless to spend money on a military force which is bound to be ineffective under the condition and nature of its existence. So this new force will come under the provisions of the Indian Army Act. It is intended to be an effective military organisation. As the British element under this Act is to be dealt with, on the same lines as those of the British Regulars, so the Indian element will come under the same military conditions, which apply to the Indian Regular Forces, saving the fact in both cases that service is to be within India. I do not think it necessary for me to labour this point. We cannot play at soldiers in these times, nor, I hope, shall we play at soldiers at any future time. Military efficiency must be the sole criterion of our policy.

One last word. This is an urgent measure, but we feel that time lost may be gained if Hon'ble Members will co-operate with us in making this Bill a useful and practical measure. We did not enact it as an Ordinance, for we felt that with the Council sitting it should be brought before the Council for its consideration. We have not put it before you as a war measure to be passed in all its stages at one sitting, for we look forward to your help, advice and co-operation in the passing of this important measure. We recognise that your special knowledge may prove of invaluable assistance, and so I commend our proposals to you in the sure and certain confidence that your minds are at one with ours at this present juncture, namely, to do all within our power to secure the victory of the Allied arms.

Sir Sivaswami Aiyar on "Indian Volunteering"

Presiding over the meeting of the citizens of Madras, held on the 8th March, at the Gokhale Hall, Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar said :—

The object of our gathering this evening is to make an appeal to the people of this Presidency to respond to the call which has been made by His Excellency to contribute our man power towards the formation of the Indian Defence Force. For more than a generation our people have been praying for the privilege of volunteering and for opportunities for participating in the defence of the country. Deeply grateful as we are to the Government for the peace and security we enjoy and for the protection afforded by the British Navy and Army, we have felt aggrieved by the absence of opportunities for military training, so as to enable us to serve in the defence of our own country. What could have been more humiliating than the feeling of abject helplessness and fear which overtook the citizens of Madras and induced them to quit in thousands when a few shells were fired by the *Emden* about three years ago?

The opportunity for which we have waited so long has come at last, and if we do not avail ourselves of it now, it may not arise again. Our whole future, our sense of national self-respect, our advancement in the scale of nations, are all staked upon the answer which the country will furnish to this call to serve our country and the Empire to which we are proud to belong. In the consciousness of a new-born sense of nationality, we have been pressing our claims for political privileges, but what better way is there of proving our fitness for political rights than loyally and cheerfully shouldering the burdens of the Empire and showing by our conduct that we are prepared to incur all the sacrifices necessary for the commonweal? It is by the manner in which we shall rise to our duties, in this hour of trial and of common danger, common not only to our Empire but to the cause of freedom and justice and right, that we shall be judged, and, rightly judged. Our duty at the present moment is to offer our personal services and our material resources to any extent that may be required by the Government, so that this devastating war may be brought to as speedy and victorious a close as possible. We are at present in the dark as to the extent of help required of us in the way of men. You will remember that H. E. the Viceroy drew attention to the possible limitations upon the Government's power of training and equipment,

and he expressed his confident expectation that as many men will offer their services as the military authorities can deal with in the way of equipment and training. Whatever may be the demand, it must be fully honoured. We are also not aware yet of the conditions of training and service, but whatsoever they may be, it would be most unpatriotic to indulge in any carping criticisms and make them a pretext for not joining the Defence Force.

We are all of us anxious that opportunity should be given to train Indians of sufficient status and education as Commissioned Officers and that the ranks of Commissioned Officers should be thrown open to men as and when they are qualified. An announcement to this effect was made by the Secretary of State, but to what extent it will be advisable to carry out this promise must necessarily depend upon military considerations, of which we cannot possibly undertake to judge. I have been asked also whether these arrangements will continue after the period of the war. Those are all matters which I would ask you to dismiss from your consideration. We may be confident that when the war is over, all these questions will be dealt with in a reasonable, sympathetic and even generous spirit. I would appeal to the young men to join in as large numbers as the authorities desire. Do not raise questions of pay, rank or privileges. The burdens you will be called upon to bear will be serious, but the risks you run by being called upon to serve in India will be nothing in comparison to those cheerfully faced by millions of young Englishmen of all ranks and classes and by thousands of our own countrymen who are serving abroad. This is not the time for meticulous calculations of self-interest or of prudence. I have received a letter from a friend in Bombay who has passed the age at which people are recruited and who nevertheless applied to the military authorities for enlistment. Many are the men of mature age who wish that they might be young again, so that they might offer themselves for the service of the country.

If your enthusiasm for ideals and for the nation's progress is genuine, join the force in hundreds, if not in thousands. To parents and guardians also I would appeal to let their sons and wards go forth and answer the call of patriotism. I may quote here an appeal which the great Admiral Togo made to a number of young Japanese officers, whom he wanted to send forth to bottle up Port Arthur. He told them : "My lads, if I had only one son, I would send him

on this dangerous mission. If I had a hundred sons I would send them all on this dangerous mission." That is the spirit in which the Japanese have acted and that is the spirit which ought to actuate our leaders. We are often in the habit of referring to Japan and to the progress attained by Japan in asking for political privileges, but let us prove that we have got the same sense of chivalry and patriotism as Japan. In a country like India, which has been the nursery of soldiers and of chivalry, it should be unnecessary to appeal to any foreign examples. We are now passing through a most momentous epoch and by our conduct on this occasion shall we be judged. If we fail to respond, we shall cover ourselves with indelible disgrace and lay ourselves open to the charge of incurable effeminacy, and all our agitation in the past for volunteering and military career would signify nothing; but I venture to hope that young India will rise to the call of patriotism and loyalty and the full height of its manhood, and that the response will prove a turning point in history.

Hon. Mr. Sastri on "Compulsory Education."

The following is the text of Mr. Sastri's speech in support of Mr. Sarma's primary education resolution moved in the Imperial Legislative Council on the 28th ultimo :—

I am constrained to remark at the outset that the hon. member for education has failed to come to grips with his subject. He has been content to play the part of the destructive critic which I thought was a special province of the non-official members. The Hon. Sir Sankaran Nair has failed to disclose his hand altogether. Let me remind him that on the historic occasion to which he drew our attention when Mr. Gokhale laid before this Council plans for making elementary education compulsory, his predecessor in office acknowledged it to be the duty of Government to make education universal and he himself looked forward to making it compulsory though not perhaps in so short a space of time as his non-official friends would have it. It was not a purely destructive criticism that Sir Harcourt Butler indulged in. On the contrary having excited hopes that sooner or later Government would embark on a bold programme of elementary education, he concluded with a suggestion, a positive suggestion to this effect : "If hon. members are so keen on having compulsory elementary education, I would suggest to them a more practicable course than this. Let them go into the local Legislative Councils and

there get measures passed for allowing municipalities and district boards if they cared to make elementary education compulsory." That was a positive suggestion he threw out, not merely to escape the responsibility of adopting compulsion for himself but to suggest what he thought was a more practicable course.

Now some of us took up the idea in right earnest. In Bombay and in Madras and I think in one other province in India, members of local council have brought up a resolution for this purpose. What was the result there? We were thrown back on the Government of India. Every such Government told those members, the Government of India have for the time being decided compulsion, and we won't hear you on that subject here. We are coming here again to ask you once more and if you do not return a satisfactory answer, I can only say that you treat us like the rotten pumpkin in the old story . . . so here we are beaten to and fro between this and the local council but we do not get any further. I really wished to ask the hon. member for education to consider seriously why his department was created. I remember, sir, quite clearly at the time the Department of Education was created and Minister appointed with a whole establishment, it was said in Parliament that it was largely for the purpose of stimulating elementary education in this country, and Mr. Gokhale time after time used to refer to that as an era that marked definite progress in the success of his own campaign for free and compulsory education.

Now not being in the secret, I will not say that the Government of India has been doing nothing, but so far as the outside public is concerned they do not know any programme that has been laid down. On the contrary so far as they can see, they have seen a Patna University Bill which has set the country on very controversial grounds, and they have seen a movement for calling the Calcutta University into account. But what is the programme of elementary education that the department has got to its credit? It is now 4 years since it was proclaimed that 91,000 schools and one lakh of pupils more would be brought into existence. I ask what financial stability for this programme has been arranged by the Government of India? Have they put forward a definite scheme of progress from year to year? Have they taken up elementary education in right earnest as a duty they owe to the people? In point of fact, sir, it has been urged that perhaps as much as war, as much as this desperate war in which we are engaged, elementary education

is an important necessity. I would ask the Department of Education to consider that to the demands made on the war, they should add their own as of not less importance and not less exacting, so that after the war year after year so many more schools will be added to the system of elementary education, so many more boys and girls will be brought under the healing influences of education.

I was rather surprised, sir, that the detail of school attendance committee was dealt with to the extent that it was. Well, if we must go into such details, I would ask the Council to consider one or two things. Those committees have never been tried in this country. We have never had any compulsion. What is the occasion to say beforehand, before a single school attendance committee was ever started and had a moment's work to its credit, what is the good of saying those committees will prove unsatisfactory? Sir Verney Lovett told us that school committees won't answer, local boards won't answer, municipalities won't answer either, they are overworked, they have very little money, the people are busy and so on. Yes, people are busy, but do they neglect such duties? If it be found that local boards and municipalities are unequal to the task, I shall be one of those to advocate that special bodies be created for the purpose of advancing elementary education within each area. Recently, sir, the Bombay Government appointed a strong committee for the purpose of going into the whole question of the constitution and finances of the local bodies, and they came out with a strong recommendation. I think it was unanimous, to the effect that in local areas it was based for educational purposes to create a special school board. I have felt, sir, for some time that it would be a great advantage to constitute such school boards in every area. Now it may be a difficult question how to work these school boards constitutionally alongside local bodies. That is a point I shall leave experts to decide.

Now, sir, the member for education spoke of the duration of school life as being unduly low. School life is really exceedingly short in this country and do you know—hon. members of this Council may not know—that this shortness of the duration of school life has been recognized to be the greatest evil of this evil system of elementary education that we have in this country, and what was the remedy proposed? Sir Alfred Bourne has written in one of his luminous reports that so long as there is no compulsion in this country, it is impossible to increase the duration of school

life. Now we were told: you go and persuade people to send their children to school, and we were told last time when the whole matter came under discussion in this Council, that in Japan wise people tried persuasion before they reverted to compulsion. I have no doubt that in England also this experience was similar. Some time in 1817, a committee was appointed to enquire and find out what the effect was of the working of the Act. They produce a very remarkable document, most interesting reading it is. One of the passages relates to this very point of how compulsion has been actually worked. They reported that the cases of people brought before magistrates under the Act were comparatively few and that the results were very good. Their answer was that people went and persuaded who knew where they were, because compulsion had been enacted, a law had declared that it was the parents' duty to send their children to school, and it was penal on the part of a labourer to employ children for their labour. Because these laws had been enacted, it was possible for moral persuasion to have effect, backed as it was, by threat of legal proceedings. Now give us that lever; tell us that there is compulsion in the land, and we promise here also that compulsion will be employed as little as possible and that moral persuasion will be resorted to as far as possible. Another remark that was made on that side of the house reminded me of an old incident in the history of elementary education in England. Some generations ago it was quite the fashion of people to deride the idea of a liberal education for the children of the poor. The methods of educators then ran on special social class lines—one kind of education for the children of gentlemen, another kind of education for gentlewomen and a small amount of rudimentary learning, absolutely contemptible, for the children of the poor. I am glad to hear that that kind of thing has long gone by in European countries. Nobody now thinks that because a man was born the son of a labourer, the best thing to teach that child is how to be a labourer always and never to desire to rise above the rank of his father. To teach children to desire to work humbly in the station to which they were born was an old fashioned ideal from which all Europe, all America and every civilised country in the world has moved off. Then there used to be a prayer I have read, in which the children were asked to pray every day, 'May I be brought up so as to be a humble and dutiful citizen, looking up with reverence to those who afford me this education, and

the means of subsistence,' and so on. Now that is a kind of attitude which grandmotherly people like their children to adopt, but it is no longer an ideal of civilised countries. We want children to grow up to the full stature of their ability. Whatever they are competent to do, let them be able to do it. Let no man's capacity run to waste, and let it not be in the power of any human being to say to another, 'you are born to that station, and in that station if I can I will keep you.'

Now I would ask, sir, before I sit down one final question, Is it or is it not the case that the Government of India are going after all to face this question. I think they are going to do so. Though they do not like in this debate to acknowledge their obligation, I am perfectly certain that one day this Government is going to show in the matter of elementary education that they are actuated by precisely the same ideals as we are actuated by. They cannot say: we are a foreign Government, we cannot bear the odium and the unpopularity of a compulsory measure. If the Government were our own, if we were in charge of the portfolio and all the machinery of Government as you are to-day, we should probably have no hesitation in going in for a measure of compulsion. And I dare say, sir, you are all rapidly moving to the attitude when you will recognise that being in our place, that is the place which belongs to us by nature, you should likewise incur our responsibility. Go forward in a bold spirit, I assure you all educated India is behind you; do not raise false phantoms, the people will not come forward and ask for compulsion. If they could ask you for a measure of compulsion, compulsion will be meaningless. Did they come forward in England? Associations after associations in various towns, religious bodies, secular bodies, all composed of leaders of thought, in campaign after campaign covering generations, urged compulsion and, finally, the populace was coerced by Parliament. It is wrong to expect in India, backward as she is, standards of political advancement and political ideals which have been proved impossible in countries like England. I ask the Hon. Sir Sankaran Nair to go forward boldly; let him have no scruples whatever in this matter. I would ask him further to use all influence he has, as head of the powerful department under his control, with the Government of India and get as much for that department as possible. No part of the finances of Government can be better employed than in starting new schools and paying teachers for the purpose.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

Prohibition of Labour Emigration.

The following Notification was published as a *Gazette of India Extraordinary*, on March 12, '17:—

In pursuance of Section 2 of the Defence of India Act, as subsequently amended, the Governor-General in Council is pleased to direct that the following amendment shall be made in the Defence of India Consolidation Rules, 1915, namely, after Rule 16-A. The following Rule shall be inserted, namely:—16-B.—No native of India shall depart by sea out of British India for purpose of, or with the intention of, labouring for hire in any country beyond the limits of India, provided that the prohibition imposed by this Rule shall not extend to any person or class of persons, permitted so to depart by a general special license, granted by such authority as the Governor-General may appoint in this behalf.

Explanation:—"Labour" in this Rule means unskilled labour, and does not include any work or other occupation of the nature referred to in Chapter 11 of the Indian Emigration Act 1908.

Commenting on this Notification, *New India* writes:—The Defence Act of India has at last been used for a good end—the immediate stoppage of the emigration of Indians with the intention of labouring for hire beyond seas. . . . The Governor-General in Council has responded to the demand of India, and has struck down the accursed system. It is probable that having thus sharply stopped the abuse of emigration the Government will consider the whole question, and we shall hope to see an Act introduced on the lines of that which passed its second reading the other day in the Madras Parliament. Lord Chelmsford has acted with great courage and decision, and India owes him gratitude. What a comfort it is to see the Government answering India's demand, and acting as a Home Rule Government would act.

Scholarships for Indian Students Abroad.

At a recent meeting of the Imperial Council, the Hon'ble Mir Asad Ali elicited from the Education Member the following reply, regarding the scholarships available for annual allotment:—Two Government of India scholarships; ten technical scholarships; two Oriental scholarships and one scholarship for Indian women graduates. The number of Mussalman candidates who have been awarded such scholarships since their inception is 26, excluding the two who resigned the scholarships awarded them.

Information for Indian Labourers.

Mr. A. H. West, representing Mr. M. K. Gandhi, publishes the following notice:—

(1) Everyone can choose either to re-indenture or to work as a free man.

(2) If a man re-indentures, he will incur no punishment in India by Mr. Gandhi or anyone.

(3) By working as a free man for three years, anyone can make a permanent home in Natal and go to India and return whenever he likes. He must then pay his own passage.

(4) Those who completed their indenture during the past twelve months can claim a free passage to India.

(5) If twelve months have expired, application can be made under the Relief Act for a free passage.

(6) At present, free passages under the Relief Act are suspended. Application should be made in April next.

(7) Those who re-indenture can claim, at the end of their contract, a free passage to India for themselves and their children; but a wife cannot claim such free passage unless she herself re-indentures.

(8) Anyone accepting a free passage to India will not be allowed to return to Natal.

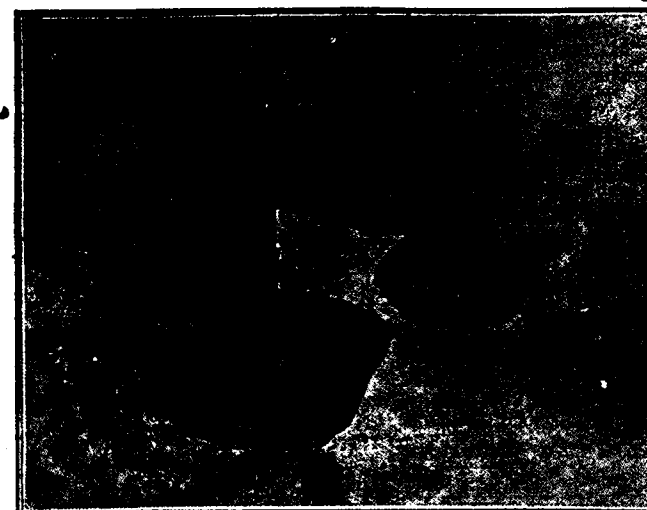
(9) Owing to the war, the Government do not allow gold coin to be taken from South Africa. Returning immigrants may, therefore, deposit their gold coins with the Protector who will issue a receipt, and the money will be paid out at the rate of fifteen rupees for every sovereign in India.

Note.—After putting before the people the facts, I do not advise anyone to re-indenture. Better, by far, accept less wages and preserve their independence and self-respect.—*Indian Opinion.*

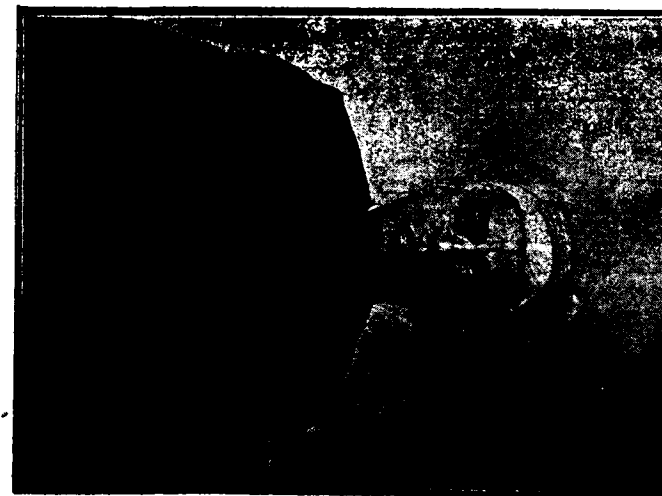
A Christian View of the Indentured System.

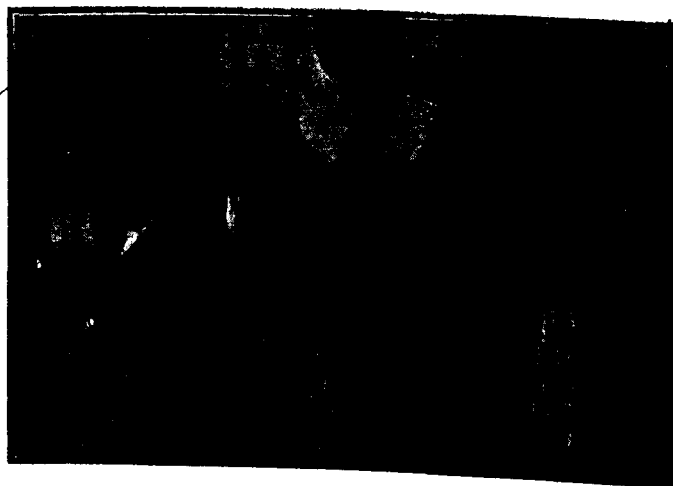
The *Gnyanodaya* of Bombay writes:—"On behalf of the Indian Christian community and of the Missionary body, we express our whole-hearted, most earnest, protest against any prolongation of the Indenture System by which Indian coolies are recruited to four British Colonies. It is an immoral, degrading, humiliating system which has been so effectually shown up, that no delay in ending this bad arrangement should be tolerated by Government. . . . The one and only righteous, and even politic course, is to end the system immediately."

THE HON. SIR P. S. SIVASWAMI AYYAR
Ex-Member, Madras Executive Council



THE HON. DEWAN BAHADUR P. RAJAGOPALACHARY
The New Member, Madras Executive Council





MR. MANUBHAI N. MEHTA, M.A., LL.B.
The New Dewan of Baroda



MR. V. P. MADHAVA RAO, C.I.E.
The Ex-Dewan of Baroda

The Nizam's Gift.

H. H. The Nizam of Hyderabad has been contributing to the British navy the sum of £20,000 per mensem from September 1914.

In accepting the gift, the Secretary of State cabled to the Viceroy on the 9th March 1917:—His Majesty's Government gratefully accept the Nizam of Hyderabad's munificent gift to the Admiralty. Please convey to His Highness the warmest thanks for the splendid generosity, both on behalf of His Majesty's Government and of the Lord Commissioners of the Admiralty, who gladly agree to apply the gift in accordance with His Highness' wishes.

Kapurthala Administration.

The administration report of Kapurthala State for 1915-16, records that the major portion of the State's Imperial Service Infantry has been serving throughout the twelve months in East Africa. The gross income approximated closely to 32 lakhs of rupees, the Oudh Estates contributing to this total rather less than 15½ lakhs. Some 3½ lakh of surplus funds have been invested in the French war loans, the State co-operative credit societies, and the Hoshiarpur Doab Branch Railways.

Industries in Marwar.

The principal industries of the Marwar State are the different quarries worked by hand power. The marble quarries, at Makrana, last year produced 1,24,654 maunds of marble, which is famous throughout the whole of India. The major portion of the output was despatched to Calcutta for the construction of the Victoria Memorial. Next in importance are the sandstone quarries at Jodhpur, Sojat and Khatu. We are told that these stones are utilised for ordinary and decorative building purposes. The working of gypsum mines at Kairat, Manglode, Chutisan and Chirimatai and of Fuller's earth at Kapurdi and Barmer, we understand, are the other industries on a small scale, while the newly started wolfram, manganese molybdenum and tin quarries near Dagana promise to be a thriving industry.

H. H. The Raja of Faridkot.

His Highness the Raja of Faridkot has generously offered to the Government, free of rent, the use of his house at Simla known as "Ravenswood" during the continuance of the war for use as an office. The offer has been gratefully accepted.

The New Diwan of Baroda.

Manubhai Nandashanker Mehta, M.A., LL.B., who has succeeded Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, C.I.E., as Dewan of Baroda is the son of the late Rao Bahadur Nandashankar Tuljashankar, the late Diwan of Cutch and Lunawada and the well-known author of the historical novel, "Karan Ghelo" of Guzarat.

Mr. Manubhai entered the Baroda Government service in 1891 as the Professor of Logic and Moral Philosophy, where he enjoyed the highest regard and esteem of the College students. In 1899, he was taken up as the Private Secretary to His Highness the Maharaja and subsequently was made Hazur Kamdar, during which period, in 1900, he had been to the continent with His Highness. In 1905, he was made Nai-Diwan; he held also the office of Nyaya-Mantri, Famine Commissioner and such other posts of great importance and responsibility till his recent elevation to the Diwanage of His Highness' Government. During all his varied career, Mr. Manubhai enjoyed the implicit confidence of His Highness and highest regards of the people of Guzarat.

Court Language in Patiala.

About a couple of years ago, His Highness the Maharaja Sahib, of Patiala, directed that the language of offices and courts in the Patiala State shall be Panjabi. Some doubt having lately arisen as to the language in which pleaders were expected to address the courts, Diwan Bahadur Daya Kishan Kaul, Financial and Foreign Secretary, has emphasized the previous orders by notifying that the language shall be Panjabi, the mother-tongue of the people.

Indore Chamber of Commerce.

A Chamber of Commerce has been established in the Indore State in accordance with the wishes of the commercial community in the State. At an inaugural meeting held for the purpose, Mr. S. S. Mehta in a lengthy address explained the plan and purpose of the Chamber, and a provision of sub-committee was formed to frame rules and regulations.

H. H. The Nawab of Rampur's Offer.

H. H. the Nawab of Rampur has placed at the disposal of Government for the duration of the war his large Brook Hill estate, at Naini Tal, comprising four houses, and also his three Bareilly houses, for the use of the sick and wounded. The offer has been accepted by the Government.

INDUSTRIAL & COMMERCIAL SECTION.

Sir W. Meyer on the Cotton Duties.

In the course of his financial statement in the Imperial Council, on March 19, Sir William Meyer referred to the Cotton tariffs as follows:—

The taxation already described (super-tax) will yield us in all £1,850,000. The way in which we propose to make the bulk of the remaining provision required is one which will, I think, be received with satisfaction in this Council and in the country in general, while the incidence of the tax will be of much more general application than that of the imposts above described. It will be remembered that in introducing the Financial Statement for the current year, I said that we had been anxious to raise the duty on imported cotton goods, while leaving the cotton excise duty, which has formed the subject of such widespread criticism in this country, unenhanced, subject to the possibility of its being altogether abolished when financial circumstances are more favourable. But His Majesty's Government held that in the then circumstances such a course would be undesirable, and decided to leave the cotton duties question to be considered later on in connection with the general fiscal policy which may be thought best for the Empire and the share, military and financial, that has been taken by India in the present struggle. To-day I am able to announce that in view of the taxation required to make our war contribution worthy of India and of the place we desire her to hold in the Empire, His Majesty's Government have now given their consent to our raising the import duty on cotton goods from 3½ per cent. as it now is to 7½ per cent., which is our present general tariff rate. The cotton excise duty will remain at 3½ per cent. There can be no question of our doing away with an impost which is estimated to produce about £320,000 next year at a time when we have to impose extra taxation. By this means we estimate that we can get an additional £1 million. I am sure that the action of His Majesty's Government, following as it does on their recent association of India with the special Imperial Conference called in connection with the war and the measures to be taken thereafter, will meet with the greatest appreciation in India.

The enhancement of duties, above indicated in respect of imported cotton goods and jute exports must come into effect at once. The application of these duties during the current month will yield about £80,000, and the receipt figures of the revised estimate must be added to accordingly.

Lancashire and the Indian Cotton Duties.

The Members of the Lancashire Cotton Trade deputation waited on Mr. Chamberlain, the Secretary of State for India, on March 12, to protest against the imposition of a tariff on Lancashire exports. They declared that the duty protected the Indian manufacturer and therefore contravened the stipulation laid down and twice expressed in resolutions of the House of Commons. The duty was unjust and was the heaviest blow that the Lancashire Cotton Trade had ever suffered. The speakers asserted that the Government policy might prejudice Lancashire's efforts in the War if the duties were persisted in, and there would be no rest in Lancashire whatever in consequence till justice was secured.

Mr. Chamberlain, replying, said that the Government would be very sorry if any measures, they were obliged to take, interfered with the Lancashire cotton trade, which was a great imperial asset. He again emphasised that the increase in the duty was necessary to enable India to contribute a hundred millions to the War expenses. He was very sorry that the free gift by the people of India, made with genuine goodwill, should occasion strife in England, but he begged the members of the deputation not to under-rate the strength of Indian feeling on the subject.

Mr. Chamberlain pointed out that, while Lancashire imported all her requirements free of duty, the Indian manufacturer had to pay duty on all his requisites. Thus protection hitherto had been on the side of Lancashire. He had been assured that the effective competition of India with Lancashire was less than two per cent. of the whole trade. Within the past ten years, Lancashire's looms had increased by 120,000 which exceeded the total of India's looms. The deputation were dangerously mistaken, if they thought that the Government was merely the tool of a few greedy millowners in India. He emphasised the unanimity of Indian and Anglo-Indian opinion that the special position hitherto accorded to cotton in India was a great injustice to Indian.

The Maharajah of Bikanir declared that there had been an intense feeling of irritation, suspicion and injustice throughout India with regard to the question, and any attempt to upset the recent legislation would revive, if not intensify, the feeling of injustice and humiliation. Such a result would be most deplorable in view of the

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fact that India had shown every desire to make all sacrifices of the Empire.

Sir S. P. Sinha denied that there was any desire to benefit the Bombay millowners.

Replying to the suggestion that the question should be postponed, Mr. Chamberlain said he was eager to see the fiscal policy of India reconsidered after the war in conjunction with the fiscal policy of the Empire as a whole, and when that was done, he hoped India would bear in mind Imperial obligations and responsibilities and try to frame an Imperial system. He added that the reversal of the Government's decision would be a calamity for England, and he could not hold out any expectation thereof.

A Resolution accepting India's war gift of £100 millions was passed in the House of Commons on March 1914.

Mr. Asquith moved an addendum to the Government motion that the increase should be reconsidered after the war in connection with the fiscal relationships of the Empire.

Mr. Lloyd George accepted the addendum, and the motion, as amended, was unanimously adopted amid cheers, after the amendment of the Lancashire members had been rejected by 265 votes to 125.

Indian Cotton.

Mr. J. M. Todd, Professor of Economics at Nottingham University, in a paper at the Royal Society of Arts recently, on "The World's Cotton Supply and India's Share in it," said the present price was the highest on record since 1869. The high prices were the result of natural and economic causes which might well be repeated if the conditions of supply were allowed to remain as at present. It was desirable to develop other sources of supply of cotton outside America, and it would be to our greatest advantage if it were found in the British Empire. India was the only country in the world from which there was any hope of obtaining an early if not immediate, increase of 1,000,000 bales per annum of new cotton and there was every reason to believe that India could maintain such an increase cumulatively till her present crop was at least doubled. Lord Emmott, who presided, said that India was undoubtedly the only country we could look to for a great and rapid increase in the production of the necessary supplies of cotton for the world's needs. But if the quality of the cotton hitherto sent by India did not show improvement, little relief could be looked for from there, at least so far as Lancashire was concerned.

The Housing of Factory Employees.

By desire of Sir Thomas Holland, Chairman of the Indian Industries Commission, the Consulting Surveyor to the Government of Bombay has issued a circular letter addressed to employers of labour, asking for their co-operation in investigating and finding out the exact conditions as to the housing of factory employees, so that appropriate action might be taken to bring about their amelioration. In the course of his letter, the Consulting Surveyor says:—"It is quite unnecessary to remind you of its extreme importance from the factory and millowners' point of view. It is clearly the business of the employer of labour to consider carefully the conditions which will conduce to increased production and to study the means whereby his increased wealth may lead to an improvement in the physical and social welfare of his employees. In a survey of this nature the proper housing of the working classes must of course take a very prominent place. It is generally admitted that the existing housing of the working classes in this country does not tend to improve their physical, moral or social status, and that indeed is the direct cause of their want of stamina and diminishing earning power."

We understand from the *Eastern Engineering* that a copy of the letter has been forwarded to the Bombay Municipal Corporation, who have sent it on to the Commissioner with a request that if there be no objection, the information asked for by the Consulting Surveyor to Government might be furnished.

Slow Progress of Power-Mills.

It is more than 30 years since industrialism got a firm footing in some of the big towns in India, says a contemporary, and since then the number of power-mills has been steadily growing. Nevertheless, in the course of a whole generation they have failed to make any serious effect on the economic organization of the state. Of the population of India, calculated at 315 millions, 35 millions only are supported by industries; of these 18 millions were classed at the census as dependants, and only 17 millions as actual workers. Of these 17 millions, only 8,23,000 are employed in the 2,983 power-mills now existing in India, while no less than 1,66,92,000 are engaged in small workshops and home handicrafts. The fact that not even 1 million out of 315 millions are at work in power-mills after 30 years of progress suggests that there must be some fundamental difference in the conditions of India and Lancashire which affects this particular problem.

After-War Trade.

At the annual meeting of the Rangoon Trades Association, on March 1915, Mr. W. G. Turner, in his presidential address, referring to trade after the war said: "The British Empire has obligations and duties in connection with her Allies and these do not cease on the day peace is declared. If we are going to give France, Belgium and Poland a chance to reconstruct their shattered industries, it can only be done by prohibitory tariffs against enemy manufacturers, by protecting ourselves against the system of 'dumping,' subsidised shipping and bounty-fed industries. We may not adopt these methods ourselves, but the legislature should make it impossible for alien enemies to continue these insidious attempts to undermine British trade. What was a debatable policy in the past becomes a sacred duty in the future."

"We have another powerful weapon in the coming industrial war. That is the fact that the British Empire is by far the largest producer of raw materials. I see no reason why we should not, by the introduction of import duties, conserve these raw materials or, at any rate, such materials as we hold the monopoly of, for our own benefit. There is not the least doubt that if the enemy held this commanding position, they would take full advantage of it. We often grumble at foreign competition, but at the same time ourselves supply raw materials at cost price."

Paper from Cotton-Stalks.

There appeared a few weeks ago in several English dailies a short report of a continental discovery of far-reaching economic importance. It was reported that a Berlin chemist had succeeded in preparing paper pulp from cotton-stalks. The idea was certainly one which could be taken up in a large cotton growing country like India, and we are glad to learn that at least in one Indian Province successful experiments have been initiated already through the efforts of the Central Provinces Agricultural Chemist, Mr. Slymen. We understand that an Ellichpur gentleman, Rao Sahab G. N. Sahasrabudhe, sent to the Director of Industries of the Central Provinces some cotton stalk samples which had been examined in the Government Laboratory. The results shown are encouraging.

We give below the report on the cotton-stalks by the Nagpur Agricultural Chemist:—

The utilization of cotton stalks in the manufacture of paper pulp has been suggested at various times during recent years chiefly in America. In order to determine the details of

the process and the nature of the product obtained, experiments on a laboratory scale were made in the Agricultural Research Institute, Nagpur. The analysis of cotton stalks was first made, and they were found to contain 42.4 per cent. of cellulose, 10.3 per cent. of moisture and 5.8 per cent. of mineral matter. The cellulose was determined by Cross and Bevan's method and was of a good white colour. For the preparation of paper pulp, the cotton stalks were roughly broken up into pieces about half an inch long and digested in a laboratory autoclave at a pressure of 3 atmospheres (145. C.) with caustic alkali solution for about 5 hours. After washing, the stalks were treated with bleaching powder. The pulp obtained is, therefore, a Soda pulp, but the alternative methods of preparing a sulphate or a sulphite pulp might also be tried if the chemicals were easily available.

The important process of beating the pulp could not be carried out very effectively in the laboratory, as no hand beating can take the place of the beating engine of the paper works. Small samples of paper were, however, made which go to show that paper can be prepared from cotton-stalks. The samples do not pretend to indicate what might be obtained by the proper appliances of paper works as no filling or finish has been given.

If Rao Sahab Sahasrabudhe would like to go into the matter further, I would be quite willing to write to leading manufacturers of paper making machinery and get an estimate from them of the cost of plant for a paper works. The local considerations are (a) quantity of material available within a reasonable area; (b) cost of chemicals and fuel; (c) quantity and quality of water supply; (d) product to be obtained whether (i) paper completely made or (ii) half stuff, i.e., bleached but unbeaten pulp.

Bengal Home Industries.

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the Bengal Home Industries Association was held at Government House, Calcutta, on the 27th February. The funds of the Association now amount to Rs. 50,000. Premises for the showroom and sale depot have been taken at 3A., Hogg Street, Calcutta, immediately behind the Municipal offices, and it is hoped that H. E. Lady Carmichael will open them shortly before her departure. Much interest is being taken in various districts. Many district committees of the Association have been formed or are in process of formation. It is hoped that substantial financial support will be obtained from the Government.

Measures for Fostering Village Industries.

The *Bengal Co-operative Journal* suggests the following measures for preserving village industries:—

The remedies are two: education and organisation. By education is not meant mere literary training—though, of course, the children of craftsmen must be taught at least the three R's,—but a thorough grounding in the technicalities of their art. Village schools should be established to demonstrate improved machinery suited to the pockets and conditions of cottage workers. Children should be taught to welcome and adopt every labour-saving machine adapted to their needs. A central technological institute should be continually at work, testing new inventions and bringing the most practicable of them to the notice of craftsmen in innumerable village schools. Craft secrets should be investigated, and the best of them exploited. Organisation is needed in the purchase of raw material, in the finance of its manufacture, and in the sale of the manufactured article. Here it is that the co-operative method offers the most promising solution. In Bombay Presidency, 31 co-operative societies have been formed, composed entirely of weavers with the object of buying yarn, dyes, implements, etc., at wholesale prices, advancing cash loans to weavers, and helping to some extent in the sale of cloth during the slack season. Owing to the apathy and ignorance of the weaving classes, the success obtained has not yet been very striking. But here and there results have been remarkable, and there is no reason to think that the plan itself is at fault.

Waste in War Time.

A correspondent writes to the *Times of India*:—

In all the war economies that have been recommended from time to time, there seems to be one very important item of waste that has entirely escaped attention. Throughout India, and especially in Bombay, there are many thousands of maunds of the finest wheat flour used every year for sizing of cloth. This is pure vanity, and this valuable foodstuff goes into waste at the first washing of the cloth. If the use of all edible starches in the sizing of cloths was prohibited throughout India, it would certainly lower the price of wheat and flour, which is surely what the Government are desirous of doing, and if such an excellent regulation was adopted in war time, it might be possible to have it retained in time of peace.

Glass Manufacture.

An Indian glass manufacturer, Rai Sahab Lala Panna Lal, of Ambala City, in a paper contributed to the 12th Session of the Indian Industrial Conference, at Lucknow, gives some useful information regarding business ways in general and glass manufacture in particular. The author gives estimates for the construction of two glass works at Rs. 70,000 and Rs. 25,000 with working capital at Rs. 25,000 and Rs. 10,000 respectively, and gives a history of glass-making as carried on by the old Minhar class of workers. He treats of plant, tools, furnaces and melting pots as a man experienced in the work, and shows an intimate knowledge of the various materials required for the craft, and then turns to blowing machines, presses, emery wheels and the manufacture of bangles. The difficulties of glass manufacture in India seem to centre round the high temperature to which the workmen are exposed, especially during the hot weather. This is a point, observes a contemporary, that the writer does not touch although it is very important. He might obtain some useful ideas from the iron works of the Tata Co., at Sakchi, where every care has been given to the comfort of the men who are exposed to the heat of the foundry and rolling mills. Lofty roofs allow a free escape to the heated air, and in certain parts electric fans are provided. Much may be done in even a small glassworks to increase the comfort of the men. A coat of linewash on the outside of an iron roof will reduce the temperature of the metal at least 26 degrees. Fah. Tiled roofs and brick walls may be similarly treated. A ventilating fan, driven from the same source of power as the grinding wheels, might supply a current through passages below the floor to openings where the men are stationed when at work, and this air might be cooled from 10 to 15 degrees by suitable humidifying.

Industrial Training of Indian Women.

A Bombay correspondent of the *Tribune* says there is in Bombay alone opening for 300 literate women to be employed as supervisors and forewomen in factories which are suitable for middle class women. There are, he says, not a few nurses, mid-wives, and trained female teachers who earn a precarious living, but if they were to divert their attention to the mills, they would better their prospects and quadruple their income. This side of the industrial question undoubtedly requires larger attention.

Export of Articles from India.

A Press *communiqué* dated Simla, March 14, states:—With reference to the revised list of interpellations together with the rulings published by the *Board of Trade Journal* of the 19th October 1916, which was republished in Notification No. 35 C. W. D., dated the 6th January 1917, the following telegram has been received from His Majesty's Secretary of State for India:—It has been decided to revoke with effect from 2nd April the general licenses for importation into the United Kingdom of the following articles under the heading (A) Wood, (B) wood:—Manufactures of beetwood, boxwood, dogwood, greenheart, hickory, lancewood, lingumvita, piadouk, sabieu, sandlewood, birch, timber in logs, barrels: tops and bottoms and wooden tops for birch, maple and persimmon blocks and squares for bobbins, reels, shuttles and spools box, shooks box, board screws made of wood, tool handles and brush handles, painters of ash and hickory case boards, empties returned flooring boards: planned and prepared, tongued and grooved of non-prohibited woods, rules measuring of wood, cars made from ashwood, pine block for match making, plywood wooden pulleys, wood wool. Consignments *enroute* to this country on or before 12th March will be admitted on production to the customs officer of the date of despatch, and licenses will usually be granted for the consignments paid for the consignees on or before that date.

Import Duty on Cotton Goods.

The following comment of the *Madras Mail* on the increase of import duty on Lancashire goods will be found interesting:—

"The increase of the import tax on cotton goods is important politically, for it marks the breakdown of the detestable Cobdenite system of penalising India in the interests of Lancashire. It has not, however, been possible to go the whole way and abolish the countervailing cotton excise, for no money can now be gone without. Still, since the excise remains at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and the import duty has been raised from $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., our main purpose is served. We congratulate Mr. Austen Chamberlain on having allowed the inequitable system hitherto in force to be scrapped."

The Jute Trade.

Members of the Indian Jute Mills Association have agreed to short time of five days weekly from April to September 30th. The decision has not influenced gunny on the share market which continue inactive.

Millionaires in Japan.

A contemporary writes:—There are altogether 2,201 people in this country, worth more than 500,000 yen, according to a census taken by the *Jiji* quite recently. This is the third such investigation conducted by the paper; the first was in 1901, and second in 1911. The number of such persons has increased by 1076 since the second investigation, when it was 1025. In other words, in 5 years of 1911-16, the number of well-to-do people has increased just 115 per cent. The aggregate wealth of these 2,201 persons is estimated at 3,470,000,000 yen. Those possessing over 10,000,000 yen number 43; over 5,000,000 yen, 73; over 3,000,000 yen, 80; over 2,000,000 yen, 108; over 1,000,000 yen, 451; over 500,000 yen, 1,433. Classified by professions, businessmen head the list with 1,433, including 53 engaged in shipping; next come landowners with 423; then directors of banks and other companies, with 289; factory and mineowners number 51 and 35; while peers on the list are 105. There are also 142 not belonging to any of the above items. Of the whole number 2,201, Tokyo-Fu has 595 or 27 per cent.; Osaka 382 or 17·3 per cent.; while Ibaraki Prefecture has only 7, the lowest figure. Comparing the number of these wealthy people with the whole number of families in Japan, which was 9,720,000 in 1913, we find that every 10,000 families have 2·19 such persons. This, of course, varies with locality; for, in Tokyo, there are 8·15 persons for every 10,000 families which is the highest, while 32 for every 10,000 families in Ibaraki Prefecture is the lowest.

India and the Economic Conference.

The Hon Sir George Barnes, replying to Sir Fazulbhoj Currimbhoy's question at a recent meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council regarding the re-nomination of a representative from India to the Economic Conference to be held after the War, said:—

The Government of India are fully aware that there is a strong feeling in commercial circles that India should be represented at any conference on the economic policy to be pursued after the War, and have been in communication with the Secretary of State for India on the subject. We have, I am glad to be able to inform the Hon. Member, that the definite assurance of the Prime Minister that when the conference is held, India shall be represented.

AGRICULTURAL SECTION.

India's Cotton Crop.

The increase compared with the previous year in the yield of India's cotton crop for 1916-17, as estimated in the final general memorandum, says the *Pioneer*, is shared by all the principal cotton-growing provinces except the Central Provinces. The total area reported under the crop in the whole country is 21,212,000 acres, or nearly 19 per cent. more than the revised figure of last year. The total estimated yield is 4,557,000 bales, which is 22 per cent. above the revised figure last year. Of this total the estimate for Bombay Presidency is 1,348,000 bales, showing an increase of 44 per cent. on last year. The Central Provinces, which comes next in importance among the cotton-growing provinces, has an estimated yield of 884,000 bales, which is 20 per cent. short of last year. This shortage in estimated yield is in spite of an increase of 8 per cent. in the acreage under cotton. Climatic conditions at sowing time were favourable, but heavy and continuous rain later on retarded weeding operations, damaged the crop and stunted its growth on heavy soils in nearly all the Southern districts. Madras shows an increase compared with last year of 54 per cent. in its yield, the Punjab an increase of 30 per cent., and the United Provinces an increase of 18 per cent. Hyderabad (Deccan) has the largest area under cotton among the Native States, and the acreage for 1916-17 is estimated at 3,200,000, an 8 per cent. increase on last year. The yield is estimated at 500,000 bales, being 11 per cent. increase, while the yield of Central India is estimated at 309,000 bales, an increase of 43 per cent.

Agricultural College, Punjab.

It is announced that the next session of the Punjab Agricultural College commences on the 27th August 1917, and applications received before the 15th March 1917, will receive prior consideration. Application received after that date will only be entertained if vacancies are then available.

Punjab Sugarcane.

The final forecast of the Punjab sugarcane crop for 1916, gives an area of 410,043 acres under the crop, an increase of 18 per cent. as compared with 1915, due to the high price of *gur*. The season was quite favourable, and the outturn is estimated at 346,276 tons of *gur*, which is 26 per cent. better than last year.

Sugarcane in the United Provinces.

The work at the cane research station, at Shahjahanpur, shows there is a definite limit to the yield of sucrose from most of the indigenous canes, and heavy manuring merely gives rise to an excessive vegetable growth without any proportionate formation of sucrose. This is amply confirmed by the returns over a series of years from different farms. The only way to increase the yield is to introduce better varieties and to improve methods of cultivation. Even here the climate is an important factor to contend with, and it is pointed out that one acre of Java produces as much sugar as $14\frac{1}{2}$ acres in the United Provinces. It is thus easy to understand why, with a total average of 300,000 acres, Java supplies India with most of our crystalline sugar and why the United Provinces, with $1\frac{1}{2}$ million acres, lags behind. . . . Under these conditions it is futile to expect any large development in sugarcane growing in the provinces, though doubtless some improvements can be effected, provided they are not costly and yield a proportionate income. If there is no great probability of the United Provinces or other provinces of India growing sufficient sugar to supply the internal wants of the country owing to climatic conditions and other difficulties, the policy of raising the custom duty on imported sugar is economically unsound. —*The Tribune*.

German Substitute for Cotton and Wool.

Spinners and weavers of Germany claim that they have found in their own country a satisfactory and inexpensive substitute for cotton and wool. The plant is called the typha and is a sort of cat-tail that grows extensively in marshes. This year's crop is estimated at between 1,500,000 and 6,000,000 tons. The yield of the finished product is 10 per cent. of the raw product. Samples of cloth made from this material are said to show that it is suited to making a large variety of fabrics. Leading German merchants, spinners, and bankers have subscribed capital for the manufacture of the new cloth. They call attention to the fact that Napoleon's embargo on sugar resulted in developing their great beet-sugar industry, and predict that a similar development will take place in the cloth industry. One point in favour of the typha is that it can be grown on land not needed for cultivating other crops, and it can be harvested from June until frost.

Agricultural Co-operation.

In the course of a paper, advocating the cause of the co-operative movement in India, Babu Shiva Charen Lal, of Gwalior, points out :—

Agriculture is the first thing which should claim the attention of co-operators in India, and this statement is fully borne out by the recommendations of the committee on co-operation. There seems to be a bright future in store for co-operation in India, and to quote from an article from me, which appeared in the *Leader* of the 16th November 1916, we are anxiously looking forward to the time when "organization for purposes of credit will lead to concerted action in other important matters. . . . when primary education, sanitary measures, medical and charitable relief will all claim the attention of the village society," and "when our village co-operative societies will be on a miniature scale the replica of our larger municipalities which enjoy the advantages of local self-government."

There are at present some 15,000 co-operative credit societies, mostly rural, working in British India; nearly all the important and enlightened States of India, such as Hyderabad, Mysore, Gwalior and Baroda have also introduced and extended the principle of co-operative credit within their jurisdictions; and the writer has good reasons to believe that the Kashmir Durbar is also shortly to follow suit. These co-operative credit societies, coupled with a slight relaxation of demand on the produce of the cultivator will, in course of time, tend to materially improve his condition.

A Soil Sampler.

The sampler, says an expert writer in an English Agricultural Journal, consists of a brass tube 11 inches long, with one end made into a cutting edge. This cutting edge is so made that the soil is not appreciably compacted when the sample is taken. The end, having the cutting edge, is furnished with a tight-fitting brass cap 2 inches in height. The open end, plugged with absorbent cotton, makes the sample complete. In using the apparatus, the complete sampler is first sterilized. It is then taken into the field, the cap is removed, the driving head is inserted above the cotton plug, and the sampler is driven into the ground to the desired depth. It is then pulled out, the cap is flamed, replaced, and the sample is ready to be taken to the laboratory. This sampler is easily sterilized, easily kept clean, easily manipulated, and durable.

Agricultural Holdings.

The average area of land enjoyed by an Indian landholder, observes the *Wealth of India*, is something less than 5 acres, and no man can be reasonably expected to live a decent life on land which is anything under 40 acres in extent. The many sub-divisions of landed estates allowed at present are said to be against the adoption of scientific methods, which again mean large capital and big efforts. Mr. G. A. Stuart, Director of Agriculture, Madras, in his evidence before the Industrial Commission, referred to this problem. He said :—

The improvement of agriculture, which was the basis of many industries, was hampered by the extremely scattered nature of the holdings in Madras. That applied especially to irrigated land, much of which was held in minute scattered plots. This system reduced the efficiency of all agricultural operations. He thought that more might be done to encourage the gradual formation of compact holdings, but it would be difficult to do very much unless the Hindu law of partition was altered.

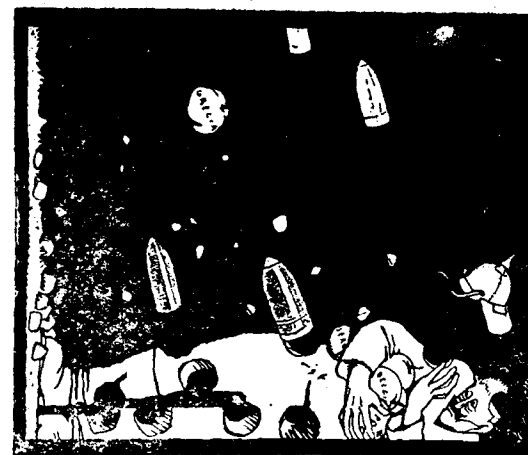
An Agricultural Exhibition.

The eighth Chinsura Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition came to a close on the 24th ultimo. The exhibits were numerous. There was a large gathering and many gold and silver medals and certificates were awarded. Mr. Bradley-Birt, I.C.S., President, before distributing the awards, said that the agricultural portion of the Exhibition was not as representative as it might have been.

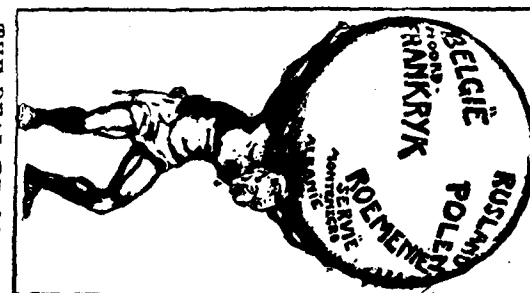
Irrigation Economy.

A useful enquiry in connection with the Agricultural Departments in India, observes a local contemporary, would be to ascertain the duty of water in the matter of the irrigation of crops. We do not recollect if this has been undertaken yet, but we have an idea that systematic enquiry would show that in the matter of irrigating crops a good deal more water is used than is actually required, just as it had been discovered in paddy cultivation that more seed was being used than was actually required and with less successful results. The experiments proved that with much less water than it was customary for the ryots to give their crops and with special means of breaking up and preparing the land for cultivation, it was possible to get an outturn of wheat and *bhusa* that made the ryots open their eyes with astonishment and offer large areas of land for similar treatment.

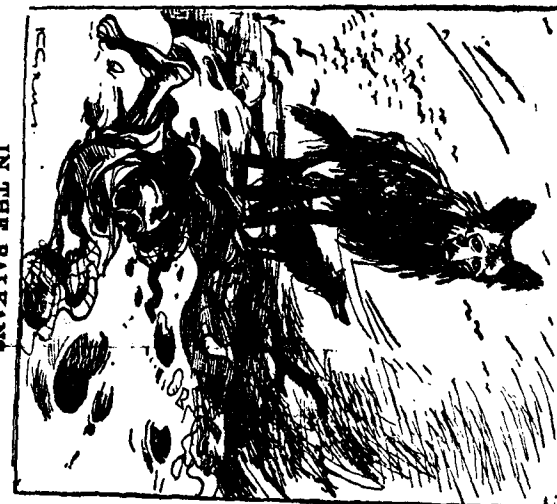
Kaiser: "Before heaven I did not wish this war. I wished it quite otherwise!!!"
Iberia, Barcelona.



THE REAL REASON
Who will help me to get quit of this?
De Nieuwe Amsterdammer,
Amsterdam.



IN THE BALKANS
Wolf: "These Germans can't get much to eat—I can never find any fat on their bones!!!"
Mucka, Moscow, late of Warsaw.



Literary.

THE PRESS DEPUTATION.

H. E. the Viceroy's amazing reply to the Press deputation that waited on him, on March 5, at Delhi, has naturally caused much disappointment. The reply which was ungenerous has been resented all over the country as altogether an unusual Viceregal utterance and of a highly controversial nature, which it was presumably His Excellency's desire to avoid. His Excellency's criticism of the Judges is quite ill-conceived and uncalled for. The *Bombay Chronicle*, whose Editor Mr. B. G. Horniman headed the Deputation, has the following comments on the speech:—

"We are unable to understand Lord Chelmsford who says that anything in the nature of muzzling the press strikes right across the whole grain of his being, and then proceeds to justify the existence of a muzzle which can be applied in the most arbitrary fashion, without resort to the law courts, by the quotation of a few casual extracts from one or two journals, one of which, and the one that seems to have impressed him most gravely, has actually been held by two Judges of the High Court, under the wide and comprehensive terms of the Act which he defends, to be of an unobjectionable character. But it is characteristic, we regret to say, of the whole of the Viceroy's justification of the Act, that in referring to this extract, he quoted with profound emphasis the opinion of a High Court Judge and completely ignored the differing view of that Judge's two colleagues by whom he was overruled. We have too great a confidence in Lord Chelmsford's desire to deal fairly with a great question of this kind to suppose that he can possibly have been aware when he delivered his speech, that he was quoting mere *obiter dicta* on a point, in regard to which the settled judgment of the Court holds an opposite view. But we fear that this instance gives the clue to the manner in which the material for Lord Chelmsford's guidance in this matter has been prepared."

LITERATURE FOR HOSPITALS.

The Women's Branch of the Bombay Presidency War and Relief Fund has made a strong appeal to the public, to remember the troops who want books to read. One Army Corps in Mesopotamia wants a library of 2,400 books, and another wants 1,600 books. Hospitals and Convalescent Homes need a weekly supply of 5,000 newspapers.

SUBSIDISED NEWSPAPERS IN INDIA.

In reply to a question by the Hon'ble Mr. Mir Asad Ali Khan at a meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council, on March 10, the Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock stated:—The Imperial Government do not subsidise any Indian or Anglo-Indian newspapers or periodicals, but merely takes such number of copies as are required for departmental purposes. In 1911, the following newspapers were subsidised by the Local Governments named: Bombay, *Jagat Vritta*, 10,000 copies, amount of subsidy per annum Rs. 16,000; Bengal, *Sulav Samachar*, 25,000 copies, amount of subsidy per annum Rs. 62,000; United Provinces, the *Independent*, 300 copies, amount of subsidy per annum Rs. 9,000; Eastern Bengal and Assam, *Biswa Bara*, copies 11,000, amount of subsidy per annum Rs. 32,000. The subsidies in the last three cases were withdrawn after a year and have not been renewed. The period for which a subsidy was sanctioned in the case of the *Jagat Vritta* has not yet expired.

MADRAS WAR FUND COMPETITION.

The term for entries for the Madras War Fund Literary Competitions has been extended to the 1st July. Prizes will be given, as already announced, for the best (1) limerick; (2) riddle; (3) rhymed double acrostic; (4) amusing anecdote or incident; (5) sonnet or poem, or parody of not more than sixteen lines; (6) story, descriptive sketch or dialogue of not more than 2,000 words with the scene in South India; (7) illustration in black and white, relating to 4 or 6; (8) caricature in black and white.

BISHEN NARAIN DHAR AS A LITERARY MAN.

A recent number of the *Canning College Magazine* (Lucknow) devotes considerable space to the late Pandit Bishen Narain Dhar. The late Pandit was famous for his devotion to English literature, and in this connection an interesting story is told of him. When Morley's bulky "Life of Gladstone" in three volumes came out, he devoured it in six days and then exclaimed, "Oh, I wish I had a fourth volume to go on with."

THE "MYSORE UNIVERSITY MAGAZINE."

We have received the first number of the *Mysore University Magazine*, the organ of the new Mysore University. It records the intellectual, athletic, and social phases of the life of the University. It hopes to become a valued organ for the expression of the views of all classes of the members of the University and of the outside educated community.

A ZEPPELIN



THE LATE COUNT ZEPPELIN

[MARCH 1917.]

Educational.

ORIENTAL STUDIES SCHOOL.

Opening the School of Oriental Studies, on February 23, H. M. the King emphasised the wide scope and vast importance of its work, affording fresh opportunities for study to those services which had been the pioneers of progress and instruments of good government in India and Egypt, and furnishing with fuller technical equipment the pioneers of commerce and industry who, in each successive generation, undertook the duty of upholding the honoured fame of British trade in the East. Its work would also serve to develop the existing sympathy between Britons and Japanese. If the School succeeded in imparting to pupils, sent out as teachers of unselfish government and civilised commerce, a clearer comprehension of the thoughts and lives of the diverse races of the East, the good effects thereof would extend far beyond immediate tangible results. The ancient literature and art of India were of unique interest in the history of human endeavour. His Majesty looked to the School to quicken public interest in the intellectual tradition of India, and to promote and assist the labours of students in these departments of knowledge to the advantage of both countries. The school was about to open its doors in the midst of an unparalleled crisis in the world's history. For more than two years, the peoples of His Majesty's dominions had loyally and devotedly vied with each other in offering blood and treasure for the prosecution of a righteous war—(cheers)—and the sense of common sacrifice and endeavour had drawn us all nearer one another in feeling and sympathy. Meanwhile, the peaceful labours of the School, in spreading accurate and scientific knowledge of Eastern life and thought, would foster a spirit of loyalty and patriotism and knit together still closer the many nations of the Empire.

In conclusion, the King said:—"May God bless the labours of this school in the advancement of learning, unity and good government among people of every race and language."

Lord Curzon trusted that the school would become a sort of clearing house of ideas between East and West.

THE HINDU UNIVERSITY SCHOOL.

We learn from the *Hindu College Magazine*, that as soon as the College and Pathashala can be moved to Nagwa, the school will be divided into three branches:—

(1) The present school; (2) the Oriental School in which all subjects would be taught through the medium of Hindi; and (3) the Industrial School in which students would be trained so as to be able to make their living by trade and industry.

INDIANS AND RESEARCH WORK.

In the course of his convocation address, the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, referred in these terms to the labours of Indians in Research work:—

"Special work with promising results has been undertaken by Dr. Brajendranath Seal, Mr. Raman, Dr. Ganesh Prasad and Dr. P. C. Ray in their respective branches of knowledge. Dr. Seal's work on the positive sciences of the ancient Hindus has served its purpose as a contribution to the history of scientific and philosophical thought of the Hindus, and has won unstinted recognition from scientific journals like *Nature* and the *Lancet*.

"A department of experimental psychology has been opened at the college of science. This department can be built up only slowly, for though this fascinating branch of knowledge has long been included in our curriculum, no one had succeeded in graduating in it, in absence of facilities for practical work. I, therefore, welcome with pleasure our first Master in the subject—Babu Manmatha Bannerji, whose Second-Class is no index of want of merit but largely of the handicap I have mentioned.

"Dr. Ganesh Prasad has published four original papers on Acoustics, etc. He has three research scholars under him, each of whom has published an original paper. The work of one of the Sir Rashbehary Ghose scholars is a brilliant investigation of a difficult hydro-dynamical problem, and that of the other is an interesting piece of research in the dynamics of a particle. The student, who was awarded the Premchand Roychand Studentship last year for his investigation as a Sir Rashbehary Ghose scholar, has published an important paper on aerial manes in the *Philosophical Magazine* of London."

Legal.

SIR SHAMS-UL-HUDA.

The King has approved of the appointment of Nawab Syed Sir Shams-ul-Huda as a puisne judge of the Calcutta High Court in succession to Mr. Justice Chatterjee. Sir Shams-ul-Huda is at present a member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bengal. He is to retire in April.

COURT-MARTIAL SENTENCES.

At a recent meeting of the Viceregal Council, H. E. the Commander-in-Chief introduced the Court-Martial Sentences Bill. He said it was unnecessary to deal at any length with the Bill, but briefly it put into the hands of high officers the power to condone any acts hastily committed by young officers which lay the officers open to be tried by court-martial. Some officers were young and impulsive, and did not always consider what might be the result of their acts, and the Bill empowered certain officers to endorse on the reports that the question of their being tried by court-martial should be suspended for the present, and the officer be given an opportunity by good conduct to rehabilitate his character and to earn the remission of the suspended sentence.

The rules of business having been suspended, the Bill was considered and passed without discussion.

THE CALCUTTA BAR.

Mr. B. C. Mitter, Bar-at-law, the Standing Counsel, has been appointed to act as Advocate-General in the place of Sir S. P. Sinha, and Mr. S. R. Das, Bar-at-Law, has been appointed to act in the place of Mr. B. C. Mitter. Mr. Mitter is the son of the late lamented Sir Romesh Chandra Mitter, and he has enjoyed an extensive practice for several years on the original side of the High Court at Calcutta. Mr. S. R. Das has acted more than once as Standing Counsel on previous occasions.

THE NEW INDIA APPEAL.

The judgments of the High Court of Madras, in the *New India* case, nine in all, together with the grounds of appeal, and the arguments on them, go to England for an application to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council for the leave to appeal refused here. Where a great principle is concerned, observes that paper, it is necessary to fight to the end, whether one loses or wins.

LITIGATION IN ANCIENT INDIA.

The eighth monthly meeting of the Dacca Sahitya Parishat came off recently at Dacca under the presidency of Mr. R. K. Dass, Bar-at-Law. After the adoption of the last meeting's report which was read by the Secretary, and the election of new members, Dr. Naresh Chandra Sen, M.A., D.L., read an interesting paper on "Litigation in Ancient India."

Before reading his paper, he said that the subject was so vast that he had been investigating it for the last 5 or 6 years without being able to obtain anything like a thorough mastery of it. He could not exhaust the subject in a single paper; he, therefore, proposed to deliver a course of lectures at the Dacca Sahitya Parishat on the above subject. The proposal was received by the audience with enthusiastic cheers. He then read his paper, the first part of which was mainly introductory dealing chiefly with the authorities consulted and their relation to one another. In the second part, the writer gave an account of the way in which litigation was dealt with in the various works constituting the Dharma Shastras. The subject dealt with, in the earlier treatises especially, might seem to be very meagre, being confined to theft, adultery, assault and defamation in criminal law and topics relating to debts in civil law. But the writer remarked that Pan-chayets used to decide a considerable amount of litigation concerning adoption, marriage, succession, inheritance, etc., and those matters scarcely came up before the King's Courts. Hence the mistake of foreigners like Megasthenes in attributing meagreness to Hindu Law.

SIR DONALD JOHNSTONE.

Sir Donald Johnstone, on the occasion of retiring from the Chief Judgeship of the Lahore Chief Court, bade farewell to the Court in the presence of all the other Judges of the Court and a large gathering of members of the Bar and Court officials. The Hon. Mr. Shafi, Vice-President of the Chief Court Bar, paid an eloquent tribute to the courtesy and ability of the retiring Chief Judge.

Sir Donald Johnstone was subsequently entertained to a farewell dinner by members of the Punjab Club. Sir Michael O'Dwyer, who presided, said that no one could have done more than Sir Donald to maintain the dignity and independence of the judiciary.

Medical.

THE VITAL STATISTICS OF INDIA.

Reviewing the Report on Sanitary Measures in India in 1914-15, the *New Statesman* points out:—

The health of the European Army, in 1914, was remarkably good. The table of the mortality from all causes shows that from 1881 to 1903 the death-rate per 1,000 troops ranged from 13 to 22, but the average was fairly constantly in the neighbourhood of 17. Since 1903, the death-rate has fallen steadily and rapidly, and, in 1914, was only 4.3 per 1,000. This is a remarkable and highly creditable improvement. Malaria was the chief cause of sickness, accounting for 262.8 admissions to hospital per 1,000 of strength, or more than one-quarter of the total admissions from all causes. Venereal diseases were responsible for 55.2 admissions per 1,000 troops, a rate which was a small increase on that for the previous year, but is substantially lower than the average rate 91.7 for the years 1904-13. The health of Indian troops has shown an equal improvement since 1903, and, in 1914, the mortality was only 4.17 per 1,000. The admission rate for malaria was 112.8, and for venereal diseases 15.6. If the same standard of admission is employed for Indian and British troops, the low rate of venereal diseases among the former is very striking.

AN AYURVEDIC EXHIBITION.

Vaidyaratna Pundit D. Gopala Charlu, of Madras, opened at Poona the Ayurvedic Exhibition organised in connection with the eighth session of the Ayurvedic Conference, when there were present about 300 Indian physicians and hakims from different parts of the country. His Holiness Sri Sankaracharya, of Virupaksha Mutt, who is himself a distinguished physician practising the Indian system of medicine, also attended. Pundit Gopala Charlu dwelt at length on the uses of Exhibitions, which, he said, were very useful in bringing the Indian system in touch with the Western. He suggested that there should be permanent medical *muswars* in different parts of the country, and concluded his address by appealing to Indian Princes and Chiefs to support the indigenous system of medicine.

AYURVEDIC CONFERENCE.

The eight session of the All-India Ayurvedic Conference assembled in the Kirloskar Theatre, on the 25th February, at Poona. About 350 Vaidyas and Hakims, representing several provinces of India, attended. Vaidyaratna Kaviraj Jogendranath Sen, Calcutta, an ex-President, and some other leading workers in the cause were unavoidably absent. Several distinguished guests attended, prominent among them being Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar, the Hon'ble Messrs. Godbole and Kamat, and Messrs. Tilak and Kelkar. His Holiness the Sankaracharya, of Virupaksha Mutt, was also present.

Dr. M. G. Deshmukh, M.D., (Bombay), in his welcome address, urged the Ayurvedic Maha Mandal to protect the existing rights of the Vaidyas and to agitate for securing further rights for them.

H. H. the Rajah of Cochin, having been formally elected President of the Conference, read his opening address, which was in Sanskrit. After dealing with the deplorable condition in which the ancient science of medicine was at present, he suggested the following remedies for its revival:— (1) Works bearing on medical science, written either in the vernaculars or Sanskrit, should be collected in one place. (2) Statements that may appear to be conflicting with one another in such works should be reconciled by learned Vaidyas. (3) Encouragement should be given to the comparative study of both the systems of medicine, Indian and Western. (4) A central school teaching Ayurveda should be established at a convenient place with a medical library attached to it.

A number of resolutions were passed at the Conference. It was resolved to send a deputation, consisting of the President, Pandit Gopala Charlu, Kaviraj Gananath Sen and a few others to the Viceroy, to place before him the views of the Conference with regard to the Indian system of medicine. Another resolution protested against the action of the Ashte Municipality, in abolishing the Ayurvedic dispensary at the place which was largely used by local people. A committee, consisting of Sir Rama Varma, Sir P. Pattani, Sir R. Bhandarkar, Sir Subrahmanya Iyer, the Gaikwad of Baroda, Maharajas of Rewa, Alwar and Dongarapur, and a number of others, was appointed to collect funds and frame rules for the Ayurveda Mahavidyalaya. Provincial Committees to work in their respective provinces, according to the resolutions passed, were also formed.

Science.

THE LATE COUNT ZEPPELIN.

Count Ferdinand Von Zeppelin whose death was reported on March 8, was born at Constance on the 8th July 1838. He received his early education at the Polytechnik, Stuttgart, and subsequently at the Tubingen University. Later he went to America, where he took part in the Civil War of 1861-65. His adventures during the Franco-Prussian War won him immediate recognition. (See "All About The War—The Indian Review War Book," page 152: G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.)

But the name of Count Zeppelin will always be associated with what is now known as the conquest of the air. A pioneer in this enterprise, he won the Kaiser's appreciation and induced the German Government to construct a fleet of airships. The rest of the story is pretty familiar to the world, and the cruel slaughter of women and children, with no conceivable bearing on the exigencies of the war, is not a desirable commentary on the prowess of this precious son of the Fatherland. Nevertheless from the German point of view, his achievements in this war have enhanced his popularity, and the Kaiser's message of condolence to the bereaved Countess is an interesting document.

"I feel the death of this excellent man," wrote the Kaiser, "most painfully. The whole of Germany unites with me in mourning one of the greatest sons of the Fatherland. His successes in the air have rendered his name immortal far beyond Germany. His memory will always remain sublime and dear to me. Wilhelm."

DR. BOSE'S LABORATORY.

His Excellency the Viceroy, while recently at Calcutta, accompanied by the Governor of Bengal, visited Dr. Bose's private laboratory in Upper Circular Road to see the demonstrations of some of his most striking discoveries. They went over the Bose's Research Institute, which the distinguished Indian scientist is going to found for the perpetuation of India's contribution for the world's advance in science. In the Bose Institute, it is intended that a limited number of post-graduate scholars would receive special training to devote their whole life and undivided energies in the cause of science. The Viceroy expressed his high appreciation of the work already done and of the object of the Institute. One important practical outcome of Dr. Bose's recent research

specially interested His Excellency; this was the transplanting into the grounds of the Institute two large Banyan trees—a task that would have been regarded as impossible; but by rendering the trees unconscious by the action of suitable narcotics, they were protected from the great shock consequent on uprooting, and the trees are now showing vigorous growth. Another recent invention of Dr. Bose, which interested His Excellency, was the high magnification crescograph, which magnifies and records growth in a period as short as one second. The high magnification attained varies from ten thousand to a million times.

DR. P. C. ROY'S RETIREMENT.

On the eve of Dr. P. C. Roy's retirement, the students of the Presidency College, Calcutta, presented him with an address, in the course of which they said:—"Your place in the College, Sir, we are afraid, can never be filled. Men will come and men will go, but where else can we possibly expect to find again that sweetness of disposition, that vigour of simplicity, that unwearied spirit of service, that broad-based culture, that wisdom in deliberation and debate which, for the space of thirty years or more, endeared you so much to pupils?"

STATE SUBSIDIES FOR SCIENCE WORK.

An important declaration was made by Lord Crewe recently in reply to a deputation from the Joint Board of Scientific Societies, with regard to further financial assistance from the Government in aid of scientific research work as applied to industry. He stated that the Government had been impressed by the needs of the hour, and had considered what could be done to assist the great stable industries of the country in developing systematic research on a large scale. It was clear that in the case of large, wealthy industries, where individual firms or limited companies might look for profits on a large scale as the direct result of research, it was not reasonable to suppose that the taxpayers of the country would willingly pay the whole amount to be devoted to such researches. A plan, therefore, for systematic co-operation between the leaders of those great industries and the Advisory Council for scientific and industrial research had to be devised.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer was prepared to devote a large sum for the needs of this co-operation, which during the next five years would enable four or five times as much to be spent on this work of co-operation for research between the Government and the industries as had been already spent.

Personal.

SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE IN AMERICA.

Sir Rabindranath Tagore recently visited New Haven (Conn), where he was presented with the Yale Bicentennial Medal. In making the presentation, the President of the University said:—

Apart from its share in the debt which the West owes to the East, Yale acknowledges special obligation to India which it can never repay. To your country our scholars are indebted for a large source of their inspiration. For three-quarters of a century, the classics of India have been taught in these halls, and the Sanskrit studies of W. D. Whitney are one of the brightest ornaments in Yale's scholastic crown. To your country we owe our local habitation and our name. Two centuries ago the collegiate school of the colony of Connecticut was firmly established in New Haven by the gifts of Governor Yale, of Fort St. George; and the fortune which enabled him to make these gifts was acquired in the Indian Peninsula. In recognition of these obligations and many others, I have the honour to present you, as a memorial of your visit, with the Yale Bicentennial Medal. We welcome you as one of the great brotherhood of seekers after light and truth; we honour you as one to whom it has been given to help thousands—yea, millions—in that search.

SIR P. S. SIVASWAMI AIYAR.

A *Fort St. George Gazette Extraordinary*, published on the 27th February last, says:—"H. E. the Governor in Council desires to place on record his warm appreciation of the valuable services which the Hon'ble Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Iyer has rendered to the State during the term of his office. Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Iyer's intimate knowledge of the needs and aspirations of the people of India and his distinguished legal attainments have been of the greatest assistance to His Excellency in Council, while his high sense of duty and genial disposition have secured for him the respect and affection of all."

A party was subsequently given in honour of Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Iyer, at the Government House, by H. E. Lord Pentland; it was largely attended by the leading citizens of Madras, both official and non-official. A public entertainment was also got up by the non-official members of the Madras Council, at the Moore pavilion, on the 16th instant. Both the functions were very largely attended and highly successful.

TWO NEW APPOINTMENTS.

His Majesty the King-Emperor has approved of the appointment of the Hon. Sir Harcourt Butler, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Lieutenant-Governor of Burma, to be the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh in succession to the Hon. Sir James Meston, K.C.S.I., whose period of office has been extended to November 1917.

His Majesty has also approved of the appointment of the Hon. Sir Reginald Craddock, K.C.S.I., Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, to be Lieutenant-Governor of Burma in succession to Sir Harcourt Butler, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

M. SAZONOFF.

M. Sazonoff, the well-known Russian Minister for Foreign affairs, has succeeded the late Count Benckendorff as Ambassador in London. He retired from the foreign office towards the end of 1916. M. Sazonoff, observes the *Times of India*, although he did not begin his political career as a great admirer of the Anglo-Russian *Entente*, became converted subsequently to the views of his predecessor M. Isvolsky, and after a visit to H. M. the King-Emperor, at Balmoral in 1912, took his stand as a staunch supporter of the *Entente*. In this rôle he was greatly disliked by the reactionary pro-German cliques, and his averseness from all extremes and political fanaticism often drew upon him the attacks of certain of the Russian papers, to which caution and reflection in diplomacy are anathema. The news of his appointment to the Russian Embassy has been received with much satisfaction in Britain.

GENERAL EGERTON.

General Sir Charles Comyn Egerton, G.C.B., D.S.O., who has just retired from the India Council, joined the Bengal Staff Corps in 1871, and, after serving in the Afghan War, was Assistant Adjutant-General with the Punjab Frontier Force from 1886 to 1893. He was with the Hazara, Miranzai and Waziristan expeditions; commanded the Indian contingent at Suakim, a brigade of the Tochi force, the Somaliland field force, and, finally, the Secunderabad Division. He was appointed A. D. C. to Queen Victoria in 1896, and joined the Council of the Secretary of State in 1907.

Political.

INDIA AFTER THE WAR.

Mr. D. W. Miller, of Marsden Point, Arrekland, N. Z., writes to *Everyman*:—

I submit that no future Council of Empire will be complete without the presence of India's stalwart and efficient sons. During a time of difficulty their proffered help of men and money has proved their unbounded loyalty. Thus the resolution of last January, when the very representative and influential National Congress demanded self-government, cannot fairly or wisely be set aside.

The wise act of statesmanship that gave South Africa self-government has been fully justified. May it be but the precursor of an even greater act of magnanimity in recognising India to a more honoured seat in the grand federation of peoples under our illustrious Sovereign, who is also known as the Emperor of India.

NEW TURKISH MINISTRY.

The Grand Vizier, Said Halim Pasha, handed his resignation to the Sultan on the 7th ultimo on the ground of ill-health. The Sultan accepted and requested Talaat Bey, the Minister of the Interior, to constitute the new Ministry which has been formed as follows: Grand Vizier, Talaat Bey; Sheikh-ul-Islam, Mussa Kiazun Effendi; Foreign Affairs, Nazim Bey; Justice, Halil Bey; War, Enver Pasha; Marine, Djemal Pasha; Public Instruction, Posts and Telegraphs: Shukri Bey; Governor of Lebanon, Ali Munif Bey. The Grand Vizier has taken temporary charge of the portfolios of the Interior and Finance.

The new Cabinet is favourably received by all parties and will adopt a programme based on that of the previous Ministry.

THE FRENCH CABINET.

The French Cabinet has been formed as follows:—Premier and Minister for Foreign Affairs—M. Ribot.

Minister of War—M. Painlevé.
Minister of Marine—M. Lacaze.
Minister of Munitions—M. Thomas.
Minister of Finance—M. Thierry.
Minister for the Interior—M. Malvy.
Minister of Commerce—M. Clementel.
Food Controller—M. Violette.
Minister of Labour—M. Bourgeois.
Minister of Justice—Ex-Premier Viviani.

NEW NATIONAL CABINET IN RUSSIA.

The revolution in Russia is one of the most momentous and far-reaching events in temporary history. It began on the 10th March with a ruffle between the hungry mob and the reactionary police in the streets of Petrograd, and the resultant conflagration brought about the abdication of the Czar in three days. This is, of course, the immediate cause, but by no means the only or chief cause. It appears that this effort of the Russians is to thwart the attempts of pro-German ministers and to prosecute the war with more whole-hearted devotion. It is announced the Grand Duke Michael Alexandrovitch has been appointed regent. All old ministers suspected of pro-Germanism have been arrested.

The following is a list of the new National Cabinet:—

Premier and Minister of the Interior—Prince Lvoff, who is also President of the Alliance of Zemstvos.

Minister for Foreign Affairs—Miliukoff.

Minister of Justice—Kirenski.

Minister of Communications—Nekrasshoff.

Minister of Commerce—Konovloff.

Minister of Education—M. Mantiloff, who was a Moscow Professor.

Minister of War and Marine—Dutchkoff, who was a member of the Council of Empire.

Minister of Agriculture—Shingareff.

Minister of Finance—Tirestchenko.

Comptroller of State—Godneff.

MADRAS PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

In accordance with the terms of the resolution passed at the last Congress and under the direction of the All-India Congress Committee, the Madras Provincial Congress Committee has appointed a working committee, which has now resolved to prepare a brief exposition of the scheme of reforms adopted by the Congress and the League, with a view to translate the same into Tamil, Telugu, Hindustani, Canarese, and Malayalam and spread it broadcast among the people; (2) to send copies of the Congress scheme to all non-official members of the Legislative Council, the members of the All-India Congress Committee and leading citizens in the mofussil, requesting them to popularise the scheme by means of lectures in English and Vernacular. Arrangements are also being made to depute the members of the working committee to visit various places in the mofussil to carry out propagandist work.

General.

THE VICTORIA CROSS FOR INDIANS.

The announcement made at the Delhi Durbar in 1911, that in future Indians would be eligible for the Victoria Cross gave satisfaction, which was increased during the War by the award of that decoration to a number of Indian heroes. The following account of Indians who have won the Victoria Cross is taken from the *Indian Year Book for 1917* :—

SEPOY KHUDADAD, 12TH BALUCHIS.

On 31st October 1914, at Hollebeke, Belgium, the British officer in charge of the detachment having been wounded, and the other gun put out of action by a shell, Sepoy Khudadad, though himself wounded, remained working his gun until all the other five men of the gun detachment had been killed.

NAIK DARWAN SING NEGI, 1-39TH GARHWAL RIFLES.

For great gallantry on the night of the 23rd-24th November 1914, near Festubert, France, when the Regiment was engaged in retaking and clearing the enemy out of our trenches, and, although wounded in two places in the head, and also in the arm, being one of the first to push round each successive traverse, in the face of severe fire from bombs and rifles at the closest range.

JAMADAR MIR DAST, 55TH COKE'S RIFLES.

For most conspicuous bravery and great ability at Ypres, on 26th April 1915, when he led his platoon with great gallantry during the attack, and afterwards collected various parties of the Regiment (when no British officers were left) and kept them under his command until the retirement was ordered. Jamadar Mir Dast subsequently on this day displayed remarkable courage in helping to carry eight British and Indian officers into safety, whilst exposed to very heavy fire.

RIFLEMAN KULBIR THAPA, 2-3RD GURKHA RIFLES.

For most conspicuous bravery during operations against the German trenches south of Mauquissart. When himself wounded, on the 25th September 1915, he found a badly wounded soldier of the 2nd Leicestershire Regiment behind the first line German trench, and though urged by the British soldier to save himself, he remained with him all day and night. In the early morning of the 26th September, in misty weather, he brought him out through the German wire, and, leaving him in a place of comparative safety returned and brought in two wounded Gurkhas one after the other. He then went back in broad daylight for the British soldier and brought him in also, carrying him most of the way and being at most points under the enemy's fire.

LANCE-NAICK LALA, 41ST DOGRAS.

Finding a British officer of another regiment lying close to the enemy, he dragged him into a temporary shelter, which he himself had made, and in which he had already bandaged four wounded men. After bandaging his wounds he heard calls from the Adjutant of his own Regiment who was lying in the open severely wounded. The enemy were not more than one hundred yards distant, and it seemed certain death to go out in that direction, but Lance-Naick Lala insisted on going out to his Adjutant, and offered to crawl back with him on his back at once. When this was not permitted, he stripped off his own clothing to keep the wounded officer warmer and stayed with him till just before dark, when he returned to the shelter. After dark he carried the first wounded officer back to the main trenches, and then, returning with a stretcher, carried back his Adjutant. He set a magnificent example of courage and devotion to his officers.

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SEPOY CHATTA SINGH, 9TH BHOPAL INFANTRY.

For most conspicuous bravery and devotion to duty in leaving cover to assist his Commanding Officer, who was lying wounded and helpless in the open. Sepoy Chatta Singh bound up the officer's wound and then dug cover for him with his entrenching tool, being exposed all the time to very heavy rifle fire. For five hours until nightfall he remained besides the wounded officer, shielding him with his own body on the exposed side. He then, under cover of darkness, went back for assistance, and brought the officer into safety.

NAICK SHAHAMAD KHAN, PUNJABIS.

For most conspicuous bravery. He was in charge of a machine-gun section in an exposed position in front of and covering a gap in our new line within 150 yards of the enemy's entrenched position. He beat off three counter-attacks, and worked his gun single-handed after all his men, except two belt-fillers, had become casualties.

For three hours he held the gap under very heavy fire while it was being made secure. When his gun was knocked out by hostile fire, he and his two belt-fillers held their ground with rifles till ordered to withdraw.

With three men sent to assist him he then brought back his gun, ammunition, and one severely wounded man unable to walk. Finally, he himself returned and removed all remaining arms and equipment except two shovels.

But for his great gallantry and determination, our line must have been penetrated by the enemy.

THE FALL OF BAGDAD.

The *London Times*, referring to the fall of Bagdad, says in an editorial, dated March 12, 1917 :—

It should always be remembered that a very large proportion of the forces which General Maude has guided to victory are Indian regiments. The cavalry which hung on the flanks and demoralised the Turkish army and chased it to the confines of Bagdad must have been almost exclusively Indian cavalry. The Infantry which bore months of privation and proved in the end the masters of the Turks included Indian units which had already fought heroically in France, Gallipoli and Egypt. Whatever mistakes the Indian military administration may have made in the earlier stages of the Mesopotamian campaign, the valour of the Indian troops, who have contributed so largely to the successes on the Tigris, has never been questioned. In the last few days, there have been discussions which seemed to imply that India's help in the war chiefly consisted of the belated offer of financial aid. She has done far more; for, in common with ourselves, she has given the blood of her best and bravest and nowhere more than on the deserts of Mesopotamia.



THE BLEEDING PROCESS.

DR. MYER—Oh, don't you fear. I'll do it very gently. A few drops won't weaken you.

DR. CHAMBERLAIN—Don't you be nervous. A little bleeding will be to the advantage of the whole Empire—in which of course you are included, sir.

[The Lancashire mill-owners have protested against the increase of the import duty on foreign cotton goods. They have raised a hue and cry in and outside Parliament, and have used every means in their power to upset the arrangement made in the Indian Budget. But Mr. Chamberlain and the ministry at Home have remained staunch in their resolution, and the arrangement remains intact.]

—*Hindi Punch*.

THE INDIAN REVIEW

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SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR INDIA.

A Plea for a Declaration of Policy.

BY MR. G. A. NATESAN.

The Memorandum of the Nineteen Non-official Elected Members of the Viceroy's Legislative Council justly states that India "has a right to expect that the want of confidence on the part of Government, to which she not unnaturally ascribes her present state, should now be a thing of the past and that she should no longer occupy a position of subordination but one of comradeship." It therefore rightly points out that the time has come when an assurance should be given to the people of India "that England is ready and willing to help them to attain Self-Government under the aegis of the British Crown and thus discharge the noble mission which she has undertaken and to which she has so often given voluntary expression through her rulers and statesmen." The terms of the resolution passed on this important question, at the 32nd session of the Indian National Congress, held at Lucknow, in December 1916, and adopted at the Moslem League held about the same time and in the same city, are as follows :—

(a) That having regard to the fact that the great communities of India are the inheritors of ancient civilisations and have shown great capacity for government and administration, and to the progress in education and public spirit made by them during a century of British Rule, and further having regard to the fact that the present system of Government does not satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people and has become unsuited to the existing conditions and requirements, the Congress is of opinion that the time has come when His Majesty the King-Emperor should issue a Proclamation announcing that it is the aim and intention of the British policy to confer Self-Government on India at an early date.

(b) That this Congress demands that a definite step should be taken towards Self-Government by granting the reforms contained in the scheme prepared by the All-India Congress Committee in concert with the Reform Committee appointed by the All-India Muslim League.

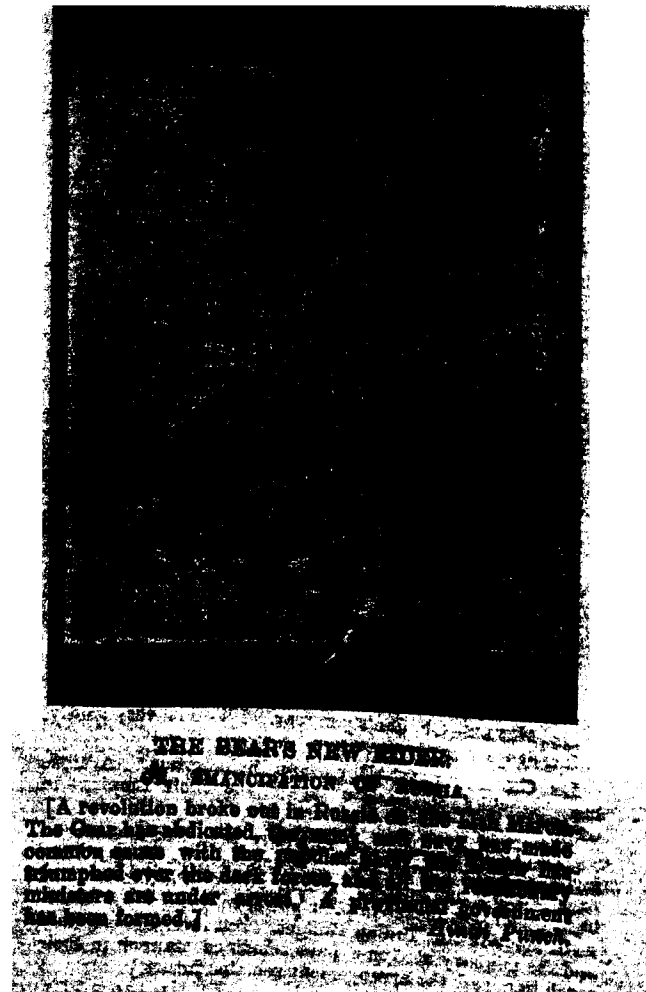
(c) That, in the construction of the Empire, India shall be lifted from the position of a Dependency to that of an equal partner in the Empire with the Self-Governing Dominions.

That Self-Government is to be India's ideal and the goal which Indians should aspire to has been affirmed over and over again and quite voluntarily by various Royal Proclamations, the utterances of British statesmen and famous Anglo-Indian administrators. A century ago, the Marquis of Hastings wrote in his *Private Journal* (May, 17th, 1818):—

A time not very remote will arrive when England will, on sound principles of policy, wish to relinquish the domination which she has gradually and unintentionally assumed over this country, and from which she cannot at present recede. In that hour it would be the proudest boast and most delightful reflection that she had used her sovereignty towards enlightening her temporary subjects, so as to enable the native communities to walk alone in the paths of justice, and to maintain with probity towards their benefactors that commercial intercourse in which we should then find a solid interest. (P. 361-362, Panini Office Edition). Quoted in "Towards Home Rule."

Then again as pointed out by the venerable Indian publicist, Dadabhai Naoroji :

At a time when the Indians were in their educational and political infancy, when they did not and could not understand what their political condition then was or was to be in the future, when they had not uttered any complaints, nor demanded any rights or any definite policy towards themselves, the British nation, of their own accord and pleasure, merely from their own sense of their duty towards the millions of India and to the world, deliberately declared before the world what their policy should be towards the people of India. Nor did the British people do this in any ignorance or want of forethought or without the consideration of all possible consequences of their action. Never was there a debate in both Houses of Parliament more complete and clear, more exhaustive, more deliberately looked at from all points of view, and more calculated for the development



of statesmanlike policy and practical good sense. The most crucial point of view—that of political danger or of even the possible loss of India to Britain—was faced with true English manliness; and the British nation, through their Parliament, then settled, adopted, and proclaimed to the world what their policy was to be—viz., the policy of justice and of the advancement of humanity.

The historic debate referred to is that which took place in the House of Commons and in the Lords in discussing the Charter Act of 1833.

Sir Robert Peel said:—

Sure I am at least that we must approach the consideration of it with a deep feeling, with a strong sense of the responsibility we shall incur, with a strong sense of the moral obligation which imposes it upon us as a duty to promote the improvement of the country and the welfare and well-being of its inhabitants, so far as we can consistently with the safety and security of our dominion and the obligations by which we may be bound.

He declared further that it was England's duty

to endeavour while we still keep them under British rule, to atone to them for the sufferings they endured, and the wrongs to which they were exposed in being reduced to that rule, and to afford them such advantages and confer on them such benefits as may, in some degree, console them for the loss of their independence. These, sir, are considerations which, whatever may be the anxiety to extend British conquest, and to maintain the rights of British subjects, must indisputably be entertained in a British Parliament.

Mr. Wynn thus stated his conviction:—

He had been convinced, ever since he was first connected with the affairs of India, that the only principle on which that Empire could justly or wisely or advantageously be administered was that of admitting the Natives to a participation in the government, and allowing them to hold every office the duties of which they were competent to discharge.

Mr. Charles Grant rejoiced over the main principle of the Bill and observed:—

If one circumstance more than another could give him satisfaction it was that the main principle of this Bill had received the approbation of the House, and that the House was now legislating for India and the people of India on the great and just principle that in doing so the interests of the people of India should be principally consulted, and that all other interests of wealth, of commerce, and of revenue, should be as nothing compared with the paramount obligation imposed upon the legislature of promoting the welfare and prosperity of that great Empire which Providence had placed in our hands.

The Marquis of Lansdowne, speaking on the same subject in the House of Lords, said:

He was sure that their Lordships would feel, as he indeed felt, that their only justification before God and Providence for the great and unprecedented dominion which they exercised in India was in the happiness which they communicated to the subjects under their rule, and in proving to the world at large, and to the

inhabitants of Hindustan, that the inheritance of Akbar (the wisest and most beneficent of Mahomedan princes) had not fallen into unworthy or degenerate hands. . . .

His Lordship, after announcing the policy intended to be adopted, concluded: He was confident that the strength of the Government would be increased by the happiness of the people over whom it presided, and by the attachment of those nations to it.

No educated Indian can ever forget the famous pronouncement made by Lord Macaulay in the House of Commons on this occasion and his magnificent peroration containing his great prophecy about the future of India:

Are we to keep the people of India ignorant in order that we may keep them submissive? Or do we think that we can give them knowledge without awakening ambition? Or do we mean to awaken ambition and to provide it with no legitimate vent? Who will answer any of these questions in the affirmative? Yet one of them must be answered in the affirmative, by every person who maintains that we ought permanently to exclude the natives from high office. I have no fears. The path of duty is plain before us: and it is also the path of wisdom, of national prosperity, of national honour.

The destinies of our Indian Empire are covered with thick darkness. It is difficult to form any conjecture as to the fate reserved for a State which resembles no other in history, and which forms by itself a separate class of political phenomena. The laws which regulate its growth and its decay are still unknown to us. It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system till it has outgrown that system; that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government; that having become instructed in European knowledge, they may, in some future age, demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come I know not. But never will I attempt to avert or to retard it. Whenever it comes, it will be the proudest day in English history. To have found a great people sunk in the lowest depths of slavery and superstition, to have so ruled them as to have made them desirous and capable of all the privileges of citizens, would indeed be a title to glory all our own. The sceptre may pass away from us. Unforeseen accidents may derange our most profound schemes of policy. Victory may be inconstant to our arms. But there are triumphs which are followed by no reverse. There is an empire exempt from all natural causes of decay. Those triumphs are the pacific triumphs of reason over barbarism; that empire is the imperishable empire of our arts and our morals, our literature and our laws.

This eloquent plea of Macaulay was in favour of "that wise, that benevolent, and that noble clause" 87, of the Charter Act of 1833, which declared "that no native of the said territories nor any natural born subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the Company."

The Court of Directors in forwarding the Act of 1833, to the East India Company, accompanied

the same with a remarkable despatch in which they observed regarding clause 87:

It is provided that no person by reason of his birth, creed, or colour, shall be disqualified from holding any office in our service.

It is fitting that this important enactment should be understood in order that its full spirit and intention may be transfused through our whole system of administration.

But the meaning of the enactment we take to be that there shall be no governing caste in British India; that whatever other tests of qualification may be adopted, distinctions of race or religion shall not be of the number. That no subject of the King, whether of Indian or British or mixed descent, shall be excluded either from the posts usually conferred on our uncovenanted servants in India, or from the covenanted service itself, provided he be otherwise eligible consistently with the rules and agreeably to the conditions observed and exacted in the one case and in the other.

It will thus be seen that the question of India's future was discussed thoroughly in all its bearings, "political, imperial, and social" and clause 87 enacted by the British Parliament—a clause "worthy of the righteousness, justice, and noble instincts of the British people in the true British spirit." When in 1853, once again, the revision of the Company's Charter came up in the Commons in discussing its provisions, many members bewailed that the important provision of the Act of 1833 had not been given effect to. The opportunity, therefore, was fully availed of to "emphatically insist" that the British people and the British Parliament should be no party to the "unfaithfulness" of reducing a Parliamentary enactment to remain a "dead letter," a "sham and delusion."

Listen to the outburst of Mr. John Bright. Speaking on June 3rd, 1853, he said:—

Another subject requiring close attention on the part of Parliament was the employment of the Natives of India in the service of the Government. The right hon. member of Edinburgh (Mr. Macaulay), in proposing the India Bill of 1833 had dwelt on one of its clauses, which provided that neither colour nor caste nor religion nor place of birth should be a bar to the employment of persons by the Government; whereas, as a matter of fact, from that time to this no person in India had been so employed who might not have been equally employed before that clause was enacted; and from the statement of the right hon. gentleman the President of the Board of Control, that it was proposed to keep up the Covenanted Service system, it was clear that this most objectionable and most offensive state of things was to continue. Mr. Cameron, a gentleman thoroughly versed in the subject, as fourth Member of Council in India, President of the Indian Law Commission, and of the Council of Education for Bengal—what did he say on this point? He said: "The statute of 1833 made the Natives of India eligible to all offices under the Company. But during the twenty years that have since

elapsed not one of the Natives has been appointed to any offices except such as they were eligible to before the statute."

Macaulay, emphatically stated:—

In my opinion we shall not secure or prolong our dominion in India by attempting to exclude the Natives of that country from a share in its Government. (*Contemporary Review*, June, 1883, p. 803.)

Mr. J. G. Phillimore sounded a note of warning which is worth recalling:—

He also feared that the Bill would prove delusive, and that although it professed to do justice to the Natives the "spirit of monopoly would still blight the hopes and break the spirits of the Indian people. While such a state of things continued, India would be attached to this country by no bond of affection," but would be retained by the power of the Army and the terror of the sword. He implored of the Committee "not to allow such an Empire to be governed in the miserable spirit of monopoly and exclusion."

Five years later, in moving for leave to bring in the (first) Bill for the better Government of India, Viscount Palmerston asked the House to remember:

It is indeed remarkable that those regions, in which science and art may be said to have first dawned upon mankind, should now be subject to the rule of a people inhabiting islands which at a time, when these eastern regions enjoyed as high a civilization and as great prosperity as that age could offer, were in a state of utter barbarism

and he wound up his great speech with the following significant warning:

I trust that Parliament will feel that great power is not given to nations without corresponding duties to be performed. We have, by an almost miraculous train of events, been entrusted with the care of the destinies of 150 or 160 millions of men—with the government, directly or indirectly, of a vast empire larger in extent than the whole face of Europe, putting the Russian empire out of the question. That is a task which involves great responsibility. Do not imagine that it is the intention of Providence that England should possess that vast empire, and that we should have in our hand the destinies of that vast multitude of men, simply that we may send out to India the sons of gentlemen or of the middling classes to make a decent fortune to live on. That power has been entrusted to us for other and better purposes; and, without pointing to anything particular, I think it is the duty of this nation to use it in such a manner as to promote, as far as they can, the instruction, the enlightenment, and the civilization of those great populations which are now subject to our rule.

Such is the brief history of the noble efforts made in the British Parliament from time to time to ensure that under the administration of the East India Company, the interests of the people were properly safeguarded and nothing done to check the growth of their legitimate ambition and their future political advancement. When at the end of the great Mutiny

the rule (many call it the misrule) of the Company was put an end to, and the Government of India transferred directly to the Crown, and the Proclamation of 1858 issued to the Princes and Peoples of India, the joy of the people knew no bounds for the event marked the turning point in the history of British rule in India and the famous Proclamation of Queen Victoria gave further solemnity to the sacred character of the promise contained in the Charter Act of 1833. "*We hold ourselves*," proclaimed the noble Queen, "*bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects, and these obligations by the blessing of Almighty God we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil*;" and it is interesting at this distance of time to recall to our memory how the good Queen directed her Minister to issue the great Proclamation, bearing in mind "that it is a female Sovereign who speaks to more than a hundred millions of her eastern people on assuming the direct government over them and, after a bloody war giving them pledges which her future reign is to redeem." And in explaining the principles of her Government Her Majesty was justly anxious that the document should, besides "breathing a feeling of generosity, benevolence and religious toleration," must also "point out the privileges which the Indians will receive in being placed on an equality with the subjects of the British Crown."

On the 1st of January 1877, at the great Delhi Assemblage held to proclaim the assumption of the title of Empress of India, by Queen Victoria, Lord Lytton, the then Viceroy, said:—

But you, the natives of India, whatever your race and whatever your creed, have a recognised claim to share largely with your English fellow-subjects, according to your capacity for the task, in the administration of the country you inhabit. This claim is founded on the highest justice. It has been repeatedly affirmed by British and Indian statesmen and by the legislation of the Imperial Parliament. It is recognised by the Government of India as binding on its honour and consistent with all the aims of its policy.

Three months later the same Viceroy, in his rôle as Chancellor of the Calcutta University, observed that "the Proclamation of the Queen contained solemn pledges spontaneously given, and founded upon the highest justice."

In 1887, in reply to an address of congratulation voted by the Municipal Corporation of the City of Bombay on the occasion of the Jubilee, the Queen Empress said: "It has always been and will be continued to be my earnest desire that the principles of that Proclamation should be unswervingly maintained."

Attention may also be usefully drawn to two other notable royal pronouncements. On the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the transfer of the Government of India to the Crown, King Edward VII in his Proclamation to the Princes and Peoples of India, which was read by H. E. the Viceroy (the late Earl Minto) in Durbar, at Jodhpur, on the 2nd November, 1908, said:—

Steps are being continuously taken towards obliterating distinctions of race as the test for access to posts of public authority and power. In this path I confidently expect and intend the progress henceforward to be steadfast and sure, as education spreads, experience ripens and the lessons of responsibility are well learned by the keen intelligence and apt capabilities of India.

From the first, the principle of representative institutions began to be gradually introduced, and the time has come when, in the judgment of my Viceroy and Governor-General and others of my counsellors, that principle may be prudently extended. Important classes among you, representing ideas that have been fostered and encouraged by British rule, claim equality of citizenship, and a greater share in legislation and government. The politic satisfaction of such a claim will strengthen, not impair, existing authority and power.

Almost the first act of H. M. King George V., on ascending the Throne, was to send the following message to His Indian subjects:—

Queen Victoria, of revered memory, addressed her Indian subjects and the heads of Feudatory States when she assumed the direct government in 1858, and her august son, my father, of honoured and beloved name, commemorated the same most notable event in his Address to you some fifty years later. These are the Charters of the noble and benignant spirit of Imperial rule, and by that spirit in all my time to come I will faithfully abide.

To use His Majesty's own words, it was his wish not only "to strengthen the old ties but to create new ones, and so, please God, secure a better understanding and a closer union between the Mother-country and her Indian Empire, to break down prejudice, to dispel misapprehension, and to foster sympathy and brotherhood." His Imperial Majesty's visit to India and the solemn ceremony of His Coronation, at Delhi, were, to use the words of the official historian, "really an emphatic announcement, an announcement that India is an equal and integral part of the British Empire."

The event was one of tremendous importance in the history of the Empire. Political aspirations were lifted to a higher plane, patriotism was broadened and intensified, a new pride arose in the heritage of the Empire, and with it a stronger feeling of mutual respect and better social relationship between the natives of India and the natives of England, to all of whom the King was common, irrespective of religion, race or colour.

India is now assured, without a shadow of doubt, of its part in the great Imperial Commonwealth and of the

inherent sympathy and high intentions of the rule which Their Majesties personify. It knows without doubt that it is no longer a mere subordinate and conquered land, but that it is bound by ties of the closest affection and heartfelt allegiance to a monarch who, amid all the multifarious interests and absorbing activities of his great position, has ever watched its welfare with the deepest interest and sought to give it an equal place in the dominions of the Empire; a Sovereign, too, who lives for unity, in the certain knowledge that the brotherhood of his world-wide dominion can only be for the benefit of its members and for the blessing and advantage of untold millions of the human race.—(*The Historical Record of the Imperial Visit to India*, p. 17, 19-20.)

It will thus be seen that while Queen Victoria was justly anxious that the Proclamation issued in her own name to the Princes and Peoples of India should "point out the privileges which the Indians will receive in being placed on an equality with the subjects of the British Crown," her successors, her son and her grandson solemnly confirmed the ideal set by her to the people of India. The noble policy laid down by the British Parliament and sanctified by the Proclamation of Queen Victoria, pledged to be followed by her successors, has been from time to time affirmed by a succession of great British statesmen and Anglo-Indian administrators who have left behind them an imperishable name.

Sir Thomas Munro whose name is still a household word all over India and whose passionate love for its people is still being commemorated in some parts of the Madras Presidency in songs and ballads, was one of the earliest to give definite expression to the measures which England should promote for the welfare of the people of India.

In a minute, dated December 31, 1824, he wrote:—

It is not enough that we confer on the natives the benefits of just laws and of moderate taxation, unless we endeavour to raise their character; but under a foreign Government there are so many causes which tend to depress it, that it is not easy to prevent it from sinking. It is an old observation that he who loses his liberty loses half his virtue. This is true of nations as well as of individuals. To have no property scarcely degrades more in one case than in the other to have property at the disposal of a foreign Government in which we have no share. The enslaved nation loses the privileges of a nation, as the slave does those of a free man; it loses the privilege of taxing itself, of making its own laws, of having any share in their administration or in the general government of the country. . . . It is not the arbitrary power of a national sovereign, but subjection to a foreign one, that destroys national character and extinguishes national spirit. When a people cease to have a national character to maintain, they lose the mainspring of whatever is laudable both in public and in private life, and the private sinks with the public character.—(*Indian Spectator*, February 19th, 1899).

But the noble Englishman was so keen about the great future for the Indian people that he insisted that everything should be done to promote their welfare even if it were to result in the loss of England's control over India. In a solemn strain which anticipated the famous pronouncement of Macaulay, Sir Thomas Munro declared:—

It would be more desirable that we should be expelled from the country altogether than that the result of our system of government should be such an abasement of a whole people.

Who does not remember the pronouncement of that great and noble Englishman, the Rt. Hon. Mount Stuart Elphinstone, who toiled for the people of India for thirty long years in various capacities? In his evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons in 1833 he urged among other things that the first object of the rulers must be "to raise the natives by education and public trust to a level with their present rulers." Seventeen years later he wrote:—

I conceive that the administration of all the departments of a great country by a small number of foreign visitors, in a state of isolation produced by a difference in religion, ideas, and manners, which cuts them off from all intimate communion with the people, can never be contemplated as a permanent state of things. I conceive also that the progress of education among the natives renders such a scheme impracticable, even if it were otherwise free from objection. It might, perhaps, have once been possible to have retained the natives in a subordinate condition (at the expense of national justice and honour) by studiously repressing their spirit and discouraging their progress in knowledge; but we are now doing our best to raise them in all mental qualities to a level with ourselves, and to instil into them the liberal opinions in government and policy which have long prevailed in this country, and it is vain to endeavour to rule them on principles only suited to a slavish and ignorant population.

Sir Stafford Northcote (Lord Iddesleigh) speaking in the House of Commons in 1867 as Secretary of State for India, said:

The English Government must necessarily labour under great disadvantages, and we should endeavour as far as possible to develop the system of Native Government to bring out Native talent and statesmanship, and to enlist in the cause of Government all that was great and good in them. Nothing could be more wonderful than our Empire in India; but we ought to consider on what conditions we hold it and how our predecessors held it. The greatness of the Mogul Empire depended on the liberal policy that was pursued by men like the great Emperor Akbar and his successors availing themselves of Hindu talent and assistance, and identifying themselves as far as possible with the people of the country. They ought to take a lesson from such circumstances. If they were to do their duty towards India they could only discharge that duty by obtaining assistance and counsel of all who are great and

good in that country. It would be absurd in them to say that there was not a large fund of statesmanship and ability in the Indian character. They really must not be too proud. They were always ready to speak of the English Government as so infinitely superior to anything in the way of Indian Government. But if the Natives of India were disposed to be equally critical, it would be possible for them to find out weak places in the harness of the English administration.

Sir John Malcolm, another famous Anglo-Indian, respected and revered like Mount Stuart Elphinstone, sounded the note of warning when he said :

We are not warranted by the History of India, nor indeed by that of any other nation in the world, in reckoning upon the possibility of preserving an Empire of such a magnitude by a system which excludes, as ours does, the natives from every station of high rank and honourable ambition. . . . If we do not use the knowledge which we impart, it will be employed against us. . . . If these plans are not associated with the creation of duties that will employ the minds which we enlighten, we shall only prepare elements that will hasten the destruction of our Empire. The moral evil to us does not thus stand alone. It carries with it its Nemesis, the seeds of the destruction of the Empire itself.

Sir John Lawrence, as long ago as 1864, said :

The people of India are quite capable of administering their own affairs, and the municipal feeling is deeply rooted in them. The village communities, each of which is a little republic, are the most abiding of Indian institutions. Holding the position we do in India, every view of duty and policy should induce us to leave as much as possible of the business of the country to be done by the people.

And Mr. Gladstone, "who loved Liberty in his old age even more fully than he loved her in his youth," declared :

I hold that the capital agent in determining finally the question whether our power in India is or is not to continue, will be the will of the two hundred and forty millions of people who inhabit India. The question who shall have Supreme Rule in India is, by the laws of right, an Indian question; and those laws of right are from day to day growing into laws of fact. Our title to be there depends on a first condition, that our being there is profitable to the Indian nations; and on a second condition, that we can make them see and understand it to be profitable.

Sir William Wilson Hunter pointed out :

I do not believe that a people numbering one-sixth of the whole inhabitants of the globe, and whose aspirations have been nourished from their earliest youth on the strong food of English liberty, can be permanently denied a voice in the government of the country.

Lord Salisbury has said :

But it would be a great evil if the result of our dominion was that the Natives of India who were capable of government should be absolutely and hopelessly excluded from such a career.

Witness the pronouncement of Lord Hartington made in 1883 :

It is not wise to educate the people of India, to introduce among them your civilisation and your progress and your literature, and at the same time to tell them that they shall never have any chance of taking any part or share in the administration of the affairs of their country, except by getting rid, in the first instance, of their European rulers. Surely it would not be wise to tell a patriotic native of India of that.

Sir Richard Temple, an Anglo-Indian never regarded as a friend of India, expressed his opinion :—

For all that it must be remembered that the elective principle is essential to that political training which every stable government (like that of the British in India) must desire to see possessed by its subjects. . . . Public spirit cannot be created without entrusting the people with a part of their own public business, a part limited at first, but increasing as their fitness shall grow. Even if political risks should accrue, they must be borne in performing the duty which the British Government owes to the people of India. In that country, a trustful policy will be found a wise one, and that which is sound morally will prove to be the safest politically.

The only true and noble position which Great Britain ought to adopt towards India was clearly perceived and frankly acknowledged by one of the greatest of Indian Viceroys—Lord Ripon—who, in addressing the University of Bombay, in 1894, expressed himself as follows :—

I am very strongly impressed with the conviction that the spread of education, and especially of Western culture, carried on as it is under the auspices of this and the other Indian universities, imposes new and special difficulties upon the Government of this country. It seems to me, I must confess, that it is little short of folly that we should throw open to increasing numbers the rich stores of Western learning; that we should inspire them with European ideas, and bring them into the closest contact with English thought; and then that we should, as it were, pay no heed to the growth of those aspirations which we have ourselves called forth. To my mind one of the most important, if it be also one of the most difficult, problems of the Indian Government in these days is, how to afford such satisfaction to those aspirations and to those ambitions as may render the men who are animated by them the hearty advocates and the loyal supporters of the British Government.

A few years later, Lord Cromer, who was Lord Ripon's Finance Minister and one of the most successful of Britain's Pro-Consuls, placed on record the following opinion :—

It is only what ought to be expected by every thoughtful man, that, after fifty years of free press and thirty years of expanding education, with European ideas flowing into the country on every side, and old indigenous customs, habits, and prejudices breaking down, changes should be taking place in the thoughts, the desires, and the aims of the intelligent and educated men of the country, which no wise and cautious Government can afford to disregard, and to which they must

gradually adapt their system of administration if they do not wish to see it shattered by forces which they have themselves called into being, but which they have failed to guide and control.

More notable still was the pronouncement made to the Elphinstonians of Bombay by Sir William Lee Warner :—

It is no narrow principle of a paternal Government or a rule for the benefit of the ruler which sent forth the Roman with this poet's sailing orders, 'Tu regere imperio populos Romane memento,' or which fostered differences as aiding the central authority, *Divide et impera*. Its aim is less to govern than to call forth the progressive capacity and to teach self-government. It desires to lift up the lower ranks of society and the subject to the pedestal of the ruler. 'Humanity,' and 'Heaven's light our guide,' are its watch words, and they are embodied in your *Magna Charta*, the Queen's Proclamation, issued by the ruler whose authority had just been defied and restored by the sword. . . . There are three supreme ideas of mankind, the family, the nation and humanity. The Hindu and the Greek ruler thought of the first, the Roman Empire of the second; but the British nation accepts the last and highest as its ruling idea. . . . I venture to point out to you that from God's nature the British nation has learnt the grand idea of humanity, and that the legislation and administration of India under the Queen bears testimony to Her Majesty's desire to recognize a progressive future as before all those committed to her care. The protection of the weak, equality in the eye of the law, justice, and a common participation in the benefits and when the time comes, in the task of good government are at least the aims which the British Government sets before it.

And if further evidence were needed to show how truly noble was the ideal of the older generation of Anglo-Indian administrators, we have only to recall to our memory the famous letter addressed to the late Mr. Gokhale, in 1905, by Mr. Hodgson Pratt :—

"Fifty years ago," writes Mr. Pratt, who in those days was a member of the Bengal Civil Service, "while India was still under the Government of the East India Company, it was considered both just and wise to introduce measures for national education on a liberal scale, with adequate provision of schools, colleges, and universities. This event was hailed with lively satisfaction by the native population as heralding a new era of social progress, and as satisfying the active intelligence of the Hindus. Now it must be observed that the character of the teaching thus inaugurated by Englishmen would necessarily reflect the ideals which have for centuries prevailed among them. In other words, Indian youths would be brought up to admire our doctrines of political liberty, popular rights, and national independence; nor could it ever have been supposed that these lessons would fall upon deaf ears and cold hearts. On the contrary, the inevitable result of such teaching was clearly perceived by the Government of those days, and was regarded in a generous spirit. In support of this assertion I may mention that at the time of the inauguration of these measures I accompanied the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal (Sir Frederick Halliday) on one of his winter tours through the province. Naturally, he

called the attention of those who attended the public meetings held by him to the new education policy, and he always took occasion to declare that the schools would promote one of the leading purposes of British rule, which was to prepare the people for self-government. It certainly was not supposed that at any subsequent time a policy would be adopted, which would disappoint the legitimate hopes thus created."

With such a lofty ideal of the political destiny of India placed before them, fed up on the writings of Milton and Burke and Mill, with their minds fully stored with the great history of the struggles for constitutional freedom and liberty in England and other Western countries, and above all ever inspired by the higher ideals of English life and character, is it a matter for wonder, or in any way unnatural, that India has been steadily gazing at the goal of Self-Government? The leaven had begun to work; the national consciousness of the people began first to manifest itself when systematic attempts were made to defeat, to nullify, to render into a farce and a sham Clause 87 of the Charter Act of 1833. Requests and remonstrances for the fulfilment of the pledge contained therein proved in vain and a regular howl was raised not only in Bengal but throughout the country when a deliberate attempt was made to frame a law that candidates for the Indian Civil Service should not be more than 19 to 21 years of age at the time of examination, a period specially chosen to make it impossible for young Indians to go over to England and successfully compete there. Referring to the still unfulfilled and unredeemed Clause 87 of the Charter Act of 1833, Lord Lytton had observed in a confidential minute :—

No sooner was the Act passed than the Government began to devise means for practically evading the fulfilment of it. . . . We all know that these claims and expectations never can or will be fulfilled. We have had to choose between prohibiting them and cheating them, and we have chosen the least straightforward course.

He added :—

Since I am writing confidentially, I do not hesitate to say that both the Governments of England and of India appear to me up to the present moment unable to answer satisfactorily the charge of having taken every means in their power of breaking to the heart the words of promise they had uttered to the ear.

Speaking on the same subject in the House of Lords on March 11, 1869, the Duke of Argyll avowed frankly :—

With regard, however, to the employment of natives in the government of their country, in the Covenanted Service, formerly of the Company and now of the Crown, I must say that we have not fulfilled our duty, or the promises and engagements which we have made.

The first effective obstruction to enable Indians to be placed "on an equality with the subjects of the British Crown," as promised by Queen Victoria was thus made. The Vernacular Press Act of Lord Lytton and the remission of the Indian cotton duties to propitiate the greed of Lancashire roused the feelings of the people to a still greater degree. Political agitation, quite on English lines, naturally followed and educated Indians, though few in numbers, began to talk of liberty and Self-Government. And as out of evil cometh good, fortunately for India, it was the beginning of the new national awakening which has been destined to play no mean part in the political development of the country. The great Imperial Durbar held in 1858 to announce that the Queen of England had assumed the title of the Empress of India proclaimed that the status of the Indian subjects of the Queen had been raised to the citizenship of the British Empire and from that time onward every Indian had been rightly dreaming of his rightful place in the Empire. The national feeling that had been roused still further gained in solidarity by the great religio-social movements like the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj, the Theosophical Society, the Ramakrishna Mission and other organisations formed and conducted more or less on similar lines. These led to a revival of the study of the ancient history and scriptures of the land and the mind that roamed over the "golden age of the past," now inspired by the Western spirit, began to contemplate on the glorious vision of the new dawn. While India was thus in a state of fermentation, religious, social and political, fortunately for it, on the heels of the exceedingly unpopular Viceroy Lord Lytton, came in Lord Ripon. That noble Viceroy, whose honoured name will ever be writ large in the pages of Indian history, freed the Vernacular Press from the fetters to which it had been subjected and realising the sacred character of the promises and pledges that had been made to the people of India by Her Majesty and her duly constituted representatives, formulated boldly his policy of Local Self-Government and thereby sought in true English spirit to lay the foundations of representative institutions in India. But he was not content with doing that only. He made also a brave and honourable attempt to amend the criminal law of the country so as to place the European and the Indian on an equal footing in the matter of trials and thus tried to redeem another sacred promise of Her Majesty. Anglo-India, official and non-official, combined together to thwart the Viceroy in his noble efforts

and we have it on authority that a very serious attempt was made with the connivance of officials to forcibly deport Lord Ripon out of the country. But though his attempt to make the Ilbert Bill the law of the land failed and a compromise was effected by which the principle of the Bill was abandoned, Lord Ripon's regime gave a new impetus to the political life of the country. The great, the unique, and the unparalleled demonstrations held all over the country to bid him farewell may justly be termed a landmark in Indian history. When Lord Ripon left the shores of India the country was not in its normal mood. The tension between the Indian and European communities caused by the Ilbert Bill agitation was still lingering and when the diplomatic Lord Dufferin assumed the Viceroyalty "the fire was still smouldering." The cry of political liberty and political equality raised during the reactionary regime of Lord Lytton and re-enforced in strength and vigour by the Anglo-Indian opposition to Lord Ripon's benevolent attempts to raise the status and privileges of Indians gained more and more strength in the early years of Lord Dufferin's administration and, we have it on indisputable authority that the discontent that was smouldering was likely to produce danger, "tremendous in the immediate future."

It was just at this juncture that a distinguished Indian Civilian who loved the people of India as well as his sovereign realised that the time was come to gather together the forces that were then in operation and direct it to its proper channel. In the words of Allan Octavian Hume, whose memory will ever be cherished by the grateful millions of this land,

no choice was left to those who gave the primary impetus to the movement. The ferment, the creation of Western ideas, education, invention and appliances, was at work with a rapidly increasing intensity, and it became of paramount importance to find for its products an overt and constitutional channel for discharge, instead of leaving them to fester as they had already commenced to do, under the surface.

Thus was laid the foundation of the great Indian National Congress. The movement was expressly intended

to foster a wider altruism and a more genuine public spirit, by concentrating the most strenuous efforts on great national problems, and diminishing the absorption in local or purely selfish interests—to educate all who took part in it, not merely in the arts of public speaking and debate, developing the faculty of thinking out clearly opinions, and expressing them lucidly to others, not merely in habits of accuracy and research, but also in the practice of self-control, moderation and willingness to give and take—to educate them in fact into what has been

described as a genuine Parliamentary frame of mind—to familiarize the country with the methods and working of representative institutions on a large scale, and thus, as this familiarity grew, to demonstrate to the Government and people of England that India was already ripe for some measure of those institutions to which the entire intelligence of the country so earnestly aspires.

The notification under which in 1885 the first session of the Indian National Congress was called into existence clearly stated that one of the objects of the future assembly was "indirectly to form the germ of an Indian parliament which, if properly conducted, will constitute in a few years an unanswerable reply to the assertion that India is still wholly unfit for any form of representative institution."

In the second Congress the question of representative institutions for India was again debated and the Congress recorded its "fixed conviction that the introduction of representative institutions will prove one of the most important practical steps towards the amelioration of the condition of the people."

Henceforward the question of representative institutions was discussed in some shape or other, at almost every session of the Congress and in the words of one of the great orators of the Congress:

We unfurl the banner of the Congress, and upon it are written, in characters of glittering gold, which none may efface, the great words of this Resolution: 'Representative Institutions for India.'

When the movement entered the second decade of its life more emphatic expression was given to the hopes and aspirations of the people "to realise the dream of a united and federated India."

After this period the Congress had to enter on a new stage of its activities. Lord Curzon had become Viceroy of India with a flourish of trumpets about his love of India and his sympathy with its aims and aspirations. But the first year of his reign was marked by the reactionary policy of the Calcutta Municipal Act and an uneasy feeling crept into the minds of many people.

But the faith of the Congress was not shaken to any serious extent. It received with great enthusiasm a letter from Mr. W. S. Caine who had laboured not a little for the good of the people of India, in which he said of the Indian people:

My belief in their future as a great Self-Governing portion of the British Empire, and my conviction of their natural capacity for Self-Government deepens and strengthens every year.

The President of the Congress, Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt, who had just then retired from the Indian Civil Service after a long and honour-

able record of useful work and had even then acquired a reputation as a great scholar and historian, appealed to the authorities to remember that India, while loyal to the British rule sought "a large measure of Self-Government" and a "position among the modern nations of the earth."

One more year of the Curzonian regime and we find echoes of the cry:—

But the times have changed, and the alien Government now ruling over us has entirely different ideas and constitutions. The English Government, though democratic at home, is imperialistic and bureaucratic here.

It is a significant commentary on Lord Curzon's statesmanship that he began his policy of reaction and repression and his many attempts to smother the growing ambitions of the people of India just at a time when a small Asiatic power had inflicted a crushing blow on Russia—the Colossus of Europe. When the news of the fall of Port Arthur was flashed forth, everywhere the feeling was that the world had witnessed the birth of a powerful Asiatic nation in a day. "The child of the world's age had proved to be its most remarkable offspring." Triumphant Japan stood "revealed in the full glare of a new light no longer in leading strings but capable of being, and fully determined to be, a dominant factor in Eastern Asia—a power to be reckoned with in any future political combination affecting the countries which faced the rising sun." The immediate and inevitable effect of the Japanese victory was to rouse the national self-respect of all the Eastern peoples and the strong belief in the capacities of Orientals to successfully imitate and adopt modern political institutions. The great leviathan China, roused to activity by the splendour of her neighbour, began moving with unprecedented rapidity in the direction of a liberal Government. In Persia, the Shah decided on the formation of a National Council to deliberate on all important affairs of State. While an absolute monarch like the Shah was progressing with the spirit of the times, nearer home, on the borders of India, the Amir of Afghanistan called into existence a "consultative assembly" with a view to enable the people to associate themselves with the work of the Government. While the "Unchangeable East" was trying to change itself rapidly, and while in China, in Persia and Afghanistan where English education had made little progress and little or nothing was known of the political teachings of Mill or Burke or Bright three great Oriental potentates had readily given up

their cherished notions of autocracy and parted with some of their powers and privileges, in India, Lord Curzon sitting safely in the citadel of Bureaucracy began talking derisively of the "microscopic minority" of fifteen million people who could read and write! He tried to arrest the progress of education, "to set back the dial of local self-government," to interpret the Queen's Proclamation in a "pettyfogging spirit" and, in the words of Dr. R. B. Ghose, to sacrifice the interests of the Indian people in order to conciliate English exploiters and administrators and "to humiliate not only His Majesty's Indian subjects but also the great ruling Chiefs." Above all by his attempt to break up the unity and the solidarity of the Bengalee speaking people, he "set Bengal in a blaze."

As the Hon. Mr. Gokhale pointed out:—

To Lord Curzon India was a country where the Englishman was to monopolize for all time all power and talk all the while of duty. The Indian's only business was to be governed, and it was a sacrilege on his part to have any other aspiration. In his scheme of things there was no room for the educated classes of the country; and having failed to amuse them for any length of time by an empty show of taking them into his confidence, he proceeded in the end to repress them.

He created in the Indian mind a profound feeling of distrust and everything he did was calculated to convince the people more than ever that he was determined to prevent the onward march of the Indian people and keep them away, if not altogether divert them, from the path of Self-Government. Mr. Henry Nevinston, who made a tour in India during the period of Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty and who availed himself of every opportunity to study the genesis of the Indian unrest points out in his remarkable book on the "New Spirit in India": "Although no hard-and-fast line can be drawn in history, the arrival of Lord Curzon as Viceroy on December 30, 1898 marks a fully strong and natural division." No doubt between the year of the assumption of the direct Government of India by the Queen and the period commencing with the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon, there was a constant attempt on the part of the bureaucracy to go backwards. But there were occasionally noble efforts made to move forwards also. But Lord Curzon it was who "set back the hand of the clock" and adopted a complete reactionary and retrograde policy. The support that he had from the Bureaucracy and the Conservative press at Home "gave a rude shock to the popular mind and the discontent which had long been brewing in the country burst into

a flame." And so in 1905 everybody saw clearly "the beginning of the extraordinary ferment in Indian public life which has continued unabated to this day. Every responsible Indian politician warned the authorities of the serious consequences that were resulting from their reckless attitude and of the growing numbers of a class of people "who have lost all confidence in the good faith of Government and have persuaded themselves that England means to treat India as a mere pawn in her military and diplomatic enterprises, a close preserve for the classes and a happy hunting ground for the white adventurer." "In the general wreck of moderation and faith that followed," boycott of everything foreign was preached to the people and Swaraj held up as the goal of Indian aspirations. Quite "a radical and serious change had come over the spirit of the people." It was at this juncture that the Congress met in the sacred city of Benares under the presidency of one of the greatest Indians of modern times, Gopal Krishna Gokhale. In vain in his presidential address did he make an appeal to the authorities to give a right turn to the feeling of the people and make it a source of strength and not of weakness to the Empire:

What the country needs at this moment above everything else is a Government, national in spirit, even though it may be foreign in personnel—a Government that will enable us to feel that our interests are the first consideration with it, and that our wishes and opinions are to it a matter of some account.

But Lord Curzon pursued his policy of reaction and repression. The patience of the people was tried sorely.

It looked as if the New Party had completely triumphed. What they were anxious for was repression, persecution and prosecution, all calculated to make the people lose faith in British rule; and Sir Bampfylde Fuller, apt pupil of Lord Curzon, and some of his officers were supplying a perennial source of arguments to the advocates of the doctrine of Swaraj. When the Congress met in Calcutta in 1906 "it was barely saved from a wreck by the reverence-compelling presence of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji."

Dadabhai who throughout his life had been pleading for *British Spirit* and *British Justice* and denouncing everything *un-British* was emphatic in his claim that Indians should be in India what Englishmen were in their country. According to him there was only one remedy for the unrest and the economic evil which was at the root of Indian poverty. "The whole matter can be comprised in one word, *Self-Government*, or

Swaraj, like that of the United Kingdom or the Colonies." As to when a beginning should be made to enable the people to automatically develop full Self-Government, he gave the unhesitating answer: "Not only has the time fully arrived, but it had arrived long past."

Under his presidency the Congress passed the following Resolution:—

That this Congress is of opinion that the system of Government obtaining in the Self-Governing British Colonies should be extended to India, and that, as steps leading to it, it urges that the following reforms should be immediately carried out:

(a) All examinations held in England only should be simultaneously held in India and in England, and that all higher appointments which are made in India should be by competitive examination only.

(b) The adequate representation of Indians in the Council of the Secretary of State and the Executive Councils of the Viceroy, and of the Governors of Madras and Bombay.

(c) The expansion of the Supreme and Provincial Legislative Councils, allowing a larger and truly effective representation of the people and a larger control over the financial and executive administration of the country.

(d) The powers of Local and Municipal bodies should be extended and official control over them should not be more than what is exercised by the Local Government Board in England over similar bodies.

Here is the message of India's Grand Old Man:

Self-Government is the only and chief remedy. In Self-Government lie our hope, strength and greatness. . . . I do not know what good fortune may be in store for me during the short period that may be left to me and if I can leave a word of affection and devotion for my country and countrymen I say: Be united, persevere, and achieve Self-Government, so that the millions now perishing by poverty, famine and plague, and the scores of millions that are starving on scanty subsistence may be saved, and India may once more occupy her proud position of yore among the greatest and civilised Nations of the West.

"Self-Government like that of the United Kingdom or that of the Colonies," that is what India should demand and for achieving it, she should strive her best. No obstacle could be considered too great to be overcome, and no sacrifice too dear to be made. The whole country was ringing with that cry and that was the only cry for the time being.

Some prominent members of the new party became everyday more clamorous and tried to form a political programme of their own in some respects inconsistent with the traditional aims and methods of the Congress movement. Nothing short of the adoption of a universal boycott and of Swaraj or unrestricted Self-Government would satisfy them. And if certain extremists had been driven to the position of proclaiming

complete Swaraj, the only excuse they could urge was that they had been forced to do so by the extremely repressive measures adopted by the iron hand of the bureaucracy. Maddened by official persecution in various forms, and distrusting the motives of the many moderate leaders who appealed to the members of the new party not to lose faith in constitutional methods of agitation nor in the higher purposes of British rule as stated by successive sovereigns and their accredited statesmen and administrators, they made a desperate attempt to capture the Congress and adopt resolutions to their entire satisfaction and alter the course of policy the Congress had hitherto adopted. But thoughtful Indian publicists who had for years been working constitutionally towards the objective of Self-Government on Colonial lines rallied their forces and the result was the unfortunate, yet memorable struggle at Surat. The time was come to definitely lay down in writing the objective of the Congress movement and the Convention at Surat which was attended by over 900 delegates definitely accepted it as the fundamental creed of the movement:—

That the attainment by India of Self-Government similar to that enjoyed by the Self-Governing members of the British Empire, and participation by her in the rights and responsibilities of the Empire on equal terms with those members is the goal of our political aspirations.

The creed of the Congress had once for all been settled and its constitution carefully drawn up but the work of the moderates had by no means been rendered easy and smooth. About this time it was fairly well-known that Lord Minto who found himself in a sea of troubles had, with the sagacity of the statesman, seen the necessity for some immediate changes and reforms in the administration of the State and in no wise undeterred by even the outbursts of anarchical crimes and outrages had strongly pressed on the attention of Lord Morley, the Secretary of State for India, the need for taking some immediate steps in the direction of associating the people with the government of the country. Of Lord Morley himself great expectations had been raised, and though he had been forced to give his sanction to some repressive laws and unjust deportations yet responsible Indian politicians looked forward to him, "the reverent student of Burke, the disciple of Mill, the friend and biographer of Gladstone," to courageously apply his liberal principles to the administration of India. There were some eminent Indians like Dr. Rash Behari Ghose who rejoiced that Mr. Morley was

engaged "in digging the grave of the bureaucracy"; indeed "we can almost hear the thud of the spade and the music, yes, the music of the knell." He counselled his countrymen to be of good cheer. "For lo! the winter is almost past, the rain is over and gone, and the flowers begin to appear on the earth." The famous Minto-Morley Reforms were announced. "The clouds which had darkened the political sky" for a long time and which every one had watched "so long with fear and trembling had after all begun to dissolve in rain." Thanks to Lords Morley and Minto, the golden moment had been seized, and a new and a long wished-for policy of conciliation had been adopted. When, therefore, the Congress which in the previous year had broken up at Surat reassembled at Madras, there was a general wave of satisfaction that an important chapter had been opened in the history of the political relations between Great Britain and India. The President of the Congress rejoiced

that the people of India will now be associated with the Government in the daily and hourly administration of their affairs. A great step forward has thus been taken in the grant of representative government for which the Congress had been crying for years. In a word we shall now have something like a constitutional government in the place of an autocratic and irresponsible administration.

He looked forward also to a time "when an exultant President of the Indian National Congress will be able to announce to a united people, amid universal rejoicing, the extension to India of the Colonial type of Government."

But the joy of the people was destined to be short-lived. The task of framing the regulations for giving effect to the reform proposals had been entrusted to the bureaucracy and as if to be revenged on the public which had fought for the reforms, it virtually manacled and wrecked them. The method and manner in which the regulations and rules had been framed and worked which have virtually made the non-official members in the Legislative Councils impotent and driven many of them to despair will be described more fully when dealing with the problem of the reconstitution of the Indian Councils. Lord Minto, the noble Viceroy who did his best for India under the most trying situation was succeeded by Lord Hardinge and the Congress which met at Calcutta in 1911 "met in the full joy of the reunited Bengalees whose long suffering had been crowned with triumph, and who had heard the Partition of Bengal annulled by the King Emperor's own lips in the great Coronation Durbar at Delhi." More important still was the publi-

cation of the Despatch and the correspondence that passed between the Government of India and the Secretary of State on the administrative changes announced by H. M. The King Emperor and the recognition of the necessity of complete provincial autonomy.

The memorable passage in the Despatch laid down in clear and emphatic terms the ideal to be followed:—

It is certain that, in the course of time, the just demands of Indians for a large share in the government of the country will have to be satisfied, and the question will be how this devolution of power can be conceded without impairing the supreme authority of the Governor-General in Council. The only possible solution of the difficulty would appear to be gradually to give the provinces a larger measure of self-government, until at last India would consist of a number of administrations, autonomous in all provincial affairs, with the Government of India above them all, and possessing power to interfere in cases of misgovernment, but ordinarily restricting their functions to matters of Imperial concern.

The real significance of this passage was thus commented upon on February 28, 1913, in a remarkable speech delivered at Cambridge by Mr. Montagu, the then Under-Secretary of State for India:—

Where the difference lies is in this, that we have endeavoured to look ahead, to co-ordinate our changes in Bengal with the general lines of our future policy in India, which is stated now for the first time in the Government of India's Despatch that had been published as a Parliamentary Paper. That statement shows the goal, the aim towards which we propose to work not immediately, not in a hurry, but gradually.

We cannot drift on for ever without stating a policy. A new generation, a new school of thought fostered by our education and new European training has grown up, and it asks, "What are you going to do with us?" We have never answered that, and we have put off answering them for so long. At last, and not too soon, a Viceroy has had the courage to state the trend of British policy in India and the lines on which we propose to advance.

Lord Crewe, pulled behind by the reactionaries Lords Lansdowne and Curzon, no doubt tried to repudiate the hopes raised by the "exuberant language" of the Government of India. But neither his Lordship nor any of his successors could stay the march of India in any manner, and the great ideal of provincial autonomy boldly enunciated in an Official Despatch and firmly planted in the hearts of a people which must inevitably tend to Self-Government for India could not certainly be smothered even by the hand of a Secretary of State for India.

The official recognition of the principle of provincial autonomy was certainly a bright star helping the people to march onwards. But this was not all. There was visible on the politica-

horizon another bright star which promised a great future for the country. For years attempts had been sedulously made by some of the enemies of Indian progress to separate Hindus and Mussalmans and further make the Mussalman community believe that their interests were distinct and separate from those of the Hindus and that it was not to their interest that they should join hands with their Hindu brethren in political agitation. Several leading Mahomedans and some of the truest and the noblest English friends of India like Sir William Wedderburn had been endeavouring for years to make the Mussalmans realise the imperative necessity there was for their working in amity with the Hindus for the common good of the country where they will be brought together in loving and brotherly service for the motherland. Thanks to the good offices of some of the distinguished leaders of both the communities like the late lamented Mr. Gokhale and H. H. The Aga Khan, the efforts to reconcile their differences met with happy response and all India rejoiced when the Moslem League at its session in 1911 also adopted the ideal of Self-Government for India. The Congress of 1913 placed on record its warm appreciation of the adoption by the All-India Moslem League of the ideal of Self-Government for India within the British Empire. It was happier still to express its complete concurrence in the belief the Moslem League had so emphatically declared at its last sessions that the political future of the country depends on the harmonious working and co-operation of the various communities. Henceforward Hindus and Mahomedans began to concentrate their attention on the one united ideal for them: "the India of the future will be a stronger, nobler, greater, higher, aye, and a brighter India than was realised by Asoka in the plenitude of his power, a better India than was revealed to Akbar in the wildest of his visions."

When the 29th session of the Congress met at Madras it was five months after the present great world war had commenced—a war in which Great Britain had joined and quite justly, to keep her solemn word with Belgium and above all to prevent the ruthless destruction of the rights of smaller nationalities; and the princes and people of India naturally rallied their forces to help the Empire in its great struggle for liberty and the cause of civilization. It was certain the war "will knock off the last weights of mediæval domination of one man over many, of one race over another" and no man can "bar the

imponderable influences of an expanding world."

The alacrity with which India had proffered help by sending her troops to the battlefield in Flanders and the magnificent help rendered in various shapes to the Empire at a period of great crisis had touched the hearts of the English people and even politicians who had invariably in the past shown their stony hearts to the people of India acknowledged in exuberant language India's timely services, avowed that the old angle of vision had changed and Great Britain should no longer think of India as a Dependency but as a joint and equal partner in the great heritage of the British Empire. The Hon. Babu Bhupendranath Basu, whose duty it was to voice the aspirations of his countrymen, declared that what India wanted was neither subordination nor separation but "a joint partnership on equal terms."

The resolution on the subject, passed at the Congress, ran as follows:—

That in view of the profound and avowed loyalty that the people of India have manifested in the present crisis, this Congress appeals to the Government to deepen and perpetuate it, and make it an enduring and valuable asset of the Empire, by removing all invidious distinctions here, and abroad, between His Majesty's Indian, and other subjects, by redeeming the pledges of Provincial autonomy contained in the Despatch of the 25th August 1911, and by taking such measures as may be necessary for the recognition of India as a component part of a federated Empire, in the full and the free enjoyment of the rights belonging to that status.

The great war had afforded India an opportunity to demonstrate "the courage, bravery and tenacity of her troops even when pitted against the best organised armies of the world and also the capacity of her sons of all clans and nationalities to rise as one people under the stimulus of over-powering emotion." In the words of Mr. Austin Chamberlain, "the people of India, sepoys and Maharajas, villagers and highly educated public men, have given their support because they are deeply convinced that in this war the British Empire is fighting in a just and righteous cause. The Indian people have a high sense of right and wrong. They saw that in this war the Allies were in the right, and they regarded the cause of the Allies as the cause of India."

But "the real innerness of the striking manifestation of loyalty was," as correctly described by Mr. Charles Roberts, M. P., the Under Secretary of State for India, "to be found in the desire of the Indian peoples that Indian soldiers should take part in the war side by side with their British comrades."

The most striking and historic event of the war, an event calculated to produce consequences of a far-reaching character was, therefore, the participation of India in the world war of the Empire. In announcing the news of the despatch of the Indian troops to France, H. E. Lord Hardinge observed:—

There is nothing like comradeship in arms and joint participation in the dangers and hardships of war to level distinctions, inspire mutual respect, and foster friendship. I cannot help feeling that as a consequence better relations will be promoted amongst the component parts of the British Empire. Many misunderstandings will be removed and outstanding grievances will be settled in an amicable and generous manner. In this sense, out of evil good may come to India, and this is the desire of us all.

Lord Hardinge's expectation was not in vain. The Indian troops which fought side by side with the troops from Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa distinguished themselves by their gallant behaviour and splendid heroism and some of her distinguished sons were recommended for the coveted distinction of the Victoria Cross. In the words of Mr. Asquith "the battlefields of France and Flanders bore undying tribute to their bravery and devotion." Mr. Asquith proudly stated "he did not think that in all the moving exhibitions of national and Imperial patriotism which the war had evoked there was any which had more touched and rightly touched, the feelings of this House and the country than the message sent by the Viceroy of India announcing the magnificent response which the Princes and people of that country have made to our need." Mr. Bonar Law was more enthusiastic still and he made a very striking observation: "This assistance from India also was coming, not from force but from good-will, and he believed that it was coming because, on the whole, every one who left this country to take part in the Government of India, from the Viceroy to the humblest official, was inspired by the tradition that it was his duty, not to exploit India for the benefit of this country, but to rule it for the good of the people of India."

Among the numerous touching and grateful appreciations of British statesmen nothing had stirred the hearts and raised the hopes of the Indian people more than the notable statement of Mr. Bonar Law (at a great meeting at Guildhall, held on May 18, 1915, under the presidency of the Lord Mayor.) "The Dominions of the British Empire had not been created by the war, but the conditions had been changed by the war, and it was his hope, and if it was taken up in

earnest while the metal was still glowing red hot from the furnace of war, he believed it could be done, that as a result of it we might see a Parliament of the British Empire, in which every part of that Empire, in proportion to its resources and its numbers, would share in the duty and the honour of ruling the British Empire."

Lord Crewe who spoke in the same meeting, in endorsing Mr. Bonar Law's sentiments regarding the hopes of the future, uttered the remarkable words:—"I would like also to think that the association of India and of the Colonies at such a gathering as this is a significant sign of the essential comprehension which, as the years roll on, would, as I firmly believe, sweep away all those obstacles of distance, of creed, or of race which seem to interfere with the complete union of the different members of the great Imperial Confederation—a union which would hinge upon the free activities of each, and which would be firmly based upon a common belief in the progress of the whole." At the same meeting Mr. Asquith referred publicly, in speaking of the services of India, to the greatness of the "Empire which knows no distinction of race or class where all alike are subjects of the King Emperor and are joint and equal custodians of common interest and fortunes." Lord Haldane made pointed mention of the fact that India had freely given her lives and treasure in humanity's great cause and "hence things cannot be left as they are." The mighty struggle had made every one "realise our oneness, so producing relations between India and England which did not exist before. Our victory would be a victory to the Empire as a whole and could not fail to raise it (India) to a higher level."

More hopeful still was the message which Mr. William Archer gave to the British democracy regarding its obligations to India. "It now rests with us to help her forward, honestly, diligently, and with deliberate, intelligent purpose, on the path which shall lead her out of tutelage, and up to the eminent place in which her innate capacities entitle her to the economy of the Empire and of the world."

All India was proud to learn that Great Britain had been impressed profoundly by "the spectacle of a whole nation from prince to peasant, rallying to her side and placing their resources and services unreservedly at her disposal. In the exuberance of her gratitude India was assured of her title to self-rule being recognised and to her being lifted from a position of dependency to that of partnership in the Imperial scheme." Sometime elapsed and there was a feeling

that British enthusiasm would appear to have cooled down. Mr. Asquith had spoken of "the refashioning of the fabric of the Empire" and all over England the proposal that the ministers of the Dominions should be admitted into the Councils of the Empire had been received with great approval. The Prime Ministers of Canada and Australia had even been invited to attend the meetings of the Cabinet. The responsible minister who in answer to a question in the House of Commons had denied representation to India to the Economic Conference held at Paris, promptly sent Mr. Hughes of Australia to attend its sittings with Lord Crewe and Mr. Bonar Law: "In all the discussions very little reference to India was found, and what there was of it was not altogether hope-inspiring. The Secretary of State for India had hardly had a cheering or comforting word to utter during the whole of the sixteen months he had occupied the position of what Sir William Wedderburn once described as the seat of the Grand Mughal at Westminster. He had found time to put through Parliament two such uncalled for and retrograde measures as the Indian Civil Service Act and the Government of India Act, and the Prime Minister had spared Parliamentary time for their passage through both Houses in all their stages; but the annual debate on Indian affairs had been suspended and there had been no comprehensive, authoritative statement on the policy of His Majesty's Government in relation to India."

It would be idle to conceal the fact that an uneasy feeling began to creep into the minds of the people and responsible politicians felt that when the Colonies were trying to get a proper place for themselves in refashioning the fabric of the Empire, India's claims for equality of status and her right to share the privileges of the Empire were likely to be neglected. There was also a fear and a well-grounded one, that the Colonies also would obtain a voice in the administration of India and the idea of more masters for India was positively revolting to its sense of self-respect, and especially at a time when it was justly and anxiously looking forward to her proper place in the Empire. These circumstances gave a fresh impetus to India's demand for Self-Government and an insistent demand for a declaration of the policy of the State in regard to her political future. About the same period Mrs. Besant began to urge on the country the supreme need of following the advice of Mr. Bonar Law to strike the iron while it was hot and press the claims of India for autonomy

with boldness, persistence and increasing vigour. By her forceful contributions to the Press, her touching eloquence and by her *brochures* and pamphlets she made the country from one end to the other ring with the cry of Home Rule. The attitude adopted by some of the Provincial Governments towards her, served but to give fresh stimulus to the cause she was advocating. A profound sense of the great danger to the Empire caused by the sudden outburst of the war had softened the rigour of the extremist school of thought and its adherents anxious to render every assistance they could to the cause of the Allies threw in their lot once more with the Indian National Congress and its avowed aims. When, therefore, the 30th session of the Indian National Congress commenced its memorable session in Bombay, under the presidency of Sir S. P. Sinha who had been in the inner Councils of the Government for some time he but gave expression to the prevailing feeling not only of the delegates assembled there but of the country as well when he proclaimed once again that the only satisfactory form of Self-Government, to which India aspires, cannot be anything short of what President Lincoln so pithily described as "Government of the people, by the people, for the people." In his presidential address he made an earnest appeal to the British nation to show its approval "of the goal to which we aspire." The Congress took a further step forward when it passed the following resolution:—

That this Congress is of opinion that the time has arrived to introduce further and substantial measures of reform towards the attainment of Self-Government as defined in Article I of its Constitution, namely, reforming and liberalising the system of Government in this country so as to secure to the people an effective control over it.

But more noteworthy still was the direction given to the All-India Congress Committee to confer with the Committee that may be appointed by the All-India Moslem League for the same purpose and to take such further measures as may be necessary; the said Committee to submit its report on or before the 1st of September 1916 to the General Secretaries, who shall circulate it to the different Provincial Congress Committees as early as possible.

Accordingly the All-India Congress Committee invited proposals from the various provincial Congress Committees, considered all the suggestions and prepared a scheme at its meeting held at Allahabad on the 22nd, 23rd, and 24th April 1916. In November a joint Conference of the All-India Congress Committee and of the Moslem League deliberated over the scheme for over two full days, discussed

it again at Lucknow on the 25th, 26th and 27th December. The scheme was once again considered in the Subjects Committee of the Lucknow Congress and finally adopted unanimously amidst great rejoicings by the sessions of the Congress and of the Moslem League held about the same time in the historic city of Lucknow. While the Congress and the Moslem League Committees were preparing their scheme of reforms it was authoritatively known that the Government of India was at about the same time contemplating a Despatch to the Secretary of State on the question of the reforms and changes to be made in the constitution of the Government of India. It was then that the Nineteen Non-Official Elected Members of the Viceroy's Council felt it their duty to lose no more time in giving a reasoned statement of India's views and aspirations in a document to be presented in their name. This is the genesis of the Reforms adumbrated in the Memorandum of the Nineteen and in the scheme adopted unanimously by the Congress and the Moslem League and those that suggest that novel and revolutionary proposals have been sprung up on the authorities by the Indian people at a time when the Empire is in the throes of a tremendous struggle are consciously or unconsciously misrepresenting the motives and actions of the Indian leaders. Many of the reforms advocated are as old as the Congress itself and self-government has been the objective from the beginning. "Generations of British statesmen have repeatedly laid down that policy, solemn declarations of successive Sovereigns have graciously endorsed it, and Acts of Parliament have given it legislative sanction."

To use the words of Sir S. P. Sinha: "Autonomy within the Empire has been the accepted political faith of the Congress."

I appeal to the British nation to declare their ungrudging approval of the goal to which we aspire, to declare their inflexible resolution to equip India for her journey to that goal and to furnish her escort on the long and weary road. Such a declaration will be the most distinguished way of marking their appreciation of India's services and sacrifices—her loyalty and her devotion to the Empire. Such a declaration will touch the heart and appeal to the imagination of the people far more than any mere specific political reforms.

The country is therefore fully justified in demanding a declaration of the policy of the Government in this respect. Of the immense political and moral value such a course would carry with it, very little need be said. The Rt. Rev. Dr. Whitehead, the Lord Bishop of

Madras, who has known service in different parts of India and who has had abundant opportunities to study at first hand the conditions of India and the aspirations of its leaders, has suggested the very same course in a recent contribution to the *Nineteenth Century and After*:

I cannot help thinking that in the same way the British Government would enormously strengthen its position in India if it were to make the self-government of India as an integral part of the British Empire its avowed object and ideal, encouraging educated Indians definitely to look forward to this ideal and shaping its own policy consistently with a view to this one great end. The Government would then practically adopt the platform of the Nationalist Party. There would be no differences between them as to the end at which they are aiming, and though there would naturally be much difference of opinion, not only between Englishmen and Indians, but also between Indians and Indians and Englishmen and Englishmen with regard to the particular steps that might wisely be taken at any particular time, still both alike would be working for a common ideal. The difference that this would make in the relations between the Government and the educated Indians as a body, as represented by the National Congress, would be immense. It would alter the whole of the political situation and would do more than anything else to allay the unrest which has been such a disquieting feature of Indian politics during the last fifty years, and it would give a consistency to our work and policy which at the present moment they do not possess.

His Lordship has rightly pointed out with considerable insight:

The danger of the present situation consists largely in the fact that, with notable exceptions, Englishmen in India are not only opposed to the feelings and sentiments of educated Indians, but also to the inevitable tendency of their work and policy. We need to realise that we cannot now base the Government of India upon any other foundation than that of the will of the Indian peoples, that we are here as servants of the Indian people and not as their masters, that a foreign bureaucracy can only be regarded as a temporary form of Government, and that our ultimate aim and object must be to enable India to become a Self-Governing part of the British Empire, and to develop her own civilization upon her own lines.

But the Congress will not be content with a mere declaration of the policy of the Government in regard to Self-Government. It must, as a first step in that direction, take early measures for the introduction of such changes and reforms as are directly calculated to achieve the high purpose in view. The first great step necessary is the reconstitution of the Indian Councils, the Legislative and Executive Councils of the Viceroy and of the Provincial Governments. And only if this is done "hope may come where despair holds sway, and faith where doubt spreads its darkening shadow."

POST-WAR REFORMS: A SYMPOSIUM.

BY

THE RAJA VASUDEVA RAJA OF KOLLENGODE, C.I.E.

My thoughts on the subject naturally arise mainly from the standpoint of the class to which I belong. I believe that no body of citizens is more vitally concerned in the scheme of political reforms than the large and ancient class of land-owning aristocracy which has been the backbone of the country. Any scheme that ignores or minimises this important class is sure to be disastrous to the country. In view of the esteem in which our Government have hitherto held the landholders, and in view also of the political position of the corresponding class in Great Britain, I feel assured that the interests and legitimate aspirations of the landholders will be duly considered in any scheme of Indian Reforms that may finally be sanctioned.

It is idle to deny that the people who ordinarily claim to represent Indian public opinion are not always friendly to the interests of the large owners of landed property. A certain class of politicians has almost adopted as its creed that members of the aristocracy are not much fit to hold offices or to represent general public interests. It is, therefore, not reasonable to expect that the aristocracy could feel safe in any scheme which will be dominated by this class of politicians. Unless, therefore, special arrangements are made for securing adequate rights and privileges to the landholders, they will, I am afraid, find themselves practically unrepresented, and exposed to serious risks in the name of representative Government.

While I agree to a substantial enlargement of the Legislative Councils, as suggested in the Memorandum submitted to His Excellency the Viceroy by the nineteen elected members of the Imperial Council, I am by no means convinced that a mere enlargement, however safeguarded, will assure adequate protection to all the varied interests of the country. If the Legislative Councils are to be invested with such vast powers as to give them practically complete control over the internal administration, the question has necessarily to be considered whether a single chamber system of legislature will be safe. I am speaking solely in the interests of the large landed classes. There are, no doubt, other important interests that would need protection. Democracies all the world over have shown a special

tendency to tax property out of existence. It is always easy to propose and carry out measures of public utility if only the required money would come out of other peoples' pockets. In the present backward condition of industries and commerce in this country, the tendency to finance popular projects and industrial experiments by adding to the burden of taxation on land is all the greater. Under these circumstances, the desirability of constituting a second chamber of legislature consisting of representatives of the landholders and similar proprietary classes cannot be too strongly emphasised. The double chamber system prevails not only in England, but in all British Colonies and all countries which have adopted the British model. It is, perhaps, significant that while Indian politicians have persistently demanded self-government on colonial lines, they have not cared to urge the claims of the proprietary classes to have an upper chamber of Senate like those existing in the Colonies. Is it imagined that India alone can work representative institutions without the safeguard provided by a second chamber? It seems to me that the power of veto vested in the Governor or Governor-General, or in the last resort the Crown, will be inadequate. For, in the contentious questions which arouse acrimonious discussion, the Governor or Governor-General may be seldom disposed to exercise the right of veto, for fear of being identified with the minority concerned. I would, therefore, urge my brother landholders to press at this early stage the demand for a second chamber of legislature in which they must have a preponderating voice, but which may also be thrown open to other large interests in the country. The details can be worked out if the principle for which I contend is accepted.

With regard to the suggestion that the legislature should have complete control over internal administration including finance, I fear there will be difficulties in practice. It is conceded that the Government of India should be independent of local control in respect of naval and military affairs, foreign relations, war, peace and treaties. Presumably in respect of these things, the Government of India would act according to the mandate of His Majesty's Government in England.

I am afraid this division of responsibilities into internal and external is not so easy as it seems. For instance, should the Government of India, after a review of external affairs, decide largely to increase the army in India and also to provide a navy for India, how are they to carry out their object? They could not have the requisite funds except under a vote of the legislature in India. To give power to the Government to provide for the external defence of India, and to leave it to the legislature to grant or deny money for the purpose, is the surest way of bringing about a breakdown of the whole system. The crux of all administration is finance; the distinction between external and internal affairs is unreal, and any scheme based on such a distinction is like building a house on quicksand. By all means, let us ask for a very much larger share in the management of our affairs than we now have, but it would be foolish to ask for a great deal more than is at all practicable, or to put forward proposals which could be easily demolished.

Proposals have been made, as regards the Council of the Secretary of State, either to mend it or to end it. Should the Council be re-modelled, I would ask that a moiety of it shall be composed of Indians, and in view of the large interests of landholders, I would also ask that a clear third of the Indian Members shall be from our class. It is not clear what exactly we stand to gain by securing "men who have made their mark in British public life" in the India Council, or in our Executive Councils. Considering the way in which the party system of Government works in England, the chances are that men will be put in, not so much for their personal merits as for party services. The kind of men contemplated are probably those who, in the House of Commons and elsewhere, strive to serve Indian interests. But such men generally may not care to get into these Councils nor are they likely to be appointed. The whole thing will gradually degenerate into a matter of patronage and prove a fruitful source of complaint against the fitness of the persons selected. The idea underlying the proposal seems to be, that the English public men in the Council will make common cause with the Indian Members as against the Anglo-Indian officials. May not the end be achieved in a more direct manner by increasing the Indian element?

There is much to be said in favour of the proposal that half the number of members of the Executive Council should be Indians, and I trust that the authorities will be convinced of the justice and propriety of this idea. I would add that

at least one of the Indian members should always be a representative of the landholders. I cannot, however, accept the suggestion to remove the statutory obligation that a certain proportion of the Executive Councils shall be selected from the public services in India. The effect of this will be that non-official Europeans, such as merchants and bankers, will be eligible for appointment to the Councils. Are not the non-official Europeans in some respects even more uncompromising opponents of Indian aspirations, as popularly understood, than officials? For instance, on the question of our economic advancement, do we not find English merchants and bankers so wedded to the existing system of exporting raw products and importing manufactured articles that it is difficult to convince them of the need for change? Can we reasonably expect them to support a policy of creating and enlarging local industries, such as would reduce the volume of our present export trade and also reduce our need of imported articles? As I have already said, it is very doubtful if we would secure the services of the right sort of men from British public life. If one-half of the members of the Executive Councils are Indians, that should be sufficient for the present.

I have also serious doubts as to the wisdom of the suggestion that all members of an Executive Council should go out when the Viceroy or Governor lays down his office. If the entire personnel of a Government suddenly changes, it will be difficult to maintain the equilibrium of the administration and a continuity of policy. Whatever may be the merits of such a system elsewhere, it does not appear suitable to the present or proposed constitution of India. The experiment was some time ago tried in one of the important States of Southern India, when the Dewan and his Councillors retired simultaneously, and the experiment has not been repeated.

I cordially support the other proposals, namely, the admission of our people into the Naval and Military services, allowing us to enlist as volunteers and to carry arms on the same condition as Europeans, and abolishing all racial or class restrictions on recruitment to the public services. It is also quite reasonable that, in any scheme of Imperial Federation, India should be given a place similar to that of the Colonies. I see no reason why the other partners of the great British Empire should not welcome our company in their deliberations affecting the common interests of the Empire, in which our stake is no less than theirs.

THE MAXIMS OF TIRUVALLUVAR

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BY

THE HON. MR. JUSTICE T. V. SESHAGIRI AIYAR.

As a student in the college classes, I read portions of the Kural and of the Kambaramayanam, prescribed by the University. I loved them both. I have since been trying to acquaint myself with the glories of the Sanskrit literature. This desire has so possessed me that I could find no place in my heart for Tamil. Quite recently, I heard discourses on Valmiki. The Baghavathar is as great a student of Kamban as of the Sanskrit poet. The comparison and contrast which he brought out between the versions of the two great poets left in me a desire to go back to the love of my younger days, and I have since been having a peep into Kamban whenever I could find time.

Fate seems to have ordained that Kambaramayanam's twin sister, the Kural, should not be neglected. The Editor of the *Indian Review* has placed that temptation in my way. I have read the English rendering of the Kural by V. V. S. Aiyar* and feel that I have too long stayed away from the pleasures which I once keenly enjoyed.

The Kural marks the high water tide of the Tamilian culture and civilisation. It is not an adaptation from any known Sanskrit treatise. It is a delineation of character in all its aspects which the ancient civilisation regarded as the ideal. If the first century of the Christian Era (which apparently gave birth to the poet) could have influenced ideals and thoughts in the way they are depicted in the Kural, the Tamils can justly boast that they had reached a standard of life and of polity when the world, as we know it now, was in its infancy, which have not been very materially added to since. The Christian missionaries, who translated portions of the Kural, have claimed for its teachings the influence of the first apostles of Christ. I consider this a great tribute to the universality of the lessons inculcated in the book.

The greatest merit of the book is its simplicity and directness. One feels as if he were sitting under the feet of a world-teacher in reading the verses through. There is absolutely no sectarianism in them. Another striking feature is the instilling of wisdom not by declaiming against the futility of the pleasures of life, but by and through

them. A cheery and optimistic view of life is the predominant note. The author is at his best when he speaks of domestic life. A love of the things of the world—wife, children and wealth—is not regarded by Tiruvalluvar as so many hindrances in the path of salvation, but as easy gradient steps which when trodden on with purity and foresight would each bring the gate of Heaven nearer to the aspirer. In this, the poet excels even Lord Buddha. The blessings of a married life are the theme of many a beautiful verse; "Those alone can praise the sweet sounds of the guitar and of the fiddle who have not had the good fortune to hear the prattle of their children." Nothing but human experience and an instinct which is the outcome of the liveliest home recollections could have given utterance to such a sentiment. As a tribute to the terseness of its sayings and the profundity of its wisdom, it has been said of the Kural, that it is like a mustard seed into which had been extracted the essence of all that is best in the seven oceans. This is not altogether a hyperbole. Those that have they will and the knowledge to understand the Kural cannot fail to appreciate the truth of the saying.

The scheme of the book is in harmony with its teachings. The introductory portion begins with the praise of God and ends with the glorification of righteousness. Part I is divided into two sections. In the first section, the virtues of the householder are extolled. The second section deals with the life of an ascetic. It is clear that this second phase of life is not to be adopted by one who wants to fly away from the world; but as a denouncement to be sought after after having lived the life of a virtuous house-holder. As Lord Sri Krishna has said before, Tiruvalluvar preached that the highest form of renunciation is not that in which helpful action is avoided, but is one in which ill-conceived desires are killed.

The second part is concerned with statescraft. It is much on the lines of the Panchatantra, the Arthashastra of Kautilya, and the writings of Machiavelli. There is more robust common sense in these verses than one can find elsewhere. Tiruvalluvar considered eloquence as a necessary adjunct for a councillor of the State. At the same time, he said "verily they have a passion for

* Published by the Author at Pondicherry.

much speaking who know not to say their mind in a few well-chosen words." Many a platform orator might well follow this caution.

The third part depicts the course of true love. All writers of the old school have in this respect chosen for their theme a period of separation between the lovers. The strength of affection, according to them, is best tested when lovers meet again after a time of enforced absence. Kalidasa's "Meghasandesa" is conceived in that spirit. So also the exile of Sita in Lanka. Similarly Thiruvalluvar makes the hero depart to a battle field after a brief spell of married life. The longings of the husband and of the wife and their subsequent reunion are told exquisitely.

I must say a word about the English rendering. It seems to me that Mr. Aiyar has rendered Thiruvalluvar in better English than Dr. Pope. The reason is not because Mr. Aiyar knows English better, but because he has understood the author more thoroughly. The translation brings out the meaning perfectly and deserves very high commendation.

SUNDERING SEAS.

BY

D. G. D.

The day was loud with wind, and wild with rain,
"I know," he said, "she will not come again,
Alas! and I—I cannot go to her.
I have no blame to deal, she cannot stir
To wakefulness the old love that is dead,
The old dead love, ah me!" Above his head
The wind sobbed in the swaying ivy tree,
And, looking on the hills, he could not see
The grey rain reeling there, only he saw
A dark face, beautiful, rise up and draw
Near unto him from out the autumn day,
Gaze a brief instant there, and die away.
"Ah, thou art beautiful!" I heard him say
"My God how beautiful! Goodbye, goodbye."
The poor lips faltered as they spake the word,
The sad voice broke, sank as a sound unheard
Mingling with wind and rain; and then he tried
To call her name, but the word stumbling died
On twisted lips, and ere he turned to go
Seaward with his unfathomable woe
The tears (he had so long forbade to rise)
Came brimming through the brave reluctant eyes.
I saw his shoulders shaking in the rain,
And the writhing lips that fought to speak, in
[vain.

I must not omit to say a word upon the well-written preface. It is a clear synopsis of the subject matter and explains satisfactorily the reasons which have led to the undertaking.

Lastly about the author. Unfortunately we have no authoritative records of his birth and antecedents. He is said to have been born of pariah parents. If that is so, the hold he has acquired upon the people of southern India testifies to the fact that high merit wherever found has been venerated in Madras. Nandanar, Nammalwar, Thiruvalluvar are names to conjure with. They are worshipped and venerated as saints. I do not wish to indulge in politics, but I would exhort my Brahmin brethren to continue to cherish for true merit and greatness, the same regard which their forefathers showed to the saints I have mentioned. If that is done, there must come love and co-operation. If the rallying point of all the sons of India be the exaltation of merit wherever it may be found, strife and lickings must end and a common bond of brotherhood must prevail.

INVALIDID HOME TO INDIA.

BY

THEO. W. LA TOUCHE.

Lo! like a mother with her anxious arms
Outspread; with smiling eyes and radiant brow;
Her bosom pregnant with unutterable love,
Dear India greets our eyes, with dearer charms
Than when we left her shores; her peaceful
[palms
Waving gay welcomes to her sons, who now,
Sore bruised but cheerful homeward plough
The seas, from 'midst the battles deathful storms—
And now she clasps us fondly to her breast,
Exulting that her sons right nobly fought
And ranked amongst the bravest of the West!
While we, our deepest wounds at once forgot,
Rejoice with her, and wildly long again
To rush where glory shines—alas in vain!

Company vs State Management of Indian Railways

BY

PROF. PANCHANANDAS MUKHERJI, M.A., F.R.E.S.

INQUIRIES have recently been started by the Government of India regarding the comparative advantages and disadvantages of the two existing methods now in force of administering State-owned railway lines. These enquiries were suggested by the fact that they will have to give notice before the 31st of December 1917, if they desire to terminate the contract with the East Indian Railway Company, which holds the contract up to the 31st of December 1919.

The complexity of the question will be evident from the fact that three such expert bodies like the Chambers of Commerce in Bengal, the United Provinces, and the Punjab should hold quite distinct and opposed opinions on it. The Bengal Chamber is an uncompromising advocate of company management: it approvingly quotes the words used by Lord Dalhousie in his famous Railway Minute of April 20, 1853, namely, that—

The conduct of an enterprise which is undertaken mainly for commercial purposes, and which private parties are willing to engage for, does not fall within the province of any Government: least of all, should it be taken as any part of the Government of India. One of the greatest drawbacks to the advance of this country in material prosperity has been the total dependence upon the Government in which the community has placed itself, and its apparent utter helplessness to do anything for itself. . . . The enlistment of private enterprise for the formation of these works, directly, but not vexatiously, controlled by the Government of the country, acting for the best interests of the public, was a principle for which I contended several years ago when closely connected with that branch of public works.

The Bengal Chamber also agrees with the more or less similar view taken by another authority, the late Earl of Cromer, when serving as Finance Member of the Viceroy's Council:—

It is true, he said, that a railway is generally a practical monopoly. The State should, therefore, exercise so much supervision over its working as will prevent the monopoly from being exercised in a manner detrimental to the public interests. Thus the State should possess a right of inspection in order that the line may be certified by competent authority to be safe for the transport of goods and passengers. It should regulate the maximum tariff, and fix the gauge on which the line is to be constructed. It is specially necessary that a conditional right of purchase, after the lapse of a certain period, should be reserved. But when provision has been made for these, and some other points which I will not now enumerate, the necessity for State interference ceases.

The Committee of the United Provinces Chamber of Commerce are, on the other hand, of opinion that the Government should have the direction and working of all State-owned railways in their own hands in preference to entrusting them to private companies. They urge that almost all the principal railways in India belong to the State and that it is of greater advantage to the country that they should be worked directly by the State than that the management should be handed over to the companies.

The Committee of the Punjab Chamber of Commerce adopt a view which is a compromise between the two opposing views. They are of opinion that the well-balanced arrangement that at present exists of Company and State management under the control of the Railway Board should not be disturbed.

When there is such pronounced diversity of opinions on this question, it would seem to be presumptuous on my part to enter into a discussion. But I believe that a useful purpose would be served if the arguments pro and con could be dispassionately examined and criticised with a view to arriving at some sort of a workable policy. But before doing so, it would be useful to know the true position of existing railways in India, in order to understand the precise nature of the alternatives we are discussing.

As is well-known, the railways first constructed in India were built between 1850 and 1869 by companies under contracts with Government, which guaranteed to them a fixed interest on their capital; and they were also given their land free of charge. Under all these contracts the State reserved the power to purchase the lines at the end of 25 or 50 years—this power of the State to purchase railways on certain conditions and at stated periods has all along remained the bedrock policy of the British Indian Government, which has frequently exercised this power.

It was Lord Lawrence who, in 1869, wrote a very able minute on the question of Company management vs. State management, strongly advocating the entire reversal of the Guarantee policy and replacing it by a system of State construction and direct State management. His policy was accepted by the Duke of Argyll, the

then Secretary of State for India, and remained in force for ten years. Meanwhile famine, war and currency difficulties conspired to make the Government give up the newly adopted system. So, in 1879, companies were again allowed to enter the field, and from that year till now the construction of railways has been carried on, partly by the State, and partly by companies with capital raised partly by Government and partly through the agency of companies. A great majority of the lines taken over by the State were leased to the then existing companies, and have continued to be worked by them; but three important lines, the North-Western, the Oudh and Rohilkhand, and the Eastern Bengal, are worked directly by State administration. The only lines of any magnitude, which are not owned by Government, are the Southern Punjab and the Bengal and North-Western, but of these and also of the branch line companies, Government holds the right of purchase at certain dates.

The actual position, then, is that Government either owns, or can be the owner of, all the important railways in British India, and that of those which it does own, it works three itself, representing a total mileage of 7,000 miles and has leased the remainder to companies representing a total mileage of about 19,000 miles. But its responsibility does not end here. Under its contracts with the Companies, the State undertakes to supply the companies with capital. The raising of capital by the companies themselves is also provided for, but the amount so furnished represents relatively a small proportion of the whole. The contracts also give the State power to require companies to carry out alterations or improvements in the line or in the working, such as may be thought necessary for the safety of the public or for the effectual working of the line, and the rates and fares charged are subject to maxima and minima fixed by Government. The relationship between the State and the Companies is, in fact, not unlike that of a partnership in which the State, having in the past provided the bulk of the capital, and still providing the bulk of what is now needed for the extension of the business, is the senior, and the several companies, the junior, partners. This is, of course, a very different position from that which usually obtains in a country like the United States, where railway management is left entirely to private enterprise.

In the very beginnings of railway development in India, in the year 1853, Lord Dalhousie recorded in his Minute this governing principle of

the maintenance of control in the hands of the State; to this policy, whatever other fluctuations of railway policy there may have been in the past sixty-three years, the Government of India have steadily adhered.

I heartily trust, he wrote, that the East India Company and the Government of India may hold by the principle on which they have acted in the present case. I trust they will ever avoid the error of viewing railways merely as private undertakings and will regard them as national works over which the Government may justly exercise, and is called upon to exercise, a stringent and salutary control. This control should not be an arbitrary right of interference, but a regulated authority defined and declared by law, which is not to be needlessly or vexatiously exercised, but which, in my judgment, is necessary at once for the interests of the State and for the protection of the public.

The fact that this principle has been steadily maintained means that any discussion of what is loosely termed nationalisation of railways starts from very different data in India than in most other countries, where railways are managed by private enterprise. For the greater part of our railways are, in one sense of the word, nationalised already in that they belong to the State. Those which are worked by the companies are subjected to a far greater measure of control than is usually associated with working by private enterprise. What I mean to discuss in this paper is not *nationalisation*, as it is usually understood, but the important problem of whether, as opportunity offers, the sphere of Company working, or the sphere of working by the State, should be extended.

Ideas of State socialism have a very strong hold on the minds of the majority of Indian publicists, who advocate the Belgian and Prussian system of entire State construction, State management and State development of railways in India. In the sessions of 1914 and 1915, resolutions were moved in the Indian Legislative Council advocating the State management of Indian Railways on the following, among other, grounds:—

1. The saving to the State of the shares of profits now paid to the Managing Companies and the consequent relief to the Indian taxpayers.
2. The development of trade and commerce on national lines instead of the present artificial diversion by means of block rates.
3. The promotion of inter-provincial trade.
4. The growth and development of interests, specially in the interests of this country.
5. The centralization of control in a single State Department located in India and amenable to Indian public opinion, instead of in Boards of Directors in London.

6. The possibility of improving the conditions of third-class passengers and of facilitating easy movement of labour from province to province.

7. The provision of employment of larger numbers of Indians.

8. The removal of any future possibility of strikes among railway employees.

Without going into a discussion of the validity or sufficiency of these arguments for supporting the State management of railways in India, I desire to point out my doubts and difficulties about some of them. The present cry for direct State construction and management of railways in India would seem to imply a policy which would leave the promotion and development of all future railway enterprises in India to Government and Government alone. But would it be possible for the State, unaided by private effort, to afford railway facilities throughout the length and breadth of this vast continent? There are specially times of stress and difficulty when the State would find it almost impossible to divert its funds to railway construction. Moreover, feeder railways, which are an urgent necessity in most parts of the country, can develop rapidly and on sound lines with the aid of private companies.

In these days of decentralization and devolution, it is not prudent to centralize such a big administrative department: in a vast continent like India, the whole administration of railways in one hand will not be easily manageable. The Government of India is already overburdened with diverse economic activities which are left in private hands in other countries. To saddle them again with another such heavy charge would be an undue and needless change of policy.

I cannot understand why it is supposed that State management of railway would put an end to all possibility of strikes among the railway employees. The following extract from Pratt's "State Railways" (p. 37) will show that strikes are as likely to take place under State management as under Company management:—

The danger which may arise from the fact of a large body of workers in a country or a colony being in the direct employment of the State was well illustrated by the strike of engine-drivers and firemen in Melbourne in 1903. The engine-drivers and firemen's society gave 15 hours' notice to the Premier that unless he withdrew his own notice, all the men would leave work.

Happily in this case the public took the side of the Government and the strike collapsed. If the strike happened under company management, the State, as an impartial authority, could intervene and bring about an amicable settlement. If it took place under State management—there would be no appealing authority and either party must

have to submit. Indeed, it has always seemed to me that the reason which was adduced by J. S. Mill to support a second legislative chamber equally supports the policy of the State's holding aloof from the direct management of railways and acting the part of a second chamber in railway administration. One of the chief arguments brought forward in favour of the State management of railways is, that the profits which now go to the pockets of the Company will fill the coffers of the State. I venture to think, however, that if the various (very reasonable) demands that are made on railway companies (e.g., the improvement of the conditions of travel of third class passengers, the encouragement of indigenous industries, etc.,) were to be satisfied by the State when it took over the management of the railways, the railways, instead of showing a margin of profits, may prove to be a burden on the taxpayer, specially when it is borne in mind that the cost of State-management is greater than that of Company management.

The doubts and difficulties expressed above make me hesitate to support a policy of entire State management of railways. At the same time I do not think that the present system is faultless. Some defects of the present system are very glaring and need prompt remedy. Great harm is done to agriculture and industry by the system of block rates followed by almost all railway companies in India, except the East Indian Railway Company—the system through which one railway company is enabled to charge a specially high rate, generally the full maximum rate authorised by Government, for short distances over its own railways in order to prevent goods getting on to another line.

Complaints are not uncommonly heard—specially in the course of the evidence before the Indian Industrial Commission—about difficulties being experienced by new industries in the matter of railway facilities for the transport of raw materials and of finished products. Indeed, there is a close connection between the manipulation of railway rates and the industrial development of the country. Small concessions such as those made to the Tata Iron and Steel Works mean a great deal to new industries. It is gratifying to note in this connection that the East Indian Railway Company has taken the lead in making concessions to industries: it is to be hoped that its example will be followed by all the other railway companies. This will remove a grievance and help to develop Indian industries and manufactures.

I think it has been rightly urged (a) that extra profits in excess of the maximum 8 per cent. dividend earned by non-Indian private companies should be employed in further development of railways; (b) that the capital of railway promoting companies should be as largely indigenous as possible; and (c) that the higher railway appointments should gradually be thrown open to educated Indians.

To remove these defects and to effect these improvements, I do not think it is necessary for the State to take over the management of all the railways now managed by companies. On the other hand, the present system, under which Company-managed and State-managed railways co-exist and work under common regulations, should be continued. The chief reason for the co-existence of the two systems of railway working is thus admirably set forth by Thornton* :—

The strongest, if not the only really valid, argument of general application in favour of non-purchase, and of leaving the companies in possession of their railways as long as they may be willing to retain them. Government proprietorship being meanwhile restricted to the lines which Government itself has constructed, is the healthy emulation which might be expected to arise between State agency and Companies' agency when

* Indian Public Works, p. 70.

Why India Should Help the War Loan

BY M. DE. P. WEBB, C.I.E.

THE Indian War Loan has at length come to pass, and India can now stand proudly shoulder to shoulder with the other great Divisions of the Empire in the all important work of hurling back the forces of Evil by which we all are now attacked.

Many reasons have been given why the people of India should subscribe to the utmost of their ability towards the Indian War Loan just opened by Government. But there two which seem to me to stand out above all others; and they are these:—Firstly, *Self-preservation is the first law of nature.* India is being wantonly attacked by a treacherous inhuman foe both by land and by sea—by sea via the vast oceans away to the south, and by land via Persia, Mesopotamia and Egypt. Therefore, India must defend herself, or run the risk of being ravaged, pillaged, and destroyed. To defend India means a great Navy and a powerful Army, both of which cost money.

The second reason is that India is herself a great and powerful country with a history as glorious as that of most other great countries, and with a civilisation, a gentleness, and a philosophy

operating in close juxtaposition and almost within sight and hearing of each other. Both agencies would then be, as it were, constantly on trial: both agencies would be ever aiming at an ever-rising standard of combined economy and efficiency, would show themselves studious to avoid waste, eager to adopt improvements, solicitous to attract customers by continual offers of additional accommodation; would, in short, present a spectacle of commercial competition conducive to the general good.

The State should, however, stipulate in future contracts with Companies to exercise more strict control over them, so that improvements necessitated by changed circumstances and altered public opinion may be carried out within the period of the contract. I think it can very well be stipulated in the new contracts, that resolutions on the railway administration of any line passed by the Indian Legislative Council, and approved by the Government of India, shall be binding on the companies. This would, I think, obviate many of the present disadvantages of company management and would also keep open the door of future reform on approved popular lines. Finally, it is very necessary that there should be greater publicity in the matter of railway administration in India—specially as regards the methods and principles of fixing rates and fares within the fixed minima and maxima.

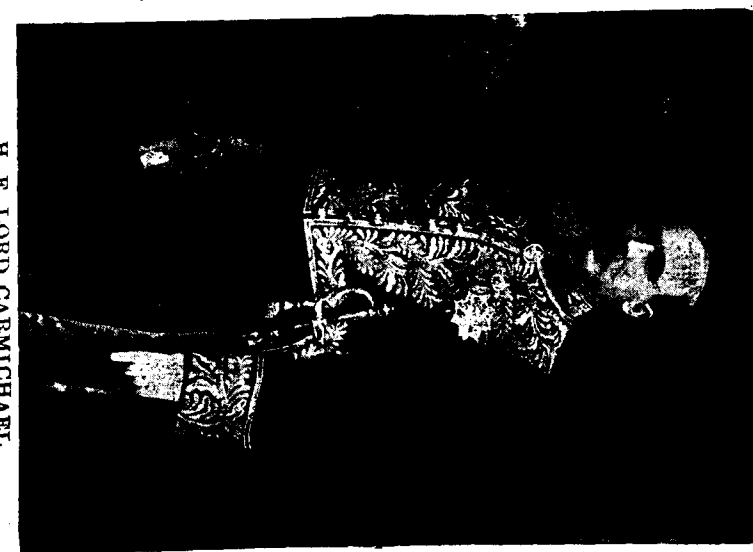
that place her in the front rank of civilised nations. India well understands and thoroughly appreciates the obligation that rests upon every civilised human being to protect the weak, fulfil the promised word, and maintain name and honour untarnished. And so, when India sees the peace of the world and the very foundations of civilisation jeopardised by the covetous brutality of a military oligarchy in Central Europe—when India sees, innocent little countries like Belgium, Poland, Serbia and Montenegro “trampled into a bloody mire” by hordes of German savages in their insane efforts to overthrow France, Russia and Great Britain, then India claims in view of her traditions, her wealth and her power—nay, India demands that she shall be allowed to take her full and proper part in hurling back the enemies of civilisation and in restoring peace and order to an outraged world.

These are, to me, the two chief reasons why India which has already helped magnificently with men and materials, must now help with all her might and to the very utmost of her resources with her great monetary forces.

H. E. THE EARL OF RONALDSHAY.
The New Governor of Bengal.



H. E. LORD CARMICHAEL.
The Retiring Governor of Bengal.



and generally looking after the interests of the people, won for him their love and respect. It was when he was Deputy Commissioner of Shimoga that the first town extension in the State was carried out by him in Sagar and the extension was named after the late Maharaja of Mysore. Sir Oliver St. John, the then British Resident, who happened to be touring through the District, formed a high opinion of him and congratulated the late Maharaja of Mysore in having in his service an officer of Mr. Madhava Rao's stamp. As Deputy Commissioner of Bangalore he devised and successfully carried out the system of granting relief to weavers who were almost the first to suffer when famine appeared. This system was subsequently adopted in Madras and has now become a recognised method of relief.

After being a District Officer for nearly seven years, Mr. Madhava Rao was appointed Inspector General of Police, and he has laid the Indian Community under a heavy obligation to him by having, as the first Indian Inspector General of Police, helped to dispel the then prevailing idea that Indians were unfit to hold independent charge of any office in which power of organization, firmness, initiative and resourcefulness are essential for the efficient discharge of public duties. As Inspector General of Police, he re-organised the force, improved its tone and established the well-known Police School at Bangalore, which has done so much useful work since and has served as a model for similar schools in Madras and Bengal. It was in connection with the Police School that Mr. Madhava Rao solved the problem of giving equality of opportunity to the different classes of the community for gratifying their legitimate ambition to serve in the Government of their country. Knowing that the classes who made good executive officers were rather backward in intellectual capacity, he decided to start a training school for the officers and graduated the test for admission so as to permit of young men of the intellectually backward communities getting an entrance into it equally with the more forward classes. Accordingly if the candidate was a Brahmin he insisted on his having passed the Matriculation examination as the minimum qualification in his case. For non-Brahmin Hindus he fixed the middle school test and for Mahomedans he was satisfied if the candidate could read and write and knew some arithmetic.

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the Resident, Sir Donald Robertson, at once recommended him as the only officer who could be entrusted with the delicate and responsible duties connected with plague administration. Her Highness, the Maharani Regent, accordingly appointed him as Plague Commissioner in addition to his duties as Inspector-General of Police. This appointment afforded Mr. Madhava Rao an excellent opportunity for giving full play to his powers of organization and administration.

The difficulties connected with the enforcing of the rather severe measures which were then in vogue, such as compulsory evacuation and disinfection and getting the people exposed to infection to submit to inoculation are now matters of history. In Mysore there was even greater opposition to these measures than in other parts of India, but Mr. Madhava Rao rendered a good account of himself by carrying on the campaign with great humanity and firmness.

For his services as Plague Commissioner the Regency granted him a substantial bonus and the Government of India conferred on Mr. Madhava Rao the Companionship of the Indian Empire and also gave him the Kaiser-i-hind Gold Medal in the first year of its Institution.

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After a couple of years' service as Revenue Commissioner and Councillor, Mr. Madhava Rao was, in March 1904, invited by His Highness, the Maharaja of Travancore, to be his Dewan. On the eve of his departure to Travancore he was specially entertained by the European community of the Civil and Military Station, Bangalore, in the Mayo Hall. Sir James and Lady Bourdillon attended it and Mr. Madhava Rao who was as great a favourite with the European as with his own community had a splendid send-off. The Resident, Sir James Bourdillon, used to say that

Mr. Madhava Rao's career had much in common with that of Sir Dinkar Rao of Gwalior. He was also entertained in the Mylapore Club, in Madras, where Sir S. Subramania Iyer and Sir Bhashyam Iyengar and the elite of Madras society joined in congratulating him and Travancore on his selection for the Dewanship of that State.

Within the short period of two years, as Dewan of Travancore, Mr. Madhava Rao managed to introduce reforms of a far-reaching character—reforms which any administrator would consider himself fortunate in being able to achieve during a whole life-time. First and foremost, stands the re-organization of the settlement department. The new scheme has since been worked out and has proved an unqualified success. It must also be mentioned that, in introducing the new scheme of settlement, Mr. Madhava Rao was able to abolish the obnoxious system of levying fines on Service Inam Lands, sometimes amounting to 25 and 40 times the assessment, before they were confirmed to the holders, as also the extortionate fines sometimes amounting to 40 times the assessment on what were called "escheat cases."

The accounts and finances of the State, which were in great confusion, were entrusted to a financial expert and the re-organization of the accounts and audit department within such a short time, elicited the warm approval of the Government of Madras.

Mr. Madhava Rao's energies were directed to other departments as well. A new Department called the Excise Department was organised and was made responsible for the management of salt, abkari, tobacco, customs and other items of separate revenue, yielding 45 lakhs or nearly half the total revenue of the State.

Much had been done for education in Travancore in previous administrations and in fact, Travancore stood first in point of expenditure on education in proportion to revenue and also in regard to literacy. During Mr. Madhava Rao's administration, the principle was laid down that no child in the State, whatever his caste or social position, should be allowed to grow up without the rudiments of education. As a first step towards realising this ideal, free education was given to all the backward classes.

Great abuses had grown up in connection with the management of temples in Travancore. Non-Hindus and the lower classes among the Hindus had to pay fines for polluting Hindu temples and sacred tanks without being given a chance to be heard in their defence. In performing the

purificatory rites, the priest's decision as regards the ceremonies to be performed and the sums to be spent on the same was final and the civil authorities summarily levied the fines fixed by the priests. Minister after minister had allowed these abuses to take their course without check, but Mr. Madhava Rao was a man of a different stamp altogether. Within a few weeks of his taking charge of his new duties, he had to deal with a case in which unjust fines had been levied from innocent owners of animals and from Christians who were supposed to have polluted a temple. He quashed all the proceedings as illegal and the Maharaja of Travancore was soon persuaded to declare that the practice should be discontinued. The scale of expenses for the purificatory rites was to be fixed by a commissioner appointed for the purpose and thousands of rupees have been saved to the State as the result of this reform.

Another important measure and the one that will stand for ever as a memorial to the far sighted statesmanship of Mr. Madhava Rao's administration of Travancore is the institution of the Popular Assembly which meets and discusses public questions every year at the capital, under the presidency of the Dewan. Mr. Madhava Rao was later on able to secure from the enlightened Maharaja of Travancore the privilege of election for this unique institution.

But the measure that will ever be associated with his Dewanship and which has benefited the people most and entitled him to their lasting gratitude, is the abolition of what is known as taxation in kind.

The substitution of money payments at a reasonable rate was hailed by the ryots as an immense relief and when the abolition of payment in kind was announced, the Dewan was flooded with congratulatory telegrams and addresses from all parts of the country.

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Mr. Madhava Rao's return to Mysore was hailed with acclaim by all classes of the people.

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MR. V. P. MADHAVA RAO, C.I.E.

BY MR. CHIMANLAL MAGANLAL DOCTOR, M.A., LL.B.

Asst. Legal Remembrancer, Baroda.

MR. V. P. Madhava Rao, C.I.E., is one of the most prominent of Indian Administrators at the present day. He has had the unique distinction of having held the high office of Prime Minister in three of the most enlightened Native States, viz., Travancore, Mysore and Baroda.

Mr. Madhava Rao has had the rare advantage of acquiring administrative experience and achieving distinction both under the British Government and the Governments of Native States. For, he entered Mysore service fully over a decade before the Rendition of 1881 and had already risen to a high position in that service when the State passed into the hands of His Highness the late Maharaja Chamarajendra Wodeyar. Mr. Madhava Rao's career is particularly interesting as he is essentially a self-made man and has risen to his distinguished position by sheer force of character and by dint of honest substantial work. He proved a success in many departments of public service and showed beyond doubt that an Indian could fill with distinction any post however onerous and responsible the duties attaching to it may be.

Viswanath Patankar Madhava Rao comes of an ancient family of Mahratta Deshastha Brahmins, long settled in Tanjore, who are supposed to have emigrated from the Satara District to South India, in the wake of the Mahratta conquest of Tanjore. Born in 1850, he was educated in the Kumbakonam College under the distinguished educationist, Mr. W. A. Porter, and took the B. A. degree of the Madras University in 1869. Even in his College days, he was thought of highly by his Principal, who was much attached to him and who, struck by his "independence of thought" entertained a "high opinion of his personal character." In 1870 Mr. Madhava Rao entered the Mysore service as a clerk in the office of the Guardian of His Highness, the late Maharaja, and was soon made Head Master of the Royal School, where His Highness the late Maharaja was being educated under the guardianship of Colonel G. B. Malleson, C.S.I., Mysore being at that time under British Administration.

Mr. Madhava Rao was not long in service before he came under the notice of the British officers, who gave him a start in the general administration as Public Prosecutor. Captain T. G. Clarke, who was Commissioner of the Nandidroog Division, predicted for Mr. Madhava Rao

even at such an early date, a brilliant future and wrote that :—

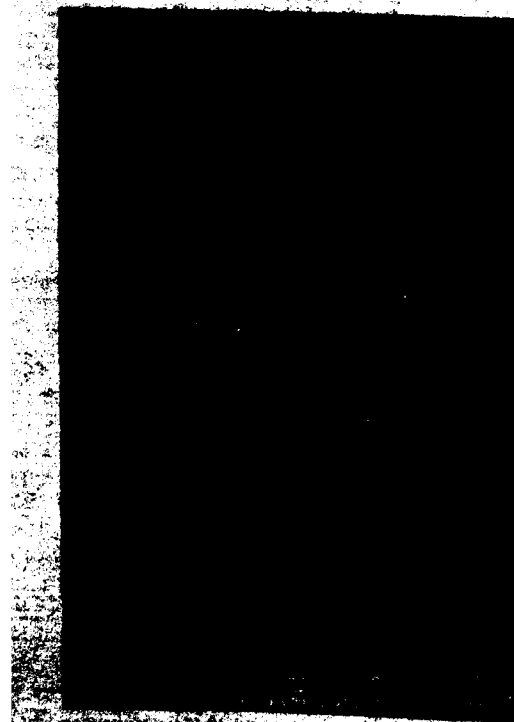
Colonel Malleson under whom he (Mr. Madhava Rao) served, has also spoken of him in flattering terms and in entering the administrative branch of the service, therefore, he starts with a high promise of obtaining distinction in the public service.

Sometime later, Colonel T. Clerk, Commissioner of the Mysore Division, recorded of him, that :—

"Mr. Madhava Rao's character was good and his abilities were of the highest order." In the course of a decade, when the administration was handed back to the late Maharaja, Mr. Madhava Rao had worked his way up through the different grades to the position of a Subordinate Judge.

Mr. Madhava Rao had, from the beginning, the rare good fortune of being associated with the ablest and most popular of the Dewans of Mysore, viz., the late Mr. Rangacharlu. In fact, Mr. Rangacharlu had gathered about him a few of the rising and talented young men in the service. Mr. Madhava Rao was the youngest and the most privileged member of the circle, one of the most distinguished of the others being the late Sir Sheshadri Iyer, Mr. Rangacharlu's successor in the Dewanship. In this select circle the various administrative reforms set on foot by Dewan Rangacharlu were freely discussed and given shape to. Mr. Madhava Rao thus came to have intimate acquaintance with the details of administration, even before entering the administrative branches of the service. It is no wonder that, thus equipped, he was able to effect those administrative reforms in Travancore and Mysore as Dewan, which have already earned for him the warm appreciation and regard and gratitude of the people and of the Government.

On the death of Mr. Rangacharlu, Mr. (afterwards Sir) Seshadri Iyer succeeded to the Dewanship of Mysore, and Mr. Madhava Rao exchanged the Judicial for the Revenue Department and was, in a few years, posted as Deputy Commissioner of the Shimoga District. In Shimoga Mr. Madhava Rao proved himself an executive officer of the best type. His accessibility to men of all grades, his readiness to hear and redress grievances, the interest he took in the welfare of the agricultural population and the many works undertaken by him for improving the sanitation of towns and villages in providing drinking water, in opening out roads and in planting avenues and restoring irrigation tanks



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introduced on an improved basis. A Legislative Council was established for the first time in Mysore. First steps were taken for the separation of Executive and Judicial functions. Rules were framed for the more efficient working of the district and taluq establishments. By means of agricultural exhibitions and demonstration of the working of improved implements and through the medium of the agricultural journal, knowledge of scientific agriculture was spread among the rural community. The co-operative movement received his special attention and a large number of societies were brought into existence replacing the agricultural banks which had proved a failure. The financial system was thoroughly overhauled. A famine relief fund was created in 1906-07 without dislocating the finances of the State and every year a sum of Rs. two lakhs is being added to it. A committee consisting of two Councillors was formed with a view to effect retrenchments in the departments in which costly establishments were being maintained without any adequate return for the money spent. Mr. Madhava Rao's policy was one of Retrenchment and Reform and Reduction of Taxation.

Among the more important of his fiscal reforms may be mentioned the abolition of the *Halat* tax which was a kind of export duty on supari and bore heavily on the supari industry. The abolition involved the surrender of a revenue of nearly 4 lakhs of Rupees.

The rates were reduced by more than 50 per cent. and the tax abolished altogether. The result of this far reaching relief was seen in the revival of the industry within a few years and the return of prosperity to the tract. New gardens are springing up and depots for supari have been opened in Shimoga itself since the extension of the Railway to it. The evils of sandalwood monopoly were greatly mitigated and the ryots were given a share in the value of sandalwood growing on their lands. The municipal regulation now in force in the State, which was passed during his administration, bears evidence of his democratic tendencies. He was instrumental in giving a pure water supply to the important towns of Shimoga and Haripur. He was the first to realise the claims of outlying stations to have their requirements in the way of drainage and water supply attended to equally with those of the capital cities. A scheme for the improvement of the famous place of pilgrimage, Melkote, was sanctioned.

It was during his Dewanship that the question of the institution of the Department of Public

Health assumed a practical shape and a regularly organised department with a qualified staff of sanitary officers for districts and taluqs under the control of a Sanitary Commissioner was brought into existence and it has demonstrated its usefulness by the good work it has turned out. Indigenous medicine received support, and a college for teaching Ayurvedic medicine was established in Mysore. The third installation of the Cauvery Power Scheme cost the sum of Rupees 12 lakhs, Electric light to the Civil and Military Station, Bangalore, was supplied and formally inaugurated on the 1st January, 1906.

That important branch of the administration viz., Education, received full attention from Mr. Madhava Rao. It was during his Dewanship that Primary Education was made free, that the minimum pay of the village school master was raised to Rs. 10/-; that manual training and kindergarten were introduced in all the schools, as also religious and moral instruction.

But the distinctive feature which distinguished Mr. Madhava Rao's career from that of other Indian administrators is the recognition by him of the fact that no substantial or permanent good will result from merely improving the machinery of Government if the people are not trained in habits of self-reliance and self-help. Having been brought up in a district in which the village communal life was still alive although nearly smothered by the over-government of the bureaucracy, his ambition was to see the old village panchayet and village self-government restored to its pristine purity. The utter neglect of the village tanks in Mysore and the hopelessness of getting their repair and upkeep attended to by the Government agency suggested to him the idea of awakening and bringing into full play the old communal spirit which had helped to cover the whole face of India with self-governing village communities and which were described by early British administrators as so many little republics. He worked at this idea long and the presence of the Irrigation Commission at Bangalore afforded him an opportunity of framing a scheme of village self-government by first formulating proposals for the tanks in villages being handed over to a Committee of members elected by the villagers themselves.

Mr. Madhava Rao has had his full share of blame allotted to him in regard to two distinct measures. The first is the Mysore Mines Regulation of 1906. In regard to this legislation no elaborate attempt at justification is necessary. Sufficient answer to the criticisms passed on it is

provided by the fact that it is no innovation and the Regulation was based on the facts bearing on the working of gold mines in Australia and South Africa. It must also be noted that he was only responsible for publishing the Regulation, it having been passed during the previous regime. The Newspaper Regulation is another measure that has been disapproved. It is true that certain of its features deserve to be reconsidered and Mr. Madhava Rao himself had prepared an amended Regulation in accordance with a promise he had given in the Representative Assembly but his term was over before it could be passed.

It will thus be seen that, on the whole, his three years of Dewanship in Mysore were marked by continued financial prosperity and he had a large share in the retrenchments made and reforms introduced in the different departments of the State. This is what the "Vokkaligara Sangha," an association formed for promoting the interest of the agricultural community of Mysore numbering nearly a third of the total population, said of his Dewanship, in an address presented to him immediately on his retirement:—

During your regime you inaugurated a number of reforms conceived in a liberal spirit, and there is no doubt, that they will promote the prosperity and the good of the people. The establishment of the Legislative Council for making Laws and Regulations, the organisation of a Department of Public Health for the prevention of disease and improvement of sanitation, the appointment of a veterinary officer to look after the condition of cattle, the publication of an agricultural Gazette for the dissemination of improved knowledge in agriculture, the popularising of the cattle shows and agricultural exhibitions, the gradual displacement of old agricultural banks by Co-operative Credit Societies, the creation of a Famine Reserve Fund, the raising of the minimum pay of the village school masters, the introduction of religious and moral education in schools and colleges, the abolition of school fees in village schools in order to place the benefit of elementary education within the reach of the poorest classes, the introduction of play and kindergarten instruction into schools, the elaboration of a system of local self-government based on the ancient Panchayat system in connection with the village Tank Panchayat Bill, the abolition of the sandal monopoly and of *Halat* Bill, the abolition of the sandal monopoly and of *Halat* or duty on arecanut are all notable events in your administration for which you have earned the gratitude of the people of Mysore.

Since his retirement from the Dewanship of Mysore Mr. Madhava Rao toured through the whole of India with a view to study the conditions of the different parts of the Empire. He like Swami Vivekananda, has been of opinion that for the uplift of India it is essential that facility should be given to the masses to learn Sanskrit, as it is through that language that direct access can be had to the ancient stores of Hindu cul-

ture and spirituality. He was of immense help to his Holiness the late Jagadguru of Sringeri, in founding what is known as the Indian Sanskrit Institute in Bangalore, where higher learning in Sanskrit is being imparted under the ancient method. There is a movement on foot to make the Institute the centre for combining the Pandit method with the critical method of Western nations.

As regards social reforms Mr. Madhava Rao's belief is that reform should proceed from within, to be of any value or permanence, as was seen in the Tiruvadi Parishad of Pandits, in December 1912. He is a staunch Hindu and his views on Hinduism may be gathered from the address which he delivered at the Parishad in Tiruvadi. He said in that memorable address:—

We have at the back of our religion and institutions philosophical truths, the validity of which has not been shaken hitherto and is not likely to be shaken in the future, and these central truths are common to all the sects that had their origin in India. . . . Dr. Lefroy, Bishop of Lahore, is said to have remarked that even the poorest and wholly illiterate Hindu peasant will engage in the discussion of or in speculation in, the deepest philosophical or ethical questions. This is the culture which Hindu philosophy, which is at the back of the Hindu Religion has secured for India and on which the institutions which help man in his journey through life are moulded.

So far as I have been able to judge, Purusharthas mean that even in the pursuit of wealth, or rather in securing the means of livelihood and satisfying the reproductive instincts of the race, the Hindu is governed by the ideals of Dharma or Hindu ideals of social order and righteousness and that all his activities have emancipation as their final end.

Mr. Madhava Rao holds Indian ideals in high respect and thinks that Indian institutions are not as inelastic as people suppose.

This is what he said at the Parishad:—

Taking the broad periods from the Vedic times to the times of the Epics and from the times of the Epics to the time of Buddha and from the time of Buddha to what is known as the Puranic period and from the puranic period to the time of Sankara, there have been changes in doctrine, in practice, in institutions and customs and in the very Gods that were the object of worship, and even in the physical character of the people; but the basic ideas have persisted and maintained the underlying unity and the essential spiritual ideals of Hinduism.

The Parishad proved a great success and the opinions expressed by its members on various questions of social reform showed that the pandits were alive to the needs of the times and a large number of them gave Shastraic support to some of the social reforms. It will thus be seen that Mr. Madhava Rao is an enlightened Hindu with conservative instincts and not an iconoclast.

in matters of social reform and religion. He seems to have a stern historical sense in recognising the organic growth of Hindu society and its institutions, and does not wish to break away from India's past, but only looks to the evolutionary process for progress in such matters. In one word he has faith in evolution and not in revolution.

Mr. Madhava Rao identified himself with the District Conference in Tanjore and delivered an address at the annual meeting in 1913 at Shiyali. His address created some sensation as it contained a vigorous attack on the land policy of the British Government in ryotwari tracts. He condemned the system of the recurring settlements and said that that system had no justification either in ancient Hindu practice or in the teachings of economic science. His contention, in brief, was that there is no such thing as an unearned increment in regard to agricultural land.

In the beginning of 1914, he had taken up the question of the necessity of imparting instruction in non-language subjects through the medium of the vernaculars. One of the reasons which induced Mr. Madhava Rao to advocate the system was that it was necessary in order to bring the light of modern knowledge to the masses and to bridge the gulf between them and the English educated classes. In order to facilitate the making of vernaculars the medium of instruction, it is necessary, in his opinion, to have our provinces redistributed on a linguistic basis. These and other problems were engaging his active attention in his retirement. When he was thus engaged in public movements of various kinds, the call came from His Highness, the Maharaja Gaekwar, inviting him to take up the Dewanship of Baroda in March 1914.

AS DEWAN OF BARODA.

Soon after he took his office, Mr. Madhava Rao presided over the sessions of the local Legislative Council when the celebrated Baroda Purohit Bill was hotly discussed. The object of the Bill being laudable, the need for such a piece of legislation was accepted by a majority of the Legislative Council. Before discussing the details, Mr. Madhava Rao announced the postponement of the discussion on the Bill *Sine die*, so that both the people and the Government may have sufficient time to give fuller consideration to the details. Mr. Madhava Rao had a great hand in the modification of some of the objectionable features of the Bill, which he thought would work harshly upon the people affected, and the Baroda Purohit Act as

sanctioned by his Highness the Maharaja Sahob, was published in the local "Government Gazette", at the end of the year 1915. On August 4th, 1914, war broke out between England and Germany, and soon after its declaration, Mr. Madhava Rao presided over a public meeting of the citizens of Baroda, when in a neat little speech he voiced the deep and abiding loyalty of the people and appealed to the people to subscribe to the Imperial War Relief Fund. In the year 1915, a Health Exhibition was held in Baroda to promote sanitation under the inspiration of Mr. Madhava Rao. It was the first of its kind in Baroda and was a great success.

In the same year Dr. Harold Mann of Poona, visited Baroda and gave some lectures at one of which Mr. Madhava Rao presided, when he, although the responsible minister of an important state, boldly advocated permanent settlement, and strongly denounced the policy of enhancing the land revenue assessment at every revision settlement.

By a strange coincidence, a few days after, the revision settlement of Mabuva Taluk of Navsari District came for sanction when Mr. Madhava Rao is said to have strongly advocated the cause of the ryots. In the end a settlement for sixty years was granted instead of for thirty years as originally proposed. The rates were heavy, but it was some consolation that they were not liable to be enhanced for at least sixty years.

During the same year the First Sanskrit Conference was held at Baroda, and a Sanskrit Pathshala was established as a result. The credit for the idea of holding such a Conference was given to Mr. Madhava Rao, by no less a personage than His Highness the Gaekwar.

In 1916 Mr. Madhava Rao organised the First Music Conference, and it is noteworthy that the sessions of that Conference proved a great success.

Mr. Madhava Rao, prior to retirement, went on a long leave of three months from 8th May 1916 with a reputation for sound statesmanship, independence, boldness, and as a tactful administrator.

He is essentially the people's man and as such his views on Local Self-Government and village panchayats and on the institution of Madhyastha Panchas (conciliators) are quite sound and democratic, as may be seen from his remarks regarding these subjects in the Baroda Administration Report, for 1914-15 which has been recently published. In the same Report he advocates the recruiting of the public services of the State by competitive examinations, &

view with which all men with practical wisdom will concur, in as much as we cannot expect a long succession of rulers, as able as the present enlightened Maharaja of Baroda who has the knack of selecting the right person for the right place. His views on the industrial problems of the State are full of sound statesmanship, and, if acted upon, it is quite certain, the State will very shortly reach a high stage of industrial efficiency. He also advocates improvements of administrative methods by the establishment of administrative research in order to bring the several departments of the State to an up-to-date condition and to remove antiquated methods and generally improve the methods of work. The writer of this sketch would like to draw special attention to the said Report for fuller information about Mr. Madhava Rao's bold and intrepid views on the several problems of the Baroda State. Its concluding chapter is the most important one, summarising as it does, Mr. Madhava Rao's opinions, while the chapter on local self-government will give the reader an idea of what Baroda has done and is doing with regard to village panchayats, taluk and local boards, district boards, municipalities and vishisht panchayats (special municipalities.)

Suffice it to say that his great administrative abilities, his democratic leanings, and his love of justice and fair play are bound to confer immense benefits upon the State and its subjects.

It can be seen from the facts already set forth, that Mr. Madhava Rao was out and out a people's man. A broad-minded toleration and a large-hearted sympathy for the wants and grievances of the people committed to his charge, and, a keen sense of justice to secure for them their just rights, are the characteristic and outstanding features of his administration. The establishment of the Popular Assembly in Travancore and the Legislative Council in Mysore was undoubtedly the outcome of Mr. Madhava Rao's liberal proclivities.

While Mr. Madhava Rao is out and out a people's man, he is not quite blind to the faults of his countrymen, and when he was Dewan of Travancore, he administered a well-deserved rebuke to the presenters of an address for representing only class interests, and during the course of his speech on that occasion in Trivandrum, he said:—

I would advise you not to dissipate your energies in spasmodic efforts to ventilate class grievances, but proceed to form local and provincial associations on a broad basis, sinking all differences of caste and creed, and

place before you the single aim of the good of your country and your fellowmen.

This is a piece of advice that is very often required as there is many times a tendency in our people to split and care only for their own communal interests.

Both as a man, and administrator, Mr. Madhava Rao is entitled to the admiration of his countrymen. His official career has been briefly noticed above and a passing reference made to his views on matters of social and religious reform. His force of character, his strong personality, his selfless devotion to the cause of the social amelioration of the masses, and his unpretentious religious life have always struck those who have come in contact with him as the keynote of his success in life.

Let us conclude this sketch with Mr. Madhava Rao's views on Native States, as he is the best living authority on the subject.

He thinks that the Native States are a great national asset and will play a great part in the work of National regeneration. The rulers and the ruled are bound together by ties of common traditions and sentiment, and the Native Rulers are always accessible to the humblest peasant to patiently hear his complaints, treat him with sympathy and then and there redress his grievances if they are convinced that a wrong has been done. The chord of sympathy that binds the rulers and the ruled makes the administration not a mechanical lifeless thing but a living reality to the people. There is a greater security of life and property in well-governed Native States like Mysore, Baroda, Travancore etc., than in British India. Native Princes have a better insight into the needs of their country and are enabled to introduce social legislation for the betterment of their subjects. Reforms like the Separation of Judicial and Executive functions and Compulsory Education, for which British India has yet to wait, have been introduced long ago in progressive Native States like Baroda and to some extent in Mysore, which shows the advantages of Native rule.

To these views of Mr. Madhava Rao, it may be added that the Native States have afforded the best field for the development of administrative gifts, powers of initiative and organisation in Indian administrators. They have produced such brilliant administrators as Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao, Raja Dinkar Rao, Sir Salar Jung, Rangachari, Sir Seshadri Aiyar and Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao himself who would have shed glory upon the cabinet of any European nation had they been born in those countries.

IN BRITISH INDIA.

Since his retirement from Baroda Mr. Madhava Rao has found time to devote himself more freely to the political, social and religious movements in British India. On the publication of the well-known Memorandum of the Nineteen Non Official Members of the Imperial Legislative Council on Post-War Reforms, Mr. Madhava Rao gave his weighty support to them in an excellent contribution to the *Madras Mail*.

Presiding over a meeting of the citizens of Tanjore, he criticised the land policy of the British Government in unmistakable language:—

The survey *patta* was the first place, they have any policy at all (otherwise where is the difficulty in embodying in an enactment the principles on which land revenue should be assessed and settlements revised?). Just apply this principle of leaving everything to the bureaucracy, to the state of things that prevailed in England at the commencement of the present war. We should have had by this time the whole of India under the heel of Germany, not to speak of the humiliation of England herself and her reduction to a second rate Power. It is the fierce and relentless criticisms of the Press that showed up the weak points of the Cabinet and drove it to put its house in order. Contrast this with the state of things in India where, regardless of the teachings of the modern the charter of emancipated serfs. Taking the last pronouncement of the Government of India in resisting the proposals of the Deccan Decentralisation Commission, that from time immemorial the State is entitled to a certain proportion of the produce of the land, and the Government and its agents are the best judges of what the proper assessments should be in regard to different tracts of the country, the question arises how is the proportion to be fixed, who is to fix it, and whether the ryot, who is affected by the assessment, should be heard before it is fixed, so that agricultural industry in the land may be maintained at its highest efficiency. The contention of the Government is that its highly trained officers may be trusted to fix the assessment in a manner that will make the rates sit lightly on his ryots, and that, as a matter of fact, as the enquiry conducted during Lord Curzon's time showed the assessments were not excessive, that the settlement officers are sympathetic to the ryot and try to make his lot an easy one on the whole. All these proceed on the assumption that the Government agency is infallible, that all its members at all times are animated by the same feeling of sympathy and desire to be moderate in their demand, and that we can place implicit trust in their discretion. This is neither the place nor the occasion for discussing the question whether the Government have been consistent in their policy, whether, in science of economics, the destinies of 80 per cent. of the population of India are left to be regulated by antiquated ideas of a tradition-bound bureaucracy, who would have been cured of their subjectivity long since in a country in which public men and their measures receive the freest criticism.

Mr. Madhava Rao's interest in social and religious problems in India is well-known. During the Christmas week of 1916, he was invited to

preside over the third All-India Hindu Conference at Lucknow. In the course of his presidential address he held:

"On social and religious questions the Government take little or no interest. This is of course proper from their point of view. But when the Government becomes truly national, socio-religious questions will become recognised fields of activity for Government as may be seen from the legislation adopted in Mysore and Baroda on the question of infant marriage. But the fact of our having an alien Government now throws additional burden on the community as it will have to look after its social evolution and the adjustment of social institutions to changing conditions. These functions the Hindu Sabha will have to exercise even on a larger scale when self-rule has been given to India composed as it is of different races and creeds. It is thus that the question of having a Hindu Sabha becomes all-important."

Mr. Madhava Rao's interest in educational matters is no less keen. Presiding in April 1917, at the Jubilee Celebration of the Kumbakonam College, which he left about 48 years ago among the very first batch of graduates, he laid stress on the need for scholarship in Sanskrit and announced that he would set apart funds that would yield an annual income of Rs. 100 to be associated with the honoured name of Mr. Porter.

I select Sanskrit, as it holds the key to literature in philosophy and religion which affords the best solution for the problems of life and is calculated to promote spiritual culture in those that study it. The value of this study in the scheme of education will be all the better appreciated just now when there is moral chaos in the western world, where religion, divorced from sound philosophy, has undermined the basis of ethics and led to the promulgation of the doctrine that, where a State is concerned, the eternal principles of justice, mercy and humanity have no place in the dealings of one human being with another. We are better placed than those western people. As far as our education is concerned, we cannot always command the services of men of the ethical greatness of Mr. Porter, but we have in our Epics and Puranas, not to mention the Vedas, examples of lives led, where truth, dharma and justice have been placed above all personal considerations and men and women, born and brought up as gentle princes and princesses have undergone physical and moral sufferings of the most severe character rather than surrender truth or perpetrate an injustice.

In recognition of his ripe experience and varied activities in public life, Mr. Madhava Rao has now been invited to preside over the Madras Provincial Congress at Cuddalore in May 1917. It is hoped that he will continue to take the same interest in the political life of British India that he has already taken in three of the important Native States.

Shakespeare and Everyday Expressions

BY MR. LIONEL BURROWS.

AN acute correspondent of a Calcutta contemporary recently announced the interesting discovery that the popular and pregnant "I don't think" has descended to us from Shakespeare. This naturally raises the question whether such phrases of everyday expression were really the children of the writers in whose pages they are found or were merely adopted by them from the colloquialisms current at the time. The truth seems to be that a living language grows by an evolutionary process in which the survivals are selected on the common sense principle that men speak and write in order to be understood; there is thus a continual barter between speech and writing, usage being the sole and absolute arbiter as to what shall be retained and what rejected. Sometimes writing borrows from speech and, if usage approves, the protests of pedantry are futile. Montaigne said long ago that "they who would fight custom with grammar are fools," and we know that Swift denounced 'mob' and 'banter' as vulgarisms in vain. Sometimes speech borrows from writing and literary expressions are converted into popular sayings unconscious of their superior origin. The greater the writer and the truer his presentation of life, the more is this likely to happen; and the benefit of any doubt as to whether, in a particular case, proverbs and other common expressions have sprung from literature or literature from such expressions, may generally be given to such a writer, for it is safe to presume, until learned research has proved the contrary, that current phrases found in his work have as respectable and individual a paternity as Mr. Churchill's "terminological inexactitude" and Mr. Asquith's "wait and see." Even where it can be shown that a particular phrase was used by the people before a great writer borrowed it, it is probable that the prominence given to it by him has ensured its permanence.

We may thus assume that Charles Lamb's "Dodd was it" is responsible for a common colloquialism of to-day, that Dickens originated "how not to do it," and that other well-known writers have bequeathed us "at sixes and sevens," "turn over a new leaf," "by hook or crook," "smell a rat," "through thick and thin," and "plain as a pike-staff." It is Shakespeare, however, who has most enriched our expression in this way. Inspired by the discovery of "I don't think," we have run through his comedies and

have been rewarded by many similar finds. Some of them have become absolute colloquialisms debarred from polite literary society, others are used freely both in speaking and writing without reference to their origin; some have preserved their first form, others have been altered without being disfigured beyond recognition. In *Love's Labour Lost*, that satire on the folly of words, Biron offers to "lay my head to any good man's hat" and would have won his bet. The Julia of *Two Gentlemen of Verona* gives us: "And seal the bargain with a holy kiss," while one of the outlaws asks Valentine to be their captain with the word:—

"To make a virtue of necessity,
And live, as we do, in this wilderness?"

In the farcical *Comedy of Errors*, Dromio of Syracuse says: "Every why hath a wherefore," and again: "Mary, he must have a long spoon that must eat with the devil," an expression that achieved fame in the Boer War. In *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Theseus talks of "single blessedness," Lysander observes that "the course of true love never did run smooth," and Helena says that her heart "is true as steel." From *The Merchant of Venice* come the words of Shylock:—

"If I can catch him once upon the hip,
I will feed fat the ancient grudge I bear him."

Portia, in the same play, informs us that "it is a good divine that follows his own instructions," Antonio that "the devil can cite Scripture for his purpose," and Launcelot Gobbo that "it is a wise father that knows his own child" and that "truth will out." The expressive "in the twinkling of an eye" is also the engaging Launcelot's. *As You Like It* is one of the most prolific of the comedies as the following will show:—

Celia . . . "that was laid on with a trowel."
Rosalind . . . "one out of suits with fortune,"
and "too much of a good thing."

Jaques . . . "with lack-lustre eye."
Touchstone "an ill-favoured thing, sir, but mine own;" also "the Retort Courteous" and "the Lie Direct."

Orlando . . . "Neither rhyme nor reason can express how much."

The Duke . . . "Sweet are the uses of adversity,"
and "we have 'seen better days.'"

In *The Taming of the Shrew*, the tinker Sly says; "let the world slide;" Petruchio, who has been called all sorts of names from a selfish boar to a sensible madman, tells us of his "way to kill a wife with kindness," and Baptista remarks: "Pitchers have ears." Lavache, the clown in *All's Well That Ends Well*, tells his mistress that one of his reasons for wanting to marry Isbel is that "he must needs go whom the devil drives," and later on relates how a melancholy man of his acquaintance "sold a goodly manor for a song." In the same play, Lafeu calls Parolles of the famous drum-bringing episode "a general offence," and Parolles himself opines that "a young man married is a man that's marr'd." During their early bickering in *Much Ado About Nothing*, Benedick calls Beatrice "my dear Lady Disdain," and she responds: "I know you of old;" Benedick also gives us: "Sits the wind in that corner," and "paper bullets of the brain," while Beatrice adds: "as merry as the day is long," and the undying Dogberry declares, in his best malapropish manner, that "comparisons are odorous." *The Merry Wives of Windsor* makes a poor play, but is much to our purpose. In it, that very potent piece of imbecility, as Hazlitt calls Slender, agrees to marry Anne Page in the hope that "upon familiarity will grow more

contempt;" Mistress Quickly talks of "an old abusing of God's patience and the king's English," and leads the decadent Falstaff on with "the short and the long of it." Mrs. Page cannot recollect "what the Dickens his name is," and Falstaff, though a sorry spectacle as a general butt, gives us "As good luck would have it," is indignant that "a man of my kidney" should be made acquainted with the inside of a buck-basket, and is almost his old self in "let the sky rain potatoes." In *Twelfth Night* Olivia's sprightly maid talks of "a horse of that colour," and tells Toby Belch and Aguecheek that they will "laugh yourselves into stitches" over Malvolio's discomfiture; Fabian mentions "the windy side of the law," and the disguised Viola relates how

"She sat like patience on a monument,
Smiling at grief."

The inviolable Isabella of *Measure for Measure* dwells on the fantastic tricks of men which "make the angels weep," while that pleasant *deus ex machina* of a Duke tells her at the end that "what's mine is yours, and what is yours is mine," a sentiment that has been somewhat perverted in its popular form. In *The Winter's Tale*, Leontes says that his son and he are "almost as like as eggs," and that cheery rogue Autolycus describes himself as "a snapperup of unconsidered trifles."

Village Government in British India

BY "AN INDIAN."

THIS is one of the series of monographs by writers of the London School of Economics and Political Science and edited by the Director of the School. Mr. John Mathai is a brilliant graduate of the Madras University and has spent no less than two years in going through the books and records relating to the subject, in the Library of the India Office, in London. The book* "lays no claim whatever to any special understanding of the Hindu village community in its palmy days or to having made any research in that direction," but aims at presenting a connected picture of the methods by which the village communities have met their simple administrative needs, excluding the holding and cultivation of land, "so far as they may be gathered from the relics which have survived and have been recorded."

* "Village Government in British India." By John Mathai. With a Preface by Sidney Webb. 4s. 6d. Fisher Unwin, London.

Mr. Sidney Webb, Professor of Public Administration in the University of London, whose sympathetic interest in Indian affairs is too well-known to need mention, has contributed a valuable preface to the book wherein he points out that in the most advanced countries of the present day such as the United Kingdom, Germany and the United States of America, "we find that by far the largest part of government is now that which is not carried on in the capital cities, at the bidding of Parliaments; but that which is being administered locally in village or parish or commune, in municipality or county or district, by the direction and for the advantage of the people of these localities;" that in the course of this century there is bound to be a very great development of local government in India; and that the aspirants for Indian Self-Government, a large number of whom have hitherto attended exclusively to the affairs of the Central Government, will do well to pay more heed to municipal and rural administration which indeed concerns the

people more intimately and gives greater scope for the exercise of autonomy.

Mr. Mathai has devoted the first chapter, which is introductory, to the consideration of the village community in general and in the subsequent chapters has dealt with education, poor relief, sanitation, public works, watch and ward, and administration of justice, respectively. Much of the matter is necessarily familiar to the Indian reader as it deals with features of village administration now obtaining or obtaining till very recently; but there are some very interesting references to old inscriptions which should effectively silence those Western critics of ours who would deny to us the capacity and therefore the opportunity to govern ourselves or to work representative institutions. Thus two inscriptions recently discovered in a temple at Utteramallur, in Chengleput District, which belong to the 10th century A.D. speak of the existence of small committees, six in number such as the Garden Committee, the Tank Committee, and the Committee of Justice for the administration of the village; of the village being divided into wards of which there were as many as thirty; of the committee members being selected by lottery according to certain rules and observances at the rate of one member per ward; and of their being required to possess certain qualifications regarding property, age, education, business capacity and character. In fact there are references to show that women sometimes served on these committees, thereby proving that the constitution of the village was more advanced than that of our proudest municipality! Those who injured the interests of the village or the temple were known, according to an old inscription, as *Grahma-drohins* or *Grahma-kantakas* and liable to punishment and they were debarred from participating in certain ceremonies connected with the temple.

The following extract about how a village tided over a famine will be found interesting:—"A South Indian inscription sets forth the story of a village which suffered from famine:—

"In A.D. 1054, the village of Alangudi (in the Tanjore District) appears to have been afflicted with a famine caused probably by failure of rain. The villagers had consequently no funds to purchase paddy for their own consumption or seed, grains and other things necessary for cultivation. Whatever the cause the famine-stricken inhabitants of Alangudi could expect no help in their distress from the royal treasury. They had to shift for themselves as best they could. Accord-

ingly they applied to the local temple treasury from which they obtained 1,011 *Kalanju* of gold and 464 *Palam* of Silver, consisting of temple jewels and vessels. In exchange for this, the members of the village assembly alienated 8½ *Veli* of land in favour of the god. From the produce of this land the interest on the gold and silver received from the temple was to be paid. . . ."

It was not by any means the violation of the sacredness of temple funds in desperate circumstances; for the temple was looked upon as a general benefactor of the village, aiding in education, feeding strangers and the poor, and affording relief to the village in famine times, as is borne out by the early inscriptions.

In the chapter on the administration of justice Mr. Mathai has warmly defended the village courts of our Presidency and the village panchayats generally commenting on the opinion of Sir Henry Maine who held that the village panchayats were 'barbarous institutions' with 'accompaniments which are condemned by modern morality and modern civilization' Mr. Mathai says somewhat sarcastically: "They had no codes of law, either substantive or adjectival, in which whatever ideas they had could be embodied in any fixed form, nor, so far as we may make out, had they any written record of their decisions spreading over many generations. They merely trusted to their native wit, to experience, to a shrewd sense of passing events to a fleeting memory of what their fathers did. They were plain men of the world, unsophisticated by much education, who, in spite of frequent failures, tried by whatever means lay in their power to heal quarrels and make peace and knew by bitter experience how good a thing it was for brethren to dwell together in unity. That the revival of such an institution should bring back with it any fixed system of revolting ideas is incomprehensible." He has naturally great hopes in the beneficial influence of co-operative societies some of which with the consent of their members have gone beyond their bye-laws and settled disputes between litigants, started schools and reading rooms, carried out small sanitary works and in other ways furthered the corporate life of the villages. "Even amid the sound of war and the birth-throes of a new world, there is no higher call in India to the men of our generation than to see this process go forward." The book deserves to be widely read and ought to find a place in every library.

[ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THE SECTION.]

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INDIAN LABOUR EMIGRATION.*

BY

MR. C. F. ANDREWS.

I am aware that the conclusion I have reached on this subject must appear revolutionary, in the light of what I have written before. But I have been driven to it by what appears to me the inevitable logic of facts.

Originally I had a firm conviction that it was good for Indians, even of the "coolies" class, to emigrate. My one objection was to the indenture system itself; and I expected that, if the indenture system were removed, other things would right themselves. But I have been forced, step by step to the conclusion, that at present any form of recruited emigration of the ordinary Indian villagers to far distant lands under strange conditions is likely to lead to great moral evils.

There are other grounds of objection to Indian recruited labour emigration. The political argument for instance is very strong indeed. The economic argument, also, that India itself is short of labour is not without weight. But the moral argument appears to me to go deepest. And, as far as my own personal judgment is concerned, the verdict on that side is final.

It is difficult to set down in any detail the causes of this moral deterioration which, I have noticed in South Africa and Fiji and I shall not attempt to do so. But it is easy to grasp the central fact, that Indian village life is a very complex growth, which needs much greater knowledge of its conditions, before you can successfully transplant it. The following extract written by a planter, who knew the conditions of Fiji, appears to me to go to the root of the matter:—

Coming to the actual conditions of the Fiji people it was clear that they could not be tolerated. The causes of the disgraceful depravity were indicated as:—(1) the breaking of family life, (2) the herding of the people together in barracks, (3) no provision for the rites and customs of their own home surroundings.

Statement sent by Mr. C. F. Andrews to the Government of India for the Inter-Departmental Conference in London.

It seems to me that the chief offenders were the Indian Government, who ought not to have sanctioned the emigration without themselves undertaking to provide the people, which they would have had to do by transplanting bodily whole villages, or a considerable part thereof.

As any scheme for transplanting the whole villages to Fiji is not a practical question, there seems no need to discuss it at this juncture. What now appears to me as certain is that just as individual indentured labour recruiting has failed in the past, so in the long run 'family' recruiting would be a failure also, though for a time it might mitigate the moral evil. It will be seen that this point goes far beyond the mere question of abolition of indenture.

In taking up this position, I am well aware that I am going much further than anything published in Mr. Pearson's and my report on Fiji. I have not had any opportunity of going over with Mr. Pearson the reasons which have led to this new conclusion, and therefore I would wish it to be clearly understood that I speak only for myself. One point, however, should be noted, viz:—Now in the report itself, we urged that a break, or pause, of at least two years should be made in Fiji Indian labour before any new system was tried.

For my own part, I can see that this suggestion was inadequate. My present opinion is, that no alternative system of distant emigration of unskilled Indian labour is likely to succeed at present, least of all in those countries which have suffered from the moral evils of indenture. The simpler problem of transplanting Indian labour within the borders of India itself should first be tried. Perhaps in some future generation wider range of emigration, under much more intelligent conditions, may be undertaken by Government. But the acknowledged failure of the past should make us very careful before we start another State-attempt in this direction.

Political and Literary Essays. By the Earl of Cromer. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London.

Now that we have it on the authority of Lord Curzon that on the conclusion of Lord Cromer's career in Egypt he was offered and refused the Viceroyalty of India, the Essay on *Political Ideals* in this volume will probably prove of some interest to readers of this *Review*. Lord Cromer quotes with approval the principle, enunciated in the Government of India Despatch of December 1911, to the effect that "the only possible solution could appear to be gradually to give the Provinces a larger measure of Self-Government, until at last India would consist of a number of administrations, autonomous in all provincial affairs, with the Government of India above them all, and possessing power to interfere in cases of mis-government, but ordinarily restricting their functions to matters of Imperial concern." Like most statesmen and writers, however, who have not come into personal touch with problems of Indian Government he thinks the system to be introduced at the close of the war in relation to the Self-Governing Colonies and in relation to India must be "very different." Then or take leave to disagree with him.

For the rest there is little in the volume before us of more than ephemeral interest, and a section to doubt whether it was worth while to enhance the Essays from the Reviews in which they first appeared. We all know now that "when the Allies come to discuss terms of peace they will be treating with a Government and a nation who in the past have shown the most cynical disregard for all the engagements which they have taken, and that therefore no sort of reliance can be placed on any engagements which they may take for the future." And though it is interesting to learn that so proved an administrator as Lord Cromer regards Lord Curzon as "the most able exponent of that same Imperialism to which Great Britain is wedded as a necessity of its existence," we in India who admire to the full Lord Curzon's virtues know something also of these "defects of his qualities" to which every great man is necessarily subject. One last quotation from a very illuminating Essay entitled "The Suicide of the Turk." "There is every reason for dissociating the Turkish regime, whether past or present, from the true teaching and real interests of Islam." We sincerely trust the Ulemas will subscribe to this pronouncement.

Town-Planning in Ancient Deccan. By C. P. Venkatarama Iyer (Saidapet.)

This book throws considerable light on a very important subject. Ever since the advent of Professor Geddes, the intellect of the country has been in a state of ferment in regard to the problems of town-planning and architecture. As Professor Geddes says in his Introduction to the book: "But when all reasonable scepticism is allowed for, the main impression of the book is unshaken—for ancient glories there were; and these on a scale exceeding not only our modern wealth and well-being, or the modest hopes of our social improvers, but even the constructions of our would-be Utopia-makers. That India, and particularly South India, was, and this up to a not so remote past, one of the greatest city-making regions of the world, is ever being more plainly re-established by the investigators of books and of buildings alike; and I have been fully convinced also by my own eyes." The book deals at first with the origin and growth of Deccan cities. The author points out how in India cities have mostly grown around temples. The author then describes the famous towns of Madura, Vanji, Conjeevaram and Kaveripattinam and gives also the old and excellent rules as to the construction of houses. The past unexplored mines of Tamil classical literature have to be thoroughly worked to bring into the light of day all the precious nuggets of our old and noble civic and national ideas and we hope this great work will be done soon by the author and other Tamil scholars.

English Biography. By Waldo H. Dunn, M.A., Litt. D.; J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., London.

Professor Dunn's "English Biography" follows the line adopted by other writers in the series entitled the "Channels of English Literature." The history of biographical literature has seldom been the theme of any adequate enquiry and Prof. Dunn's exhaustive study of this peculiarly fascinating branch of literature must be welcome to all lovers of this art. However, students of Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee who have made biographical literature so invaluable and charming will come across many a new and unfamiliar name in this treatise. The volume gives an admirable account of the history and a criticism of the art in its varying aspects and serves equally as a compendium of reference in biographical literature.

Dewan Amarji : The Soldier Statesman. By J. P. Joshipura, M.A., Published by B. V. Chhaya, B.A., L.L.B., Rajkot.

The story of this great Soldier-Statesman of Junagadh is told with appropriate eloquence and enthusiasm. Dewan Amarji was a rare type of Soldier-Statesman and could only be compared with the great Sivaji alke in his daring and his genius. This Brahmin-statesman typifies the two great virtues of the Mahratta Chieftain, devotion and courage. And though Amarji had a more limited field of work in Kathiawad and Gujarat in the latter half the eighteenth century, the story of his adventures is full of the pluck and daring worthy of Shivaji himself. The stirring nature of his career is matched by the dramatic character of the end so tragic yet so fitting for a hero.

Indian Architecture. By Messrs. A. V. Thiagaraja Iyer and M. A. Ananthawar. Part I A. V. Thiagaraja Aiyar & Sons, Madras.

We have before us the first part of a great work on Indian Architecture published in monthly parts by Messrs. Thiagaraja Iyer and Ananthawar of Mysore. The undertaking is a most patriotic one and judging from the first part, we have no doubt it will be a most useful compilation. The authors have brought to their work not only special training and knowledge of Architectonics but a vast knowledge of Indian languages, religion and history. In the part before us, there is a General Introduction dealing historically with Indian Architecture accompanied by illustrations of choice specimens of various styles with maps to show their geographical distribution. The main subject is distributed into three books: Book I dealing with the Ancient Literature or Architectonics; Book II with the study and description of the several styles and monuments of Indian Architecture and Book III with modern Architecture. In the part before us, we have the first few pages from each book. The chapter II of Book II is devoted to the temple at Srirangam. We have therein an account of the origin and foundation of the temple, its plan and measurements, its architectural value. The whole is illustrated with beautiful photographs.

A Political History of Japan During the Meiji Era (1867-1912). By Walter Wallace McLaren. (London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., pp. 380. Price 12/6 net.)

The book before us endeavours to supply information which is essential to the formation of an accurate judgment as to the real meaning of Japan's unprecedented political development during the past half a century. A right understanding of the real nature and extent of Japan's political ambitions, not to speak of her desire for economic and commercial expansion, is more necessary now than ever, since for the past two years and a half Japan's action, as a member of the group of the *Entente* Allies, is in many aspects shrouded in mystery, and seems to casual observers to be devoid of any settled final objectives. The author, an American, with some experience as a professor of politics in Tokyo, reviews in the first part of the book the movement for the restoration of the Emperor, which was rendered possible by the self-abnegation of the feudal magnates, and presents a careful survey of the evolution of the existing political institutions and the powers exercised by each. In the latter part of the book, he traces the history and character of the Parliamentary regime ever since its inception in 1889, and sketches the political parties in the country, their internal dissensions and their struggles with the various oligarchical cabinets; and he estimates also the influence on Japanese politics that the recent growth of her militarism and political power has brought about.

The chapter dealing with the growth of representative institutions is particularly clear while the close identity, which has always existed between what is known as 'the clan government' and the dominance of the military party, has been sketched out both historically and causally. The effect of the Chino-Japanese War is reviving the militarist spirit, the constitutional crisis which followed that war, the growth of the power of the parties in the successive cabinets, and the effects of the Russo-Japanese War, have all been traced in a clear and lucid light. The growth of Japan's power, whose net result was to consolidate and strengthen her position in the Pacific and in Asia, the steady bulging out of American hostility of, and distrust in, the growth of Japan—these complete the story of her development into one of the great powers of the world. The whole of the Meiji era has been marked by the continuous dominance of the military party in spite of the repeated attacks of the popular leaders—a circumstance which is

explained by the author to be due to the inherent chauvinism of the Japanese, to which the militarists have always and successfully appealed, and to the weakness of the political parties consequent on their lack of cohesion, absence of principles and their venality. The origin and progress of Japanese national spirit is traced to its beginnings in the pre-Meiji feudal soil, one of the earliest fruits of which was the Restoration. One note of warning, which the author sounds, is the apprehension with which the world at large and the Chinese in particular have viewed the sudden growth of the military power and spirit of the Japanese. This is all the more disquieting, because of the absence of any constituted opposition to the military party dominant. Though the future alone can demonstrate the truth of this foreboding, yet we may say with justice that circumstances are, to some extent, seemingly forbidding; as an instance, it may be mentioned that the whole of Eastern and Southern Asia is represented as the field for the spread of Japanese *Kultur*, that there are various associations to propagate this ideal of world domination, and that militarism has for the present captured the various political organisations and almost silenced the demand for constitutional reform and popular government. We commend this book to the careful and serious attention of the public.

Shakespeare's Chart of Life

BEING STUDIES OF
HAMLET, KING LEAR, OTHELLO AND MACBETH
BY THE REV. DR. WILLIAM MILLER, C.I.E.

CONTENTS.

KING LEAR AND INDIAN POLITICS
HAMLET AND THE WASTE OF LIFE
MACBETH AND THE RUIN OF SOULS
OTHELLO AND THE CRASH OF CHARACTER

Dr. Miller does not appear as an annotator or critic. He fixes his student's attention especially on the ethical side of Shakespeare's teaching. According to him the plays of Shakespeare, whether designedly or not, are not calculated merely to amuse. They have each "an inner meaning," a "central idea," which it does the student good to search out and assimilate.

The Madras Mail.—Dr. Miller has taught Shakespeare for over 40 years to hundreds of students, who have passed through the Christian College. And in his classes, if he has enforced one lesson more than another, it has been that these plays must have been written with the object, among others, of making plain the moral principles, which underlie the ordinary occurrences in human life, and that it is this feature of Shakespeare's plays which makes them not only an intellectual discipline but a means of real benefit to those upon whom they have their full and proper influence.

Rs. 4. To Subscribers of the "Indian Review," Rs. 3. Available Separately Re. One each.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Sunkurama Chetty Street, Madras.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

HEROES OF ALL TIME. Abraham Lincoln. By Edith L. Elias. George G. Harrap & Co., London.

THE CYCLE OF SPRING. By Rabindranath Tagore, Macmillan & Co., London.

AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATION IN DENMARK. By Rai Sahib Pandit Chandrika Prasada. Scottish Mission Industries Co., Ajmere.

THE LIBERAL YEAR BOOK FOR 1917. The Liberal Publication Department, National Liberal Federation, London.

THE STARS IN THEIR COURSE. By Hilda M. Sharp. T. Fisher Unwin Ltd., London.

NOTES ON THE CONSTITUTIONAL RECONSTRUCTION OF THE EMPIRE. By the Rt. Hon. J. A. Murray Macdonald, M. P., P. S. King & Son, Ltd., London.

A LETTER TO THE PEOPLE OF INDIA. By Lionel Curtis. Macmillan & Co. Ltd., London.

A TEXT-BOOK OF MORAL TEACHING. Compiled by The Rev. A. W. De Mel, M. A., Colombo.

BOOKS RELATING TO INDIA,

A BRIEF HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION TO THE HEBREW PROPHETS (Tamil). By Rev. A. O. Brown. The C.L.S.I., Madras.

THE HIGHEST FACTOR IN MODERN EDUCATION. By Maneck B. Pithawalla, B.A., B.Sc. Arsenal Road, Poona.

MADHURAVIJAYAM OR VIRAKAMPARAYA CHARDTAM. Edited by Pandit G. Harihara Sastri and Pandit V. Srinivasa Sastri. The Sridhara Press, Trivendrum.

REPORT OF THE ELEVENTH INDIAN INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE AT BOMBAY. The General Secretary, Amraoti.

YOUNG INDIA. By Sir S. Subrahmanie Iyer Commonweal Office, Adyar.

SUPPLEMENTARY ACT TO THE COMMONWEALTH OF INDIA ACT, THE INDIAN JUDICATURE. The "Commonweal" Office, Adyar.

HOME RULE AND THE EMPIRE. By Annie Besant. "Commonweal" Office, Adyar.

MODEL AND OBJECT DRAWING (Tamil). By Mr. A. Subrahmanian Iyer. C. Coomarasamy Naidu & Sons., Madras.

The Empire and the War.

Professor F. J. C. Hearnshaw, writing in the *United Empire* for February 1917, points out that the present British Empire is not the first but the second of which the British crown has become successively possessed. The first Empire broke up and was dispersed as the result of the War of American Independence. Though many fragments of the first Empire survived to form the nucleus of the second, they survived in so changed an environment of political conditions and ideas that they had to be reincorporated and in a sense reacquired. The first Empire was built up under the so-called old Colonial system, according to the mercantile principles of which, dependencies were sought for, secured and valued as estates to be worked for the benefit of the mother country.

But in the last quarter of the 19th century, the old era of indifference and neglect gave way to a period of eager interest and diligent cultivation. The causes for this change are detailed in the following:

The entry of Japan into world-politics had raised Pacific problems with which neither Australia nor Canada could hope to deal apart from Great Britain. The eastward expansion of Russia towards the frontiers of India and China had caused serious Asiatic questions to emerge. Above all, the unification of Germany, the founding of the *Deutsche Kolonial-Gesellschaft* (1884) and the startling appearance of the new Teutonic Empire as a power, with a passion for overseas dominion, and with an evident determination to mop up everything not yet absorbed by Europe in Africa and Oceania, had roused apprehension in every part of the British Empire. Finally, the immense development of the United States, the increase of its population (from five millions to eighty millions in less than a century), the exploitation of its resources, the expansion of its protected commerce, emphasised the fact that the day of small insulated national states had passed, and that the day of Imperial Federation had dawned. Hence British statesmen—prominent among whom were Lord Carnarvon, Mr. W. E. Forster, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, and Lord Rosebery—ceased to regard with complacency the “imminent and inevitable” dissolution of the Empire, and began to seek diligently for means to prevent what they could only consider a deplorable and unnecessary catastrophe. Their aspirations and efforts met with a ready response in the Dominions. The Imperial

Federation League was formed, and for ten years (1884-1893) it wrestled with the problem of how to find some means by which real unity of administration could be given to the many and various elements of the so-called “British Empire.” It failed; partly because of the genuine difficulties of the problem, due to distance, diversity, divergence of interests, complicated by inter-colonial conflicts relating to tariffs and immigration law; partly because it prematurely committed itself to a false and impossible solution of the problem, viz., the establishment of a unitary Empire in which the Dominions and Dependencies should send representatives to be outvoted and submerged in the existing overburdened and effete Parliament of the United Kingdom. But though the Imperial Federation League was dissolved and its specific proposals were abandoned, the policy of consolidation did not cease to operate. Circumstances, indeed, did not allow the matter to drop out of mind. In particular, the aggressive designs of Germany—her seizures in Africa and Oceania, her threats to Egypt and India, her penetration of China and South America, her commercial attacks and her maritime challenge—compelled attention to the urgency of the question. Hence the existing links, constitutional and economic, which bound the Mother Country to the Dominions were gradually strengthened. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council began to give some sort of unity to the legal systems of the Empire; the Imperial Conferences, instituted as part of the Jubilee Celebrations of 1887 and 1897, became permanent and increasingly important; a new Committee of Imperial Defence, first appointed by Lord Salisbury, began to survey the military and naval problems of the Empire as a whole.

Two problems which have not been faced before the present war viz., (1) how to give the Dominions an equitable share in the determination of foreign policy, and (2) how to secure from them an equitable contribution towards the great and growing burden of imperial armaments, have now been brought to the front. And these final problems of Imperial Federation will be solved by the war. One thing, however, vitates Professor Hearnshaw's article; he tamely follows the scheme formulated by “The Round Table” urging imperatively a written constitution for the Empire with a new Federal Executive and a new Federal Parliament.

Scientific Parliamentary Reform.

Mr. W. H. Cowan, M. P. writing in the new year number of *Science Progress*, condemns the frequently urged proposals for empirical alterations in the Parliamentary system, and urges a *bona-fide* attempt at reorganisation on scientific principles which would be universally welcomed. Alterations which have been made in Parliamentary procedure have resulted in a progressive curtailment of the rights of private members, while successive leaders of the Commons have affected a pedantic attachment to ancient tradition which has excused them from making any comprehensive attempt to adopt mediaeval practice to modern conditions. The fiction of the Speaker's Eye is an instance of this survival. The whole machinery of the House of Commons has by almost imperceptible stages, been deflected from its original purpose, and is now employed to impose upon the nation the autocratic will of cabinets. Cabinet autocracy is dependent partly upon the power of the Prime Minister to appoint and dismiss his colleagues and partly upon his latent power of dissolution and it is reinforced by all the influence of a vast and complex party organisation in the House and in the country. The average member of the Commons ends by placing his conscience in commission, and the preservation of the solidarity of the party is given out as the saving of the Empire from disruption. The power of party organisation makes itself felt chiefly in the selection of candidates. The control of the Commons over finance is an empty boast; and the so-called congestion of business is the cause to which are conveniently attributed the neglect of many important matters, the postponement of necessary legislation and the inadequate discussion of vital questions. Trifling alterations in procedure, permitting for example the carrying over of Bills from one session to another and limiting the duration of business would go far to relieve the congestion of business which is the excuse for so many legalised irregularities.

Two Parliamentary reforms would suffice to relieve the elected representatives of the people from cabinet autocracy on the one hand and from party tyranny on the other. The election of the Commons for a fixed term of 4 or 5 years would deprive the Prime Minister of the power of dissolution, and would make the ministers the leaders and not the masters of the House. The substitution of ballot-voting for open voting in the division lobbies will diminish to a little

extent party tyranny. While the contention that the members must be denied the ballot in order that their constituents may know how they vote in each division is disingenuous and designed to conceal the real object of open voting. The closure, so often oppressive and even brutal in its application, would lose much of its harshness, while preserving all its utility under the ballot. Neither of these two reforms, would, by itself, be adequate for this purpose.

There are also constitutional questions of the first importance long overdue for settlement, e.g. the devolution and the reconstitution of the upper House, the establishment of ‘Home Rule’ all round, the setting free of the Imperial Parliament for Imperial matters and the facilitating of Imperial Federation. The franchise and electoral reforms include four principal topics (1) the reform of the franchise, (2) definition of the basis for the redistribution of seats, (3) reform of the system for the registration of electors, and (4) method of elections and the manner in which the cost of elections should be borne. Reform of the franchise and registration of electors are closely allied subjects; the former implies the widest possible extension of the right to vote, it is a question of expediency and it must ultimately resolve itself into the enfranchisement of all reputable persons male and female of a specified age. Redistribution of seats must be on a scientific and therefore permanent basis. The boundaries of many existing constituencies must be rectified, a few constituencies must be merged in others, a certain number of new Parliamentary divisions must be created; and all this must be done in such a way as to secure numerically equal voting areas. And there must be an automatic readjustment of boundaries in accordance with the results of each successive census and the actual work of redistribution must be entrusted to an impartial judicial commission. Methods of election must be fixed from time to time according to equity and expediency; and minority and proportional representations might be given effect to. Side by side with these reforms, the real causes of Parliamentary inefficiency and decline must be tackled with.

THE INDIAN DEMANDS. A Symposium on the Memorandum of the Nineteen, and the Speeches at the Congress and Moslem League on a Scheme of Self-Government for India with an Introduction by G. A. Natesan, B.A., F.M.U. Price Re. 1.

To Subscribers of “The Indian Review,” As. 12.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Sunkurama Chetty Street, Madras.

A Discourse on Buddhism.

There is an instructive and comprehensive sketch of Buddhism and its features by Mr. F. Pooley in the last number of the *Buddhist Review*. The Buddha saw that change is inherent in nature and is the essence in itself, that the reality of the universe is found in energy; and he clearly saw that unless an alleged truth is consistent with all other knowledge, it cannot be the truth, and he found out by deep earnest cogitation that the universe is a self-determined system which manifests itself in the changes which we witness individually or collectively. He said that the world is full of sorrow, because it is full of error, and men go astray because they think that delusion is better than truth. He recognised that ignorance is the root of evil and traced the twelve *nidanas* or links leading respectively from blind ignorance through formative and organising appetences to a cleaving of things, self-hood and renewed births.

The Buddhist culture is essentially practical and insists on self-deliverance born of self-conquest and accompanying the self-culture is an outward process enjoined, *viz.*, universal all embracing love, and a friendly and boundless and unobstructed mind. Buddhism does not teach the existence of good in the same sense as the Christian, Jewish and Mahomedan faiths; but it affirms that the source of enlightenment is omnipresent and eternal, and merely takes up an agnostic position neither affirming nor denying a god-head, but nowhere denies a first cause. There is nothing isoteric about Buddhism, in spite of what has been written on the subject. Buddhism has no dogmas in the sense that Christianity has dogmas, although many analogies exist and the follower is strictly enjoined to cease following, if he proves that the teachings are false. Nor is Buddhism founded on revelation. A conflict between Buddhism and science is impossible as the Buddhist can accept propositions as true, only after they have been proved by careful scientific investigation. Buddhism denies the existence of the soul in the sense of an ego—a thing in itself—but does not deny the thinking, aspiring personality that each one feels and knows oneself to be. It also teaches that this personality is perpetuated after death by impress on a new birth, such new birth being decided by the *Karma* of the recently deceased person. The soul is simply a synthesis of tendencies built up by a gradual process of evolution and subject to universal laws of growth and decay. Every being in its

present existence is the exact product of all its deeds in former existences, and according to its deeds it will continue in future existences. Although Buddhism denies the existence of a soul behind the ego, a thing in itself, yet it proclaims the existence of something eternal. The eternal is not a thing, a concrete actuality, a material existence, but the omnipresence of those eternal verities, which render possible all that is true, good and beautiful. These eternal verities are the norms of existence, and they produce those uniformities in nature, and form in their entirety the reasons for all rationality, the source of sciences and the source of enlightenment. And the ultimate norm of truth can neither be made nor un-made; it has never originated and it will never cease. To become at one with these eternal verities is the driving power which impels the true Buddhist to the better path and the higher plane. *Nirvana* is a state of mind in which the limitations of individuality disappear and the eternity of truth is contemplated, and it renders one's own individuality as objective as that of others, and it is the surrender of self to truth.

Buddhism is often accused of pessimism, but this is due to a misconception of its teachings. It faces the inevitable problems of evil, pain and sorrow but it also preaches deliverance from these. There are a few analogies and contrasts between Buddhism and Christianity. Both appealed to nature and transcended the limitations of caste, rank, nation and race; both built their fabric upon an older foundation, but without a sacrifice of essentials; but the greatest contrast exists between the Christian creative attitude and the quietest teachings of Buddhism. And Buddhism aims at the extinction of individuality, while Christianity thinks the individual of infinite worth.

The War and World-Thought.

After mentioning the various contributions to science made by the Hindus, Prof. Jacob Kunz Ph. D., in the pages of a recent issue of the *Hindustanee* observes:—

The most scientific nations, Germany, England and France, filled with the most deadly hatred, are engaged in a most terrible War of mutual annihilation At the same time our daily life is more and more absorbed by material cares. We have no more leisure nor sense for the culture of the finer impulses of the heart. . . . Here arises the need for religion.

A Conscience Clause in India.

In the current number of the *International Review of Missions*, there is an article from the pen of the Editor, Mr. Oldham, which argues out, of course, from Missionary point of view the merits and demerits of the demand for a conscience clause recently made. The questions to be settled in reference to this problem are important as well as difficult and complex, and they involve this fundamental difficulty as to how those who believe in Christ are to live and work in a world which does not accept their ideal.

From the Missionary point of view, the Christian teaching in Mission schools and colleges is not only an integral but the most important part of the teaching given. And if the conscience clause were enforced, the question would arise whether, under the new conditions, it would be worth while for Missionary institutions to remain under the grant-in-aid system; and then there would be an extensive reorganisation and possibly a considerable contraction of missionary education. Christian Missions have, in the past, been one of the strongest supports of the view, that the moulding of character is the chief end of education, and that moral training to be effective must be based on religion; and if they are to continue to render this important service, they can clearly do so only by being allowed to teach the religious beliefs which are held by them.

It is difficult to foresee to what extent the introduction of a conscience clause would affect attendance at religious instruction. And if the quiet even rule of school rule were relaxed, the religious work of the institution would be seriously interfered with. And it is scarcely possible to make attendance at religious instruction voluntary without creating the impression that it is of less importance than the other subjects in the curriculum, whereas the spring and inspiration of the Missionary movements are found in precisely the opposite conviction.

The real issue in connection with conscience clause movement is, whether it is or is not desirable that the Missionary schools should have a place in the public system of education. Only those have a real grievance against aids being given to Mission schools from public funds, who believe that the kind of education imparted by them is so undesirable that it should not find a place in the public system. It is an intelligible and reasonable policy for the State to encourage, as far as circumstances permit, a variety in the types of education provided; and where parents

have a choice between different institutions, there appears to be no valid objection to the support by the State, of schools which, though they may not find favour with all, are nevertheless contributing to the general advancement of the people.

A serious difficulty arises where a Missionary school or college is the only institution of its kind in a district, and in these circumstances a parent is without real freedom of choice. And for these reasons, a weighty body of Missionary opinion is in favour of admitting in what may be described as 'single school areas,' the right of parents to withdraw their children from religious instruction, of which they do not approve. If this right of parents in 'single school areas' is to be recognised, the further question (appearing to be casuistic to us) remains, whether this recognition should be a voluntary act on the part of Missionary schools or should be imposed on them by statute.

The demand for the conscience clause is closely connected with national and political aspirations, and it would be very unfortunate if, in opposing that demand, Missions should appear to be in conflict with the national movement. It should also be considered whether the time has come for the abandonment of the principle of strict religious neutrality enunciated by Government in the Despatch of 1854; as the imposition of a conscience clause by legislation involves a departure from the strict principle of religious neutrality. For these above reasons, Mr. Oldham thinks that it ought to be possible to find a common ground with a large section of Indians in regard to the main questions involved.

The Efficacy of Self-Government.

The current number of the *Round Table* contains the following remarks on Home Rule for Ireland:—

They contend that if the majority of the Irish are politically backward, are lacking in enterprise, are easily swayed by agitation and phrases, these defects have been intensified by a system which compels them to obtain what they desire by factious pressure on England, and that to throw upon them the responsibility for government is alike the best cure for these defects and the only foundation of individual self-respect and national self-confidence. It is responsible government, following after a period of good government, that has made the Anglo-Saxon world what it is to-day.

The Historical Basis of Irish Nationalism.

In view of the impending Irish settlement, it is very good to understand the background of history against which the Irish people see themselves as members of a distinct nation. Such an account of the historical basis of Irish nationalism is given in some consecutive numbers of the *New Statesman* of last month. It is important to emphasise in the beginning that during many centuries of Gaelic rule, Ireland was a nation with one code of laws, one language, and one High-King. Even before the 5th century Irish intercourse with Europe was large and seems to have been direct rather than by way of England. During the sixth and succeeding centuries, there was scarcely a corner of the known world to which Irishmen did not penetrate, taking with them religion, learning and the arts; and foreigners flocked to her as a university. Irishmen like St. Gall, Virgilius, Bishop of Salzburg, the scholar Dungal, the greatest astronomer of the time, Johannes Scotus Erigena of the 9th century, these make the significant fact in early Irish history, not the recurring unrest of provincial kings and the lack of a strong central government, but a great civilising mission to Britain and France. This most promising Irish civilisation would have developed into something greater, if it had not been interfered with by invaders first from Scandinavia and then from England of the Normans. For good or for ill, Ireland had not shared the fate of Britain in being subjected first to the Roman Empire and afterwards to the invading Angles and Saxons. Norsemen and Danes who established themselves in many parts of Ireland between the 8th and the 11th centuries, never conquered the country, but became mere plunderers and ravagers. After the final defeat of the Danes by Brian Boru who finally released Ireland from Danish horrors by his great victory over the foreigners in 1014, Ireland enjoyed a century and a half of national revival. It was during this time that many of the famous churches of Ireland were built, that historians wrote of the Danish wars, and the famous Irish heroic tales were written.

The weakness, however, of the Irish monarchical system, together with much civil strife and certain troubles of the Church, gave Henry II an opportunity of effecting a conquest of Ireland such as the Romans had not essayed and the Danes had not succeeded in. Soon the conquered Irish, instead of being treated as subjects of a residen-

tial Norman king were regarded as enemies of an absentee Norman king and aristocracy. And Anglo-Norman government never for a moment ceased to be an anti-national institution. Not only the original Irish, but even the English invaders were turbulent and divided after the mediaeval fashion. The Irish again and again rallied to recover the defence of their liberties, up to the time of Elizabeth, Cromwell and William III. The Irish tendency for complete national expression was too powerful to be restrained by English edicts, and its most remarkable triumph was the Irishising of the mediaeval English settlers. It was the Tudors who were most eager in destroying the language and the liberties of the Irish. Nothing could be more characteristic of the vitality of Irish genius than the fact that amid the fire and slaughter of the 16th and 17th centuries, Irish poets and historians went on with their labour of keeping alive the tradition and spirit of the nation. Cromwell's massacres, by which a third of the population perished by sword, plague and famine could not root out the Irish spirit which continues as undaunted to-day as ever it was.

Indian Currency Reforms.

The Editor of the *Wealth of India*, commenting on the Indian contribution of 100 millions sterling towards the expenses of the war, makes the following observations on the need for a revision of the fiscal policy of this country:—

We need hardly point out that the exports from India consist mainly of raw produce, and that these are the result of the labours of millions of small agriculturists who are themselves in debt to local sowcars at various rates of interest. What chance is there then of these poor cultivators allowing long credits to their foreign purchasers? And for their inability to do so, if they are to be restricted from selling abroad, we can only say it will be an economic tyranny rendered possible by the political subordination of India to England. Such a course may be inevitable during the period of war, but after peace, a juster method of dealing with India will have to be adopted. And that is, a reform of the currency policy of this country as the result of which, its management by the Government will be done away with and a gold currency introduced, the main feature of which will be the circulation of a large number of notes on a gold basis.

The Lines of Progress in India.

A writer to the *New Statesman* of February 1917 suggests a few main lines on which progress should proceed among Indians. The first great necessity is to reform the Civil Service. Educated Indians are to-day a formidable rival to the Indian Civil Service in the competition for the well paid, dignified and responsible posts, as well as for the right and power to direct policy; and feelings on this point tend to grow more and more embittered every day. One other thing is that the Civil Service dare no longer act on the opinions it has formed where these come into conflict with the wishes of any powerful section of the community. As public opinion has certainly found expression and can certainly awaken echoes throughout the greatest part of uneducated India, the Indian Government tend more and more to take the line of least resistance and to shirk all serious undertakings. It does not find courage to put through contentious measures in the teeth of vested interests which have learnt how to work up a popular agitation, or again to embark on a bold policy of taxation for developing the country. The writer proceeds to discuss among the various substitutes for the present system of Civil Service Government, the possibility of the adoption of Colonial Self-Government which is for the present deemed by him as impracticable. But he advocates a modification of the present system and recommends the direct appointment of Indians to be members of the Executive Councils from which Civilians might be altogether excluded. The Executive Councils must be composed of Englishmen fresh from Home and Indians; and in these the advantage of experience would be with Indians, and they would have in practice the direction of the policy of Government in Indian affairs. This would have a steadying influence of infusing responsibility in many Indians, and the possession by Indians of the chief executive posts would react on the attitude adopted by Englishmen towards Indians throughout the country. And the Empire would have the advice and co-operation of the best men in India in the delicate and dangerous task of raising India's status from that of a servant to that of a partner. The main weight in the Executive Councils ought to be given to Indians, but this should be linked with fairly extensive concessions of a different nature e.g., fiscal autonomy; elected Indians to act as advisers to the Secretary of State; increase in the number of responsible and well paid posts by Indians, and improvement of Indians in the army etc.

The Religious Problem in China.

The March issue for the *Positivist Review* has an article on the 'Religious Problem in China' by Mr. Sih-Gung Cheng, where is made known the religious problem which is awaiting solution at the hands of the Chinese Government just now. In China, religion is understood in a sense different from that common in Europe. The co-existence of three religions, Taoism, Buddhism and Confucianism has caused no conflict and the population is not divided among them, as would most likely have been the case in Europe. The Chinese have amalgamated all the three systems into one, and the great mass of them are Confucianists, Buddhists and Taoists at the same time. The exclusiveness of religion began to be felt in China when Christianity had gained a foothold. Catholic missionaries, however, tried to tolerate native worships, and even Protestants tolerate many worships and social practices. To the religions of China, Christianity has practically nothing to add. The Sermon on the Mount has been supplied by the teachings of her sages; and there is not probably a single moral precept in the Christian Scriptures which is not substantially also in the Chinese Classics. The miraculous and divine nature of Christianity which has been defended on the ground of social expediency rather than on that of truth, has again been supplied. Buddhism has an advantage over Christianity in priority of time. What Christianity has done for China has to be sought for in its secular aspect, e.g., the opening of schools, the establishment of hospitals, the relief of the poor etc.

In China, where the process of transition from the mediaeval regime to the modern has not yet completed its course, one sees the revival of Confucianism with the growth of Christian influence. To-day one realises that it is not Confucianism, but a corruption of it that is responsible for the stagnant and chaotic state of China's politics and science. A study of comparative religion does not disqualify Confucianism as a religion, but shows its superiority to many others from a rationalistic point of view.

The latest controversy is whether provision should be made in the new constitution that is being drafted for a state religion. There is a proposal that Confucianism should be made the state religion and that religious liberty should be observed.

Militarism and Degeneracy.

A writer in the *Candid Review* ridicules the idea held in some quarters, among the military classes in Germany and elsewhere, that war and militarism are in some way or other ultimately beneficial to society. He denounces the application of the biological theory in moral law and says touching the usual plea of the "survival of the fittest" theory:—

If our conception of nature and of morals is so false as to lead us to imagine that we ought to advance the process of crude natural selection, we ought to turn our attention more particularly to the cultivation of disease, to refrain carefully from measures aimed at the extinction of certain diseases, and to revile and persecute those whose labours have shown the way in which such extinction may be realised. For there can be no question that on the whole disease tends to attack the feeblest and least valuable individuals in the community. The prevention of disease on a large scale means the survival and perpetuation of persons of weak constitution and degenerate heredity who, under natural selection, uncontrolled, would speedily die out. War on the other hand, kills out only those of military age and physique; a soldier has to pass a certain medical standard of efficiency. The weak and incapable are not liable to be killed in battle, and the tendency of modern warfare is to exterminate the most vigorous part of the community.

Democracy.

Mr. W. D. S. Brown, in the course of an article in the March number of the *Theosophist*, points out:

The development of democracy is especially essential to the success of international federation, because, otherwise, such federations will be little more than trade combines for the exclusion of rival combines. The resolutions passed at the Paris Conference should be warning enough of the dangerous lengths to which a military alliance is prepared to go under commercial pressure. The power of co-operation is already admitted; the danger is that it will be used as a weapon and not as a safeguard. Even within the British Empire we find a privately organised attempt to keep one part of the Empire—India—in a position of subjection to the remainder, presumably for fear that a recognition of equal rights would curtail the profits made by one part of the Empire at the expense of another. It follows, therefore, that until a Government respects the rights of its own people, it is not likely to respect the rights of other peoples, and any scheme of federation

that does not respect the rights of all will be partially, or wholly, an imposition, however fine it may sound from the platform.

How do we know that other nations can be relied on? We do not know. We have got to find out by trying them. If each nation waits for the others to make the first move, no move will be made. The nation that does make the first move will have proved itself fit to lead in the coming civilisation; not in the old sense of being able to get its own way regardless of its consequences, but in the new sense of being ready to give way for the common safety. If Britain cannot lead in this respect, how can she continue to plead high ideals in justification of the War? The co-operation of the Allies, in spite of every attempt from the other side to sow discord, has proved that nations who had recently regarded one another as traditional enemies can trust one another when faced by a common danger; can anyone say that such co-operation is impossible when directed to securing the common safety?

INDIA IN INDIAN & FOREIGN PERIODICALS.

THE GOLDEN AGE OF MALAYALAM LITERATURE. By Mr. A. Gopala Menon, M.A. ["The Malabar Quarterly Review," January 1917.]

BRAHMAGUPTA AND BHASKARA. By Haranohandra Banerji, M.A., B.L. ["The Ripon College Magazine," February 1917.]

BISHAN NARAIN DHAR. By Mr. Hamid Ali Khan. ["East and West," March 1917.]

PANCHARATRA AND VAISHNAVA DAILY LIFE. By Prof. T. Rajagopala Chariar, M.A., B.L. ["The Vedanta Kesari," February 1917.]

THE MYSORE UNIVERSITY—AN APPRECIATION. By H. J. Bhabha. ["The Mysore University Magazine," February 1917.]

THE BRIHATKATHA OF GUNADHYA. By Prof. V. G. Paranjpye, M.A., LL.B. ["The Fergusson College Magazine," February, 1917.]

EPISTLES OF SWAMI VIVEKANANDA. ["Prabuddha Bharata," February & March 1917.]

ANCHYLOSTOMIASIS IN Ceylon. By Dr. John E. Snodgrass. ["The Local Self-Government Gazette," March, 1917.]

INDIAN WEIGHTS, MEASURES AND MONEY. By Sir Guilford Molesworth, K.C.I.E. ["The Asiatic Review," February, 1917.]

THE BUDDHIST RELICS FROM INDIA. ["The Journal of the Maha Bodhi Society," February, 1917.]

THE PROBLEM OF TUBERCULOSIS IN INDIA. By Dr. C. Muthu. ["The Modern Review," April, 1917.]

THE ECONOMIC DRAIN OF INDIA. By Mr. R. Subba Rao. ["The Hindustan Review," March, 1917.]

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE.

POST-WAR REFORMS.

I. Dr. G. B. Clark. (Late M. P. for Caithness.)

When the war is over, (writes Dr. Clark in the *Forward*), there will be many problems of the greatest importance affecting the whole structure of the British Empire, which both Parliament and the people of the United Kingdom will need to consider. Among them is the question of the future administration of India.

The present system of Government is like that of Russia, a bureaucratic one. It is a Government of officials responsible only to themselves, though unlike that of Russia, it is honest and efficient, and there is no corruption. Of the fourteen hundred bureaucrats who govern India, less than one hundred are Indians, and, consequently, it is practically a Government of foreigners alien in race and language. Like the Tsar, the Viceroy has despotic powers, tempered a little by the influence of the Secretary of State for India in London. He may use those powers in the interests of the people, but very often, he only begins to understand their requirements when his term of office expires. From the time he arrives, until he departs, he rarely comes in touch with the people. He is in the hands of the officials, and dependent upon them for his information about the condition of the country. There was a period in the history of India when a benevolent despotism was the form of Government best suited to it but, in consequence of the influence of Western civilisation, that time has now passed away. Progress and evolution operate upon States as well as upon individuals, and old and time-worn institutions have to give way to newer and more modern methods.

The India of to-day must get rid of the old exclusive methods of legislation and administration and adopt a more liberal and democratic one in the future. An attempt in this direction was made by the Indian Councils Act of 1909. Speaking during the Debate on the Second Reading of the Bill, Mr. Asquith said in reply to a critic: "It is most desirable, in the circumstances, to give the people of India the feeling that these Legislative Councils are not mere automatons the wires of which are pulled by the official hierarchy;" and, doubtless, that was the intention of the Liberal Cabinet. But the working of the Act has shown that the object of its promoters has not been attained, and that illustration has been afforded of another measure "that keeps the word of promise to the ear but breaks it to the hope."

The case (the Memorandum of the Nineteen) is thus stated:—

It is not the work of amateurs, but the well-considered proposals of men who, for their knowledge and ability, have been elected to the highest office in India, and who represent the educated and progressive class of every race and faith in that vast territory. The present bureaucratic system is now an anachronism and can no longer be maintained. All the unnecessary and absurd disabilities must be removed and a large measure of self-government conferred upon the Indian people.

The Colonial Secretary can always consult the High Commissioners for the Dominions, and the Agents-General of the Colonies, on any questions affecting them, but there are no analogous officials representing the presidencies and the provinces of India. It would be better to reform the Council rather than abolish it. Instead of limiting its membership to old Civil Servants who have had long service in India, and some of whom are completely out of touch with the India of to-day, it might be composed of three members of this class, three Indians appointed by the elected Councillors in India, and three men of affairs from this country, not necessarily connected with India. Such a Council might be of great use to the Secretary of State when new and important questions have to be considered.

Discussing the various disabilities and disqualifications which are imposed on the people of India, Dr. Clark writes strongly on the subject of the Arms Act and the exclusion of Indians from Commissions in the Army.

This position of racial inferiority is very humiliating to the Indian people and especially to the intelligent class who come to this country for their education, take degrees at our universities, are called to our Bar, and enter various professions.

As regards the hopes held out to India Dr. Clark reminds Lord Sydenham and other reactionaries with a convenient memory, that Mr. Asquith, as Prime Minister, on several occasions, recognised the part played by Indians in the War, and spoke of the Indian people "as joint and equal custodians of one common interest and future," and that both he and other responsible statesmen have hinted, by no means obscurely, that in the future the Government of India will be more representative of the people and more under their control. (*Reprint from "India."*)

II. Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, C.I.E.

(Late Dewan of Mysore, Travancore and Baroda)

"The fortunes of India are inextricably bound up with those of England, and, whatever the short-comings of England may be, it is only through her that India can hope to become a self-governing nation. Anything, therefore, that may weaken England's power cannot but tell on the well-being and prosperity of India. It is, on the other hand, to England's own interest as an Imperial Power to do everything to strengthen India's position so that she may become a self-supporting and self-reliant nation within the Empire.

"I think England fully realises that the time has arrived for giving India self-government, but her difficulty appears to be whether India can safely be raised to the position of a self-governing country. The case of the Colonies is simple. They are kindred nations who are offshoots of the parent stock and the question with them is one of bringing them into closer union with the central Government and has practically been solved. But the case with India is different. Her populations belong to an alien race and a different civilisation. And the British nation, who, in the ultimate resort are the arbiters of the destinies of the Indian people, have not troubled themselves to understand Indian problems and have left the government of the country in the hands of her experts. Some catastrophe like the Mutiny and, in a milder form, the Indian unrest of 1905, rouses her attention and on these occasions, through her national assembly, the Houses of Parliament. Some action is taken to redress India's grievances and improve her Government. In the present World-War, however, England appears to have been much impressed by the spectacle of a whole nation, from prince to peasant, rallying to her side and placing their resources and services unreservedly at her disposal. In the exuberance of her feelings of gratitude India was assured of her title to self-rule being recognised and to her being lifted from a position of dependency to that of partnership in the Imperial scheme. The enthusiasm, however, would appear to have cooled down somewhat latterly and the visit to India of the Editor of the *Round Table* and the *Commonwealth of Nations* is not calculated to inspire confidence in the minds of the people of India as to much being done to change the character of her rule. He is supposed to represent the Lord Milner-school of thought, which, in regard to the so-called subject-races, has greater

faith in the efficacy of strong, and according to their lights, good government than self-government. The Government will still be bureaucratic in spirit although there may be an increase in the representative element in it and in the appointments in Government service open to the sons of the soil. But this will not meet the present requirements of India. What India needs, and is ripe for, is Government of the people, by the people and the full recognition of the principle that there should be "no taxation without representation."

"This is a matter of no mere sentiment or aspiration, due to borrowing fine phrases from the politics of the West without understanding their meaning. It is a positive necessity for the well-being of India and for the integrity of the Empire. There is no question that the bureaucracy has outlived its usefulness, and while unwilling to part with power, it is unable to adapt itself to the changed conditions in India. The India of to-day is not the India of five years ago and since the war, the change is working even more rapidly than in the previous three years. The retired Governors and officials who generally shape opinion at Home on Indian questions are woefully behind the times and shout shibboleths like "vakil raj," "babu politicians," "Martial races," "unwarlike communities," "ignorant masses" and "self seeking educated classes," which have long since been exploded. India has passed the stage of being governed on the old lines by highly trained Englishmen sent out to administer the country. So long as government was confined to policing the country, dispensing justice, collecting taxes, and promoting to a large extent the material and moral welfare of the people, it was simple enough, and no agency could have done it better than the Civil Service, which has earned the gratitude of the people and the admiration of the whole world. But if India is to become a self-supporting and self-reliant nation, something more is wanted than these elements of good government. The British Government, however sympathetic and however well-intentioned it may be, cannot, from the nature of the case, undertake this task with any chance of success. The work will have to be taken up by indigenous agency, by statesmen and philosophers like Stein, Fichte and others in Germany in the beginning of the last century, or the patriots who piloted the passage of Japan from the old order into the new. The only measure of economic and social reconstruction introduced by the British Government is the co-operative credit system in Lord

Curzon's Viceroyalty. Beyond this, the Government have not done much to strengthen the economic position of the people or train them in habits of self-help and self-reliance.

"It is the fashion to attribute the spontaneous rally of India to the side of England, when war was declared, to the good Government which had conciliated and secured the loyalty and devotion of the masses to the British nation. This is at best a half truth and I do not think I am exaggerating when I say that this was due mainly to the influence of the much maligned and much misunderstood intellectuals of India who alone were in a position to judge the good work England had done and what it would mean to India if Germany won in the present war. It is the educated classes that gave the lead. Of course, it is well-known that a great deal of this unhesitating action is due to the emphatic and courageous way in which Lord Hardinge had identified himself with the national cause. I will not here attempt to show how untenable is the position, so often assumed, that the Civilian are the protectors of the masses and the Indian publicists are fighting for their own aggrandisement. Masses and classes are, however, ideas and phrases borrowed from the West and are utterly inapplicable to the conditions in India.

"How the English rulers in India have not outgrown the ideas of Government which may have answered in the earlier years of British rule but are quite inapplicable to modern conditions may be gathered from the attitude of the spokesmen of the Indian Government in the discussions in connection with the Consolidation Acts and from the Despatch sent by the Government of India on the proposals of the Decentralisation Commission to bring schemes for revision settlements before the Legislative Councils. If it were a national Government, even of the Russian type, it will be quick to respond to stimuli from without. The exigencies of self-preservation and strengthening her power of resistance has led the Russian Government to adopt compulsory education and give a voice to the representatives of the people in the Duma in deciding the policy of the State, even as the war was going on. All this will point to the necessity of increasing the representative character of Indian rule and consulting the people more generally and trusting them to a larger extent than has been the case hitherto.

"The heart of India is sound at the core and Congresses and Leagues and leaders like Mr.

Tilak and Mrs. Besant require, at this crisis in India's fortunes, more freedom of speech and publicity for their utterances rather than discouragement, or repression. The people have to be educated on the one hand and on the other opinion has to be focussed on what measures should be adopted for giving India self-government within the Empire. I can, in the light of the recent speech of Lord Carmichael, understand how difficult must be the position of rulers when confronted with what they believe to be a widespread conspiracy to subvert British rule; but even in regard to such a state of things I would venture to suggest that the best course to adopt is to summon the well-disposed sections of the community to his aid and take counsel with them. However this may be, in regard to the reorganization of the Government of India, the proposals should not have gone to England without being subjected to discussion in India, both in the different Legislative Councils and in the Press. It is discussion alone that will enable Government to decide what constitution is best for each Province and for the Federal Government. The way in which the proposals have been sent to England, without even the Imperial Legislative Council being consulted, shows that the old bureaucratic spirit still rules in India." (The Madras Mail.)

III. The Hon. Mr. N. K. Kelkar.

(Member, Legislative Council, Central Provinces.)

Now the "essentials" of the scheme, as they appear to me, are these. Indians of status, position and education, whether they are Hindus or Mahomedans or Indian Christians, are no longer in a spirit of absolute trust, content either with the present method of initiating policies or the composition of the personnel which administers the affairs of the country. They want to have a hand both in the shaping of policy and the carrying out of the administration from day to day; and they want to be associated with the administration, not in the subordinate capacity, in which sense it is sometimes claimed that the administration is already largely in Indian's hands in almost every department, but in being given opportunities to shoulder its burdens and responsibilities in the same manner in which all higher officers of Government are called upon to do so. (Presidential address at the Yeotmal Conference.)

INDIA'S WAR CONTRIBUTION.

I. H. E. Lord Chelmsford.

His Excellency the Viceroy wound up the concluding session of the Imperial Legislative Council on March 23, with the following reference to India's war contribution :—

This has been a notable session and the Hon'ble members have, I think, every reason to be gratified with it. They have signified, in no uncertain manner, their desire to associate India with the sacrifices which our Empire has had to make in connection with this war, and I am glad to think that the Government of India, in making their offer of £100 millions to the Imperial Government, did not misinterpret the wishes of this Council. Some of you may have felt that the initiation of this policy by the Government reduced the subsequent legislative proceedings to little more than a formality, but this, believe me, is a superficial view. I can assure you that as regards the grave issues which this budget has raised, we do feel our real dependence on your support. We have acted in your name and on the strength of the mandate which you gave us in your loyal resolutions of the 8th September 1914, and the 24th February 1915, and we desired an endorsement of our actions which should go beyond the passing of the bills necessary to give them legal validity. It was, therefore, with the highest satisfaction that I found you to be in practically unanimous accord with the Government in supporting the proposals we laid before you. I think you would all wish me to congratulate Sir William Meyer on the skill with which he framed his budget, on the lucidity with which he expounded it, and on the reception which it has received throughout the country. I do not minimise for one moment the heavy responsibilities which this budget has placed upon us. There will be a sacrifice not of luxuries, not of the frills and trimmings of civilisation, but a sacrifice in a large measure of the necessities of ordered Government, and the result must be arrested progress in education, in sanitation, in public works and kindred subjects which are in other countries the touchstone of civilised life.

Coincident with this session has come the triumphant progress of our gallant troops in Mesopotamia. We have all admired the military skill and determination which has marked the leadership of our army in the field, and we cannot forget the gallantry and endurance of the troops throughout the operations, which have taken place under the most trying conditions. We need not worry over the questions to whom, apart from the Generals and the Army in the field, the credit of those operations is due. But I should be doing less than justice to India if I did not briefly touch upon the history of the last year. The fall of Kut marked the nadir of our fortunes. The Indian Army had been bled white in providing troops and equipment for four fronts. The breakdown on the medical side in Mesopotamia had brought a storm of obloquy on Indian administration. The hardships of a summer in Mesopotamia had decimated and sapped the strength of our troops. The sick pouring into India had placed a strain on our hospital resources, which were frankly insufficient. All this had to be remedied. It is not easy for men to concentrate attention on work when criticism, some true, much of it based on the flimsiest grounds, is showering down upon their heads. But the fact remains, that the work has been done, and, so far as our resources have enabled us,

I believe, we have made up the deficiencies of a year ago. Am I going beyond the mark when I say that we ought to pay a tribute to the labours by which the late and the present Commander-in-Chief and the Army Headquarters have accomplished this, and enabled General Maude and his heroic companions-in-arms to achieve the success over which we are rejoicing to-day? History will some day record its verdict on these events, and we are too near to them ourselves to be sure of our judgment. But three stages seem to stand clearly out: the first in which India threw all she had and far more than had ever been contemplated into the great struggle; the second, the inevitable breakdown due in part to the exhaustion of our military resources, in part to adverse fortune; and the third, the patient building up again of the forces which has made our recent operations possible. It is easy to be wise after the event, and we to-day can see how things might have been ordered differently. We hope we have profited by our failures and have atoned for them, and made provisions against their recurrence.

II. The Rt. Hon. Mr. Chamberlain.

Moving the resolution authorising India's war contribution in the House of Commons, on March 14, Mr. Chamberlain said :—

I was confident that the members of the House would unite in gratefully recognising the feeling of comradeship and the community of interest which prompted the gift. He recalled the war services of the Indian troops, of whom there were now 300,000 on active service, and paid a tribute to the part played by officers in the British Indian army and officers in the Medical Service and Imperial Service Troops, and also to the unrivalled generosity of the Indian Princes. Mr. Chamberlain spoke of the labour corps, motor transport and munitions supplied by India, and mentioned that India's output of small-arms had increased threefold and of field-gun cartridges twelvefold since the war. He claimed that the military efforts of the Indian Government seconded by the Princes, Chiefs and Peoples of India had been no mean contribution to the success of the Empire.

III. Mr. Lloyd George's Message.

In accepting India's war gift, the Prime Minister sent the following Message to His Excellency the Viceroy who read it at the Council Meeting on March 23 :—

I wish, on behalf of the British Government, to express to the Government and the people of India our most sincere gratitude for the magnificent contribution which India has just made to the financing of the War. Coming, in addition to the enthusiasm and loyalty manifested throughout India on the outbreak of the War and to the invaluable military services since rendered by the Indian Army, this gift is to us a moving proof that India shares whole-heartedly with the other subjects of the Crown, the ideals for which we are fighting in this War. That India should come forward of her own accord at this crisis and render such real and opportune assistance is not only a source of sincere satisfaction to His Majesty's Government, but must produce a better mutual understanding among all the races and peoples under the British Crown.

UTTERANCES OF THE DAY.

* Hon. Mr. Malaviya on Indian Councils.

Speaking on the Budget debate in the Imperial Legislative Council on March 23, the Hon. Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya said :—

I mean no disrespect to your Excellency or your colleagues in the Government of India but I am sorry to say that not you but His Majesty's Secretary of State is the Government of India, because it is an open secret, we all know it to our regret, that every matter of importance relating to the revenues of India must be decided by the Secretary of State for India. A few minutes ago my hon. friend, Mr. Wacha asked whether we were not a self-governing body; I honestly wish we were; but I regret to say we are not, because in all matters of importance the fiscal policy of the Government of India is laid down by the Secretary of State. The influences to which he is subjected decide for the time being what particular course is to be taken on any question. To-day it may be those who denounce the evil of supplying opium to China; to-morrow it may be the Lancashire merchants who do not want to lose any of their profits; the day after, it may be the War Office which thinks that certain burdens should be cast upon India. The Government of India may protest, I gratefully recognise that they have protested on many occasions; but their protests have gone in vain on too many occasions. Now, this is as unsatisfactory as anything could be, and I hope after the war is over this will be one of the most important questions that will be taken up, and that the Government of India will be really established in India and removed from London.

The second point is the constitutional position of this Council. I have already entered my protest against the manner in which the offer of £100,000,000, was settled. I do not mean any disrespect to the Government of India, but I feel it my duty to them and to His Majesty's Government and also to my country, to say that while the Council was in existence it was entirely wrong on the part of the executive Government to decide to make such a contribution without the consent of the Council. It shows as if this Council exists in name only and has really no fiscal powers except to legalise taxation. This again is highly unsatisfactory. Lastly, as regards the general position of the members of this Council, while we feel grateful that His Majesty's Government have invited representatives from India to assist the Secretary

of State at the War Conference, we cannot conceal the feeling that, as it was on our recommendation that His Majesty's Government agreed to invite Indians to represent India at the Conference, it was due to us that we should have been consulted before the nominations were made. The Government would have lost nothing if that courtesy had been shown to the Council; on the contrary, there would have been a real feeling of satisfaction throughout the country. We feel that we, who offer our humble services free to the Government and who have a recognised status as the chosen representatives of the people, should not be passed over when a question like that, in which we have shown an interest, is to be decided.

These considerations lead me naturally to the larger question raised by my hon. friend, Mr. Sastri and other members on Post-War Reforms. We have been advised by some gentlemen that we should not refer to that question at present. Those who offer such advice do not realise the position. They seem to forget or fail to appreciate what your Excellency was pleased to tell us in the opening speech of this session, that from May to October last, that is for six months before the session of the Legislative Council which produced the Memorandum submitted by nineteen of us elected members to your Excellency, to which also you were pleased to refer, the Government of India were engaged in considering the Despatch on the question of Post-War Reforms which you addressed to the Secretary of State for India in the autumn of last year. With that statement of your Excellency before us, I feel I am bound to refer to the matter. I do so particularly because as the hon. Mr. Basu has said, this Council will not meet again till September. We are hoping that this war, this accursed war, will have come to an end and that His Majesty the King-Emperor will have been able to proclaim a glorious peace before that time. In that view it is not improbable that this question of Post-War Reforms will be taken up for consideration before we meet again. Your Excellency's Government has spent six months over the Despatch you have sent to the Secretary of State and we the elected additional members of your Council, have submitted to you a Memorandum over which we spent a great deal of time and thought. The Indian National Congress and the Moslem League have also put forward a carefully considered scheme of reforms. There is thus no doubt much material before the

Government to help it to come to a decision on the reforms. But, my Lord, we do not know what proposals your Excellency's Government have made on the subject, and we request that you may be pleased in fairness to the members of this Council, to publish those proposals, in order that we may submit our criticism on them with a view to help the Government to arrive at a correct conclusion. I need hardly say that the question of reforms is a much larger one now than it was before the war. As Mr. Lloyd George said the other day, the war has changed us very much. It has changed the angle of vision in India as well in England. I venture to say that the war has put the clock of time fifty years forward, and I hope and trust that India will achieve in the next few years what she might not have done in fifty years. Some persons are frightened at the use of certain expressions; some dislike the use of the term 'Home Rule'; some cannot bear to hear even of 'Self-Government on Colonial lines.' But all will have to recognise that the reforms after the war will have to be such as will meet the requirements of the India of to-day and of to-morrow, such as will satisfy the aspirations of her people to take their legitimate part in the administration of their own country.

My Lord, among these reforms, one of the most important forcibly suggested by the discussion on the Budget to-day is that India should enjoy fiscal autonomy, and that its Legislative Council, which is constituted by law, should have the sole power to determine what taxes should be raised and how the money raised should be spent. The action that has recently been taken by the Lancashire party in England with reference to the increase made in the import duties on cotton goods throws a lurid light on the need of having fiscal autonomy conferred on India. As regards the general question, the claim of us Indians to have a real voice in the administration of our domestic affairs is unanswerable. Justice is on our side. The forces of time are on our side. We rejoice to think that His Majesty's Government is engaged in a righteous war, in the cause of liberty and justice, and the freedom of nations, small and great. It is in no small measure due to this knowledge that from the beginning of the war we have heartily offered our humble services and have earnestly prayed for the success of His Majesty's arms. Before this war we admired England because she loved liberty and had helped other nations to acquire freedom.

Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri on the Reforms.

In the course of a speech in the Imperial Legislative Council on March 23 the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri referred to the Post-War Reforms in the following words:—

Within twelve months of your Excellency's assumption of office, it has been possible for your Lordship to confer on this country three great blessings. The first I would mention is the suspension of indentured labour during the period of the war, which I hope will be converted into complete abolition of that iniquitous institution. The next I would mention is the organisation of the Defence of India force. Lastly, I will mention—well, I forget the third achievement for the moment, but I will pass on—I do not know how many still remain to be achieved by your Excellency, but there are two which I must take the leave of the Council to mention as those which I would like to see Your Excellency's regime be marked by. One is the enactment, on however humble a scale, of the principle of compulsion in the sphere of elementary education. The other is the inauguration of a scheme of political reforms before Your Excellency lays down office. On the contrary I expect that, long before that time comes perhaps, we shall be enjoying the fruits of the new scheme which I am sure is being framed between the Government of India and the Government in England. It has been pointed out, my Lord, several times that at this time of war we ought not to embarrass the Government with any suggestions of ours. I do not know that the thought of what should be done in India to satisfy the growing ambitions of the country is not present night and day to those who have charge of responsible interests either here or in England. We know as a matter of fact the thought is for ever present in your minds, in the minds of those with whom you are in daily association in the work of Government in India. If we at this time throw in our counsel so that you may take that into consideration also in settling matters, it is rather hard for us to be accused of seeking to embarrass the Government with our ideas at this time. It is too little realised, I fear in official circles, or if realised it is conveniently forgotten, how intense are the feelings of young India in the matter of realising the great hopes that have been held out from time to time. It is somewhat strange that decades ago when public life was rather low in this country and public demands had not risen to any high pitch, it was left to English administrators and statesmen to lay down

in clear and generous terms the policy of continuous improvement which was to end in the final emancipation in a political and economic sense of the people of this country.

Now that during the last few years public opinion has become articulate and people are asking for one thing and another, it is astonishing to think, it is saddening to think, that officials should seem to stand aghast and scared at the coming prospect. What is it that is happening in this country, they seem to say to themselves my Lord, no one of us, at least no one of us who has thought of the affairs of India in a serious way, desires any catastrophic changes. Far, far be that from our minds. But let me frankly tell Your Excellency and Your Excellency's Government that we do look forward to large, substantial and satisfying items of reform consistently with their being stable and lasting. The only things that we hear amid the official reserve and the official silence in regard to these matters are the views of retired pro-consuls like Lord Sydenham, whose distrust of educated Indians, I venture to state from this place, is fast becoming a menace to the peace and welfare of this country. My Lord, it was only a few days ago that the premier of England, referring to the catastrophic change that has come over Russia, spoke of it in terms to which I would venture to draw the attention of the Council. He referred to it with his characteristic insight as events marking a world epoch and as the first great triumph of the principles for which we entered the war, i.e., the dethronement of autocracy and the establishment on a sure footing, let us hope, of popular freedom. We ask for the identical thing in this country. Shall it be said that India was the last country in the world to obtain this great triumph of the principles for which England and India alike are making terrible sacrifices? Let it not be said that any school of English politicians stood deliberately in the way of according to India that popular freedom which they hail in the case of Russia, even when it is inaugurated in that catastrophic manner of which we have heard. We want peaceful progress; we want constitutional and ordered progress; we want, however, at the same time that it should be declared clearly to Indians that they shall one day be free. It is necessary in my opinion also to state how soon. Shall it be said twenty or thirty years hence that, at a time when the world was passing through a terrible crisis and the nations stood facing each other, some in friendly co-operation, some in the bitterest hostility, the Indians

asked for freedom, but that they were told to 'wait wait, wait.'

Your Excellency, it is now time that we were told definitely what it is that we are to expect. I make no doubt whatever that Your Excellency is already contemplating the announcement to India, at a seasonable time no doubt, of the goal towards which India politically will evolve under the fostering care of the British Government. It strikes me that the hour has long come when that should be made perfectly clear. While there are many authorities, high and low, in the country ready to deprecate and discourage, ready to intern and exclude, there is none—sad though—high or low, to speak a word of hope, to hold out to the coming generations the promise of freedom for which England has always stood, for which she is striving to-day, and for which both England and India together are striving with one mind and one heart.

Mr Hiranand Khemsing.

It will take too long to detail here the reforms which are needed and which must be installed after the War without loss of time. These have been enumerated in the memorandum drawn up by the non-official members of the Viceroy's Legislative Council and have received the seal of approval from the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League. I have been induced to make a mention of them because Sindh swims or sinks with the rest of India, and I wish only to add that the people of Sindh heartily join the people of the other Provinces in urging upon the British Government the necessity and desirability of installing a substantial measure of Self-Government in the country.—(Presidential Address, Sindh Provincial Conference.)

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INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA.

Indentured Labour.

In the House of Commons on the 4th April Mr. Chamberlain stated that an inter-departmental Conference, on which the Government of India would be represented, would be held in London in May to discuss the question of the abolition of indentured emigration from India. Meanwhile it had become necessary to stop indentured emigration in order not to interfere with military recruiting in India. The Viceroy had informed Mr. Chamberlain that he and the Government of India wished that the indentured system of recruitment of labour for the colonies should not be resumed. It has later been announced that at the conference on emigration to be held in London in May the India Office will be represented by the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State, one India Office official and the following officers from India:—Sir James Meston, Sir S. P. Sinha, Lieutenant-Colonel W. M. Kennedy, and Mr. N. E. Majoribanks, I.C.S. The two last-named gentlemen will attend the Conference as having expert knowledge of the conditions of recruitment of labour.

Licensing Difficulty in Natal.

The refusal of the Dundee Town Council to grant a license to an Indian merchant, says the *Commonweal*, is the latest instance of the exhibition of colour prejudice in Natal. Mr. Karodia, who had settled as a trader in Natal for the last twenty years, recently purchased a building at a cost of £3,000, to which he desired to remove his business quarters. The Licensing Officer refused to grant the necessary license, because the opinion of the borough "was that that particular street, where Mr. Karodia's new building was situated, was reserved for European traders," and that this case might become a precedent for other Asiatics to attempt to occupy the quarters "reserved for Europeans". It is amusing that the Licensing Officer should write that he wished "to avoid class distinctions and keep the main street of the borough for Europeans." Is it a case of avoiding or perpetrating class distinctions? asks our contemporary *Indian Opinion* writes:

An Indian, because he is an Indian, is refused permission to transfer his business to premises owned by himself, even though it had been clearly shown that the man was carrying on his business from month to month, not knowing when it might be closed down. Such action amounts to rank tyranny.

Indentured Labour Statistics.

The report of the Indian Immigration Trust Board of Natal for the year 1915 which recently was published contains some interesting figures.

During the year 17,745 Indians completed their indentures, of which 5,167 completed their first term of indenture of five years; 6,085 had re-indentured under Act 17 of 1895 without a break, and 6,495 re-indentured under 42 of 1905 after a period spent in Natal as 'free' Act people.

The number of re-indentures during the year was under Act 17 of 1895, 608; and under Act 42 of 1905, 3,194; the total 3,802, being 1,347 men less than the previous year.

The distribution of re-indentured Indians was as follows:—Coal Companies 50; tea and sugar estates 2,682; public bodies 8; up-country farmers 116, various 153; South African Railways 71.

Indians were returned to India as follows:—Madras 3,141 and Calcutta 703. Of these 98 were sick, etc.; 2,753 were entitled to a free passage under the law, and 993 received free passages under the Relief Act of 1914. Altogether there were 182 persons more returned than the previous year.

The actual number of those Indians who sailed and who were entitled to free passages from the Board was 2,851 souls (equal to 2,288½ adults) being 711 souls (equal to 557½ adults) less than the number of entitled Indians who went last year.

The cash and jewellery taken to India by returning Indians amounts to £31,591 and £11,987 respectively—a total of £43,578, showing £782 less cash than last year, but an increase of £912 in jewellery.

The general average is £16 16s. for each man and woman.

The special average is, sick ..	£4 1 7
Entitled ..	£17 12 11
Relief Act ..	£13 19 8

The average for the sick shows an increase of 13s. 8d. each, while the entitled show a decrease of £1 7s. 10d. each man, and the Indians under the Relief Act a decrease of £2 10s. 7d.

The cost of returning the above 2,288 adults to India was £16,425 16s., which includes collection and accommodation at the Durban Depot, passage money, salaries and gratuities of medical staff, both at Madras and Durban clothing, tinware, receiving and sending to their homes, and other expenses.

FEUDATORY INDIA.

Technical Scholarships in Travancore.

In Travancore a system of foreign scholarships to enable youngmen to be trained in foreign countries for industrial, technical and commercial pursuits was inaugurated in August 1916. In accordance with this system it is offering this year six scholarships, four of which will be tenable for two years each in England and the other two for a like period in India. The foreign scholarships are for students who will specialise in (1) weaving and dyeing, (2) chemical industry, (3) soap-making, and (4) leather and tanning. The scholarships are of the annual value of £150, exclusive of passage money and college tuition fees. The two other scholarships will be worth Rs. 50 each, exclusive of tuition or college fees. These are tenable in India and will be awarded to students who will specialise in wood distillation and manufacture of shellac, sealing wax, etc.

The Gwalior State Trust, Ltd.

His Highness the Maharaja Scindia has recently announced the formation of a new enterprise known as the "Gwalior State Trust, Limited." The objects for which the company is established are:—(1) To assist in every way possible the development of industry and commerce in the Gwalior State. (2) To render financial or any other assistance in commercial enterprises and in the creating of new manufactures and in the fostering and development of industries already in existence in the Gwalior State and (3) to encourage and foster in the Gwalior State the increased use of up-to-date machinery in agriculture and similar industries hitherto dependant on manual labour.

Soap Industry in Baroda.

An attempt is being made by the Baroda Durbar to develop the soap and oil industries in the State. With a view to assist the development of these industries, the Durbar has appointed Mr. J. Chakrabaty, F.C.S., Technical Chemist of the University of Paris, as expert adviser. Mr. Chakrabaty has for about five years been the Managing Director and Chemist of the Oriental Soap Factory at Calcutta, and in 1915 was engaged by the Mysore State to investigate the possibilities of the soap industry in that State. His experiments proved successful, as a result of which the Mysore State started a soap factory at Bangalore.

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War and Mysore Industry.

A striking instance of the development of an Indian industry as the direct result of the war is found in the Mysore State. Prior to the outbreak of hostilities, the State derived a considerable revenue from sandalwood which was disposed of at periodical sales, principally for shipment to Germany. With the advent of war, buyers failed to appear at the sale and Mr. Alfred Chatterton, Director of Industries and Commerce, accordingly sought the assistance of the chemists of the Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore, with a view to establishing a sandalwood oil industry in Mysore and thus utilising the raw material formerly shipped to Germany. As the outcome of the experiments made in the laboratory at Bangalore, it was found practicable to inaugurate such an industry, and within a brief period, the work was so greatly extended that the manufacture of the oil is now yielding a monthly revenue of Rs. 1½ lakhs. The co-operation of the Institute of Science was essential to this development and the profits derived from the industry within a single year, it is said, will almost equal the whole amount so far expended on the Institute. The value of a well-equipped scientific institution is forcibly illustrated in this case. Sandalwood, which was formerly exported for the manufacture of oil, is now profitably treated in India and the loss of the German manufacturers means a corresponding gain to an enterprising Indian State.

New Industry in Hyderabad.

Great progress, we are told, has been made in Hyderabad in making motor spirit from the mahua. The tree abounds in the State and the authorities gather about 25,000 tons of its flowers every year. Some 10,000 tons are used for liquor, leaving a balance of 15,000 tons which are at present on the market. Mr. G. B. C. Wakefield, the Director-General of Revenue, says:—"We have run several kinds of motor cars successfully for some time on a spirit prepared from mahua at half the cost of petrol. Annual consumption of petrol in Hyderabad and Secunderabad is about 100,000 gallons and we require only about 1,500 tons of mahua to make that quantity." Mr. Wakefield adds: "A cheap motor spirit spells great reduction in the working charges of railways, water pumps, motor cars, in fact every description of power engine."

Idudukottah Co-operative Conference.

The first Co-operative Conference was held in the Secondary School premises at Alangudi on March 23, with Mr. Sidney Burn, I.C.S., State Superintendent, in the chair. Eighteen resolutions were discussed and passed.

One resolution wanted the Durbar to permit the co-operative societies to undertake tank repairs and other public works. Before putting it to vote, Mr. Burn observed that when he was the President of the Trivandrum Taluq Board it was his experience that the people of the place adjoining Trivandrum did successfully, and at less cost, some works on a co-operative basis, so much so that he thought that these should be done more extensively by such means. The resolution was carried. In declaring the Conference dissolved, Mr. Burn observed that the subject of a State Bank was a fascinating one, and that it was stupid to send their money outside. He said that the question could not be decided in a moment, but required careful consideration. He assured them, however, of course, without detriment to his official consideration, that the Durbar was always willing to help the people.

The Maharajah of Bikanir.

In his speech on the occasion of receiving the freedom of Edinburgh on April 12, H. H. the Maharajah of Bikanir said he regarded it, not as a personal tribute, but a generous recognition of the unique position in the Empire of the Indian Princes and of the services which along with their fellow countrymen it had been their proud privilege to perform for their beloved Emperor and for the Empire. He paid a tribute to the great part which Scotsmen had played in India, where they had exhibited that sterling honesty and grip, as well as the intellectual and physical gifts distinguishing the nation. He was greatly impressed by the close resemblance in so many things between Scotsmen and Rajputs. They from India appreciated very greatly the generous, sympathetic and patient handling of Indian needs and sentiments, not only by the Imperial Government, but also by the Ministers of the Oversea Dominions, whose warm welcome and sympathy they would never forget. He was convinced that one result of the Imperial gathering would be the definite and permanent strengthening of Imperial ties.

Responding, when the degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred upon him, His Highness said that India would be deeply grateful to the Edinburgh University for its generous hospitality and the kindness extended to her student sons.

Mysore Military Forces on War Duty.

In the course of the Report of the Mysore Military Forces for 1915-16 it is stated that the Imperial Service Regiment remained in the field throughout the year, and was employed on the important duty of guarding the Suez Canal. The Lancers had encounters with the enemy on three occasions, and acquitted themselves creditably. The British Government recognised the good services rendered by the officers of the Lancers, including Colonel Desraj Urs, who was mentioned in General Wilson's despatch, Mr. B. Chammraj Urs, who was promoted to the First Class Order of British India with the title of Sardar Bahadur, Jamadar Lingaraj Urs, who was admitted to the Indian Order of Merit, and four other officers who were awarded Distinguished Service Medals.

Progress in Cochin.

An instance of the progressive spirit of administration in certain Indian States, says the *Commonweal*, is furnished by the Cochin Durbar. While leave was refused by the Madras Government for the introduction of a non-official Panchayat Bill in the local Legislative Council, the Cochin Durbar, satisfied with the successful way in which the Village Panchayats have so far exercised their powers, have now invested them with the additional powers of trying petty civil cases—a good recognition of successful administration by Panchayats. The Cochin Panchayats, it may be stated, had till now control over rural sanitation, agriculture and roads. We hope the Madras Government will not say that the villagers in Cochin State are more enlightened and more progressive than those under their direct charge.

H. H. The Maharaja of Travancore.

A largely attended public meeting was held in the Victoria Jubilee Town Hall, at Trivandrum, recently, to concert measures for celebrating the *shashthiparthi*, or sixtieth birthday anniversary of H. H. the Maharaja of Travancore. The meeting was attended by all classes of people, including European residents in the station. His Highness has been on the *musnad* for the past 32 years, but only one previous Maharaja has celebrated his *shashthiparthi* in the history of the State. Dewan Bahadur M. Krishnan Nair, the Dewan, presided, and after several speeches, resolutions were passed for the celebration of this auspicious event in a fitting manner; also for raising a permanent memorial. The total amount subscribed was over Rs. 10,000.

INDUSTRIAL & COMMERCIAL SECTION.

Lord Willingdon on the future of Trade.

His Excellency Lord Willingdon, in the course of a long and interesting speech at Bombay on March 22, thanked all organisations in the city connected with trade and commerce for their cordial and thorough co-operation with the Government during the war and the great assistance they had given in many difficult questions, and said:—"A few weeks ago General Knight informed me that he had received communications from certain business firms suggesting that they might be willing to give position in their firms to suitable officers of the army or navy who, while incapacitated by wounds from further military service, were otherwise in good health and anxious to secure employment in civil life. I thought this matter sufficiently important to write to the Secretary of State and he a few days ago cabled to me cordially approving of the idea and suggesting that he should appoint a committee at the India Office which might deal with any applications which might be sent. Might I invite you, gentlemen, to consider whether there is possibility of developing this suggestion and further, if in the event of your viewing it with favour, you could form a committee out of your members and deal direct with the committee to be appointed by the Secretary of State." . . . "If we consider the possibilities of our trade and commerce after the war, I think the outlook is very bright indeed. We are already supplying, notwithstanding the difficulty of freightage, Egypt and the Mediterranean with our natural products to an extent hitherto unknown and when a stable and settled administration exists in Mesopotamia and in that great tract of country which has hitherto been known as German East Africa, I think, I may say without undue optimism that this city and presidency are peculiarly well-situated for developing a large and profitable trade between ourselves and those countries. I think there is good reason for confidence in the future. There is one note of warning I would wish to strike, one question I would like to ask the members of your Chamber to-day. Are we looking ahead far enough to prepare for all possible emergencies, are we organising satisfactorily all our forces here so as to make our position secure for future years?"

Tanning, Pottery and Paper.

At the last sitting of the Industrial commission in Calcutta, Mr. R. P. Adams, Chief Inspector of Factories, Bengal, stated in his evidence:—

There are at present only about five tanneries in Bengal, all of which are small and of little importance. There appears to be no doubt that the tanning industry is one which could be very largely and profitably developed. The money that is now spent in the preparation of skins for shipment abroad would, to a great extent, be saved as such preparation would be unnecessary if the skins were tanned in India and this would, moreover, have the desirable effect of taking the trade out of the hands of foreigners. In developing this industry it would be necessary to employ a large staff of trained European experts.

I have on various occasions visited the Calcutta Pottery Works and am convinced that this is an industry which admits of development. There is a large demand in India for porcelain insulators for electrical purposes. This demand has hitherto been met by importing these articles, but I do not see why there should be any difficulty in manufacturing them in pottery works in India.

The manufacture of paper in India, at present, has to depend almost entirely on raw materials such as wood pulp, caustic soda, bleaching powder, sulphate of ammonia, white clay, etc., which have mostly to be imported from Scandinavia and other parts of the Continent. Paper mills have experienced of some difficulty since the outbreak of war in obtaining these materials and high prices are having to be paid. Almost all these raw materials could be manufactured in India. As regards wood pulp, which is required in large quantities, experiments have already been carried out on a small scale by the Tittaghar Paper Mills Company and it has been demonstrated that bamboo, which is obtainable in large quantities in India and Burma, can be successfully converted into pulp suitable for the manufacture of paper. The only difficulty seems to have been the capital required to lay down a plant large enough to turn out the raw material in paying quantities.

Indians in Railway Service.

Replying to the Hon. Mr. D. E. Wacha's question at a recent meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council re employment of Indians in the higher branches of the railway service, Sir Robert Galloway said:—The policy of Government is definitely to increase the number of Indians in the higher branches of the railway service on State worked lines. This is shown by recent recruitments for the traffic department and the general statistics of Indians employed. The Great Indian Peninsula Railway invited applications from Indian gentlemen for appointments in the superior grade of the traffic department. The East Indian Railway also have submitted proposals to the Railway Board for the training of Indians to qualify them for appointment as officers in the locomotive department—a branch of work which Indians have hitherto not taken up.

Co-operation in the Central Provinces.

The total population of the Central Provinces and Berar is 14 millions. Out of these 14 millions 70,000 are members of co-operative societies, and on their behalf the Provincial Co-operative Bank has contributed, as a first instalment only, Rs. four lakhs to the Indian War Loan. The principal co-operative bank has already contributed largely to the British War Loan, and its total War Loan holdings spread out over the 70,000 enrolled members average exactly Rs. 7-12 per head. If the balance of the provincial population make as good an effort as the members of the co-operative societies have done, says a contemporary, we may expect from the Central Provinces and Berar a total contribution of between Rs. 10 crores and Rs. 11 crores towards the War Loan.

Trade between Russia and India.

It is interesting to note, says the *Indian Engineer*, that while India has sent her trade commissioners to Russia to study the prospects of trade between India and Russia after the war, Mr. Kadomtzeff, the Russian Consul in Ceylon, has recently been on a business trip to India to enquire into the prospects of trade between India and Russia. He visited Madras, Calcutta, Karachi, Bombay and other large commercial centres, and is apparently satisfied with the results of his trip. In the course of an interview with a representative of the *Times of Ceylon* he stated that it is calculated that before the war something like a hundred thousand tons of cargo used to be sent every year to Russia via Germany and Austria, and the war will have done something if in future the trade is carried on direct.

Imperial Preference.

The Committee of the Indian Merchants' Chamber recently sent a representation to the Secretary, Commerce and Industry Department, Government of India, stating that India should receive preferential treatment in Colonies like South Africa, with which she had been able to do large business recently. She imported practically at a nominal rate of duty goods from all the Colonies, including South Africa, and it was but fair she should get preferential treatment from them. The reply from the Commerce and Industry Department was to the effect that the question of the financial relations between India and South Africa was considered in 1903, when it was stated that the policy of the Government of India precluded the offer of any corresponding concessions to South African produce imported into India. As the Government of India were not thus in a position to treat with the South African Colonies on this basis, negotiations were allowed to drop. The general question of trade relations between different portions of the Empire would come under consideration in connection with the questions of the commercial policy to be adopted after the war, and the Government of India considered that it would be premature to make any further statement at present.

India in the Commons.

In the Commons Sir J. D. Rees emphasised the seriousness to India of the prohibition of the import of coffee into the United Kingdom, and urged the Imperial Government to allow the import of the Indian coffee crop by license.

Mr. Chamberlain replied that he was communicating with the Board of Trade on the subject. Mr. Chamberlain said that the Indian Government was considering the recommendations of the Committee regarding the granting of the same rate of exchange for rupees into krans to troops in Persia as to the Indo-European Telegraph officers in Persia. The decision would be reached as soon as possible.

New Process of Paper Manufacture.

In the manufacture of paper pulp by the sulphite process, more than 50 per cent. of the original weight of the wood is waste. A new process of R. W. Strehlenert, a Swedish engineer, utilizes this residue for a coal of high heating value. An experimental coal making plant is to have an initial capacity of 6,000 tons a year. As the total pulp production of Sweden and Norway is about 1,000,000 tons a year, the new industry may save a good supply of raw material.

Indian War Loan Lottery in Bombay

The Government has permitted the Western India Turf Club to hold a lottery for the benefit of the War Loan, and the Club have organised one on a large scale. Particulars are given in an advertisement. The tickets will be Rs. 10 each and unlimited in number, and if half a crore of rupees is subscribed the first prize will be Rs. ten lakhs, while if the total is over half a crore, it will be more. The second prize will be half as much as the first and the third prize half as much as the second. The total number of prizes will be 1,000, and all the money will be divided among them, except 5 per cent. which will be deducted for expenses, any surplus after paying these going to the Bombay Presidency War and Relief Fund. The prizes will be payable in 5½ per cent. War Loan Bonds, repayable in 1920. Tickets will be obtainable at the head offices of the Turf Club, Town Hall, Bombay, and at branch offices of the Club, and at all the branches of nearly all the big banks and banking agents in India. The lottery will open on the 16th instant and close on the 14th June.

British Trade during War.

The *New York Tribune* expresses surprise and admiration that British exports during 1916 reached the total value of \$2,460,000,000, while Great Britain was carrying on a war costing \$25,000,000 daily and lending her Allies \$2,000,000. Only once before have these exports been exceeded, and that was in 1913 when they were eight million pounds larger. There has been an increase in the exports of both woollen and cotton textiles, while steel and iron exports were 20 per cent. greater in the year just closed than in 1915, despite munition work at home and submarines at sea.

Cloth Substitutes.

It is stated in the *Canadian Textile Journal* that the Teutonic powers have developed a somewhat unique fabric used for great coats and the heavier clothing materials. The yarn for these goods is made from narrow strips of kraft paper. These strips of paper are given a surface of adhesive glue on which is blown wool flax or short shoddy stock. This paper is then spun and the yarn is used for the body of the cloth. This material should be warm, but its wearing qualities in wet or murky weather are doubtful. On the other hand, a mixture of these yarns with jute or linen yarns should make a very serviceable material.

Joint Stock Companies in India.

Thirty joint stock companies with an aggregate authorised capital of Rs. 2,48,12,000 were incorporated in British India and registered in the month of January 1917. These included three banking and loan companies, one printing, publishing and stationary company, four trading companies other than those specified above, two cotton mill companies, two jute mill companies, one cotton and jute screws and presses company, one flour mill company, one saw mill company, eight tea planting companies, five coal mining companies, one land and building company, one company other than those specified above. Of these 30 companies 22 were registered in Bengal, five in Bombay and three in Madras.

Co-operative Movement in Bombay.

The Bombay Government in the annual report of the working of co-operative societies, in the Bombay Presidency during the year 1915-16, record further progress in the development of the movement. During the year 147 new societies were formed. The total number of societies stood at 963 with 104,924 members on the roll and a total capital of nearly Rs. 97 lakhs. The increase over the figure of the previous year is 24 per cent. in membership and 19 per cent. in capital compared with increases of 27 per cent. and 23 per cent. respectively in 1914-15.

The Bengal Coal Industry.

The entire output of certain of the most important first class seams in the Bengal fields has been already requisitioned by the Government for naval and military purposes and it is possible all first class Bengal coal may soon be similarly taken up. The position which has thus been created is one regarded with some anxiety both by the suppliers and the consumers of coal. Unfortunately a recent increase in naval and military requirements has coincided with a very serious reduction in the output. It may be difficult, the committee fear, for an adequate supply of all coal for industrial purposes to be procured and they have brought this probability prominently to the attention of the Government of India. They have also since suggested the best solution will be for the Government to extend their powers of State-control to all collieries in the Bengal fields. Such an extension of the existing system would, it is anticipated, go far to improve the present situation, for it would ensure the coal remaining, after the needs of the army and navy had been met, being utilised most advantageously in the general interest:—*Indian and the Eastern Engineering.*

Fiscal Autonomy.

Rao Bahadur P. Theagaraya Chettiar, in the course of an address at the Madras South Indian Chamber of Commerce, observed on March 31:—

A policy of absolute free-trade will not advance the best interests of this country, with our industrial backwardness and economic dependence on the one hand, and the special measures which other countries are taking to safeguard and advance their trade and industries on the other. We have affirmed that unless the Government of India with a single aim to secure the expansion and development of Indian manufactures and to extend Indian trade in foreign countries, are at liberty to bargain for the best terms in the markets of the world and with the Governments of other countries, even as the Governments of the Self-Governing Dominions are doing at present, it is idle to expect Indian commercial problems to be solved to the real advantage of India and Indian interests. In short, what we have asked for, and what is an imperative necessity, is the freedom to settle our own commercial, industrial and economic questions, in our interests, without any subordination of such interests to those of any others. We recognise that we are a part of the Empire but we are doubtless as much a unit of the Empire as any of the Self-Governing Dominions. Into the details of this policy, and as to how best it should be worked out, we shall enter on a future occasion. The commercial exploitation of India by others than Indians must cease; the industrial and fiscal freedom of India must be firmly established; and the economic independence of India must be ensured. Not until then will India materially prosper? As it is, we are under foreign domination in respect of banking organisations for the financing of internal and external trade. Even institutions under Government control are indifferent to Indian interests. We are under even greater domination of a like character in respect of shipping and navigation, not to speak of the poor part the Indian railways under State control are playing in the encouragement of Indian industries and manufactures. Industrial and commercial education, is conspicuous by its absence. In these and other respects a great deal of constructive work will have to be undertaken immediately. May we look forward to the Government and the people moving as one in these and other matters, with the common aim and common endeavour to advance the moral and material prosperity of this country.

Jute Industry.

Recent trade returns suggest that the manufactured jute industry has suffered little if at all up to the present from the trade depression caused by the exchange crisis. Only in three months in the history of the mills has the number of gunny bags exported exceeded the total reached in January, 1917. Tonnage or no tonnage and Council Bills or no Council Bills, the enormous total of 85 million bags—20 million sacking and 65 million hessian—was sent away. August, 1916, with 86 million bags, December, 1915, with 88½ million, and October, 1915, with 91 million are the only months in which the total has ever been larger. The exports of gunny cloth tell a like tale. The figure of 120,000,000 yards has only thrice been exceeded—in July, 1915, and in August and November 1916—and in each case by small amounts. The month of August, 1916, was very nearly a record in both departments and the value of manufactured jute goods exported, reached the total of Rs. 482 lakhs. That month apart, January 1917, with its total value of Rs. 362 lakhs (£2,400,000) will easily bear comparison with the best that has preceded it.—“Statesman.”

New Weights and Measures.

Sir Guilford L. Molesworth, speaking at a meeting of the East India Association at Caxton Hall recently, said that the condition of the weights, measures, and money in India was a disgrace to civilisation. That the introduction of the decimal system in India would be a great success was shown by the experience of Ceylon, where it was introduced in 1871. There was a growing feeling in favour of the metric system in India, and it only awaited the adhesion of Great Britain to become the universal system of the world.

Trade with Russia.

By virtue of the decision taken by the Council of Ministers on the 20th October 1916, the import into Russian Empire of articles of luxury is prohibited from the 14th February 1917. Exemption is made in the case of goods being imported (1) on behalf of the Government, (2) for duly proved needs of national defence and (3) by special permission granted by ministers of trade and finance and by the Senate and the Governor-General in the case of imports into Finland. The Russian Consulate will give information to firms and persons interested, regarding the specification of articles the import of which is prohibited by the aforementioned order.

AGRICULTURAL SECTION.

Cottage Industries in Bengal.

One thing is certain, observes the *Madras Mail*, and that is that under Lord Ronaldshay's administration, the movement to support and encourage local and cottage industries, which Lord and Lady Carmichael encouraged and with which Lady Carmichael was specially connected will not suffer. H. E. Lord Ronaldshay, replying to the address of welcome presented by the Mahajana Sabha, deplored the tendency of indigenous industries to decay when brought into contact and competition with machine-made goods. He saw no reason why the two should not flourish side by side, especially in view of the fact that it was in the product of the home industries that the artistic genius of the people found its natural expression. Unfortunately for this artistic genius and its expression, it has very little chance when the poor labourer whose expenditure on clothes for instance is limited to the price of a single cloth a year, has to decide between the comparative advantages of a machine-made article and one that is indigenous and hand made, when the price of the former is less than half that of the other.

Canal Irrigation in the United Provinces.

The following is a summary of the lecture delivered by Prof. H. Stanley Jevons, M. A., F.R.S., on Monday, March 12, at Allahabad:—

Wherever irrigation has been long introduced, the character of the agriculture changes in many respects. There is generally a disappearance of the habits of careful cultivation and use of water which may be observed in tracts irrigated from wells. There has been a great increase of outturn; and on this account, and because of the greater security of the harvests, the total annual value of agricultural produce has increased enormously in every district where irrigation has been introduced for some 15 or 20 years. It takes a considerable time for the cultivators to learn the proper use of canal water and to adapt their crops and methods of rotation, manuring, etc., to it.

The extent of the benefit which the population derives from the introduction of canal irrigation depends very much upon what transport facilities are available. In a district well-provided with railways and with metalled roads, leading directly to the railway stations, the cultivators have the opportunity of marketing commercial crops, and consequently they gradually learn to grow money making crops, maintaining themselves chiefly on the *kharij* crops.

The conditions in the Punjab Canal Colonies are entirely different from those where irrigation has been introduced into districts already populated. In the Colonies the land is blocked out into squares of about 27 acres, each of which forms a compact holding, and this was the original size of holding given to most of the peasant grantees, who for example form 78 per cent. of the settlers in the Lower Chenab Colony. The average size of a tenant holding is showing a regrettable tendency to diminution owing to the operation of the law of equal division of estates on inheritance. This, if not checked, must arrest the present upward tendency of the standard of living of the population and probably ultimately reduce it. There are only two ways of preventing this: (1) by enacting a law of primogeniture and a minimum size of holdings for which rent could be recovered from such tenants as are mainly dependent on agriculture for their livelihood, or (2) by the diffusion of education in the villages. The first course would be very difficult politically. To render the latter effective, however, communications should be greatly improved first, the main roads being metalled and some new roads being made connecting all the larger villages with market towns which can be made also centres of cultural influence.

Pine apples.

The yield of pine apples per acre varies according to the system of cultivation and the fertility of the soil. When closely planted, or when a large number of suckers are allowed to develop, the fruits are numerous, but usually of small size. As far as I am aware, there are no plantations in this country devoted solely to the cultivation of pine apples which are usually grown in mango groves, and no particular care is taken regarding the cultivation of the plant or its after-cultivation. Consequently, the fruit sold in our stalls are small. But in other countries where great care is bestowed to the cultivation of the plant, the fruits are usually of large size and highly flavoured. The yield varies from 6,000 to 15,000 fruits an acre. When the fruit is intended for export, it is graded according to the degree of excellence and according to size. From the salesman's point of view, it is preferable that the fruit should be packed too green rather than too ripe, for in the latter case they deteriorate during a long journey and the delays incidental to their transfer from the grower to the retailer.—*New India*.

The Fig.

The lifetime of this tree is said to be between 12 to 15 years and during the period of existence it bears, provided manuring, etc., are done properly. It gives two crops one in July—September and another in February—May but stray fruits can be had at all times of the year. The fruit takes two months to ripen. From careful enquiries made, it has been ascertained that a well-cared for young tree can give as many as 500 fruits in a year. It is only trees between three to ten years, that bear well and as the tree grows older, the produce diminishes; but there are exceptions to this rule. Instances are not wanting in which young trees in good condition do not bear well; though this is attributed to the ill luck of the gardener, yet the fact of the matter appears to be the absence of beetles which play an important part in fertilization. Though some people compute the crop at 8 tons of fruit per acre of 300 trees, yet I am led to think that it will not exceed 3 tons or 4 tons at the highest.

There are in this Presidency, extensive tracts of good red soil with watering facilities in cool places like Hosur, Krishnagiri, Coimbatore, and these areas can be more profitably cultivated with figs which is highly paying. As this plant has been found to thrive in plains also, like the Chingleput district, the scope for its cultivation seems enormous. The fig being a food by itself, its cultivation would add greatly to the food supply of the country.—*New India*.

Conference of Agriculturists.

A Conference of agriculturists attended by over 8,000 representative delegates from Gujarat and Kathiawar was held at Junagad under the presidency of Mr. M. C. Patel, B.A. LL. B., Barrister-at-Law, in February last, and passed some very important resolutions affecting the interests of the agriculturists. They related to (1) the giving back to the agriculturists the proprietary rights over land, (2) the permanent settlement of the revenue, (3) check over the over-increasing assessment, (4) Advisory Council of Agriculturists to keep the assessment authorities in coming to right decisions, (5) the necessity of free and compulsory agricultural education, (6) the beginning of such education to be made by the village Panchayats, (7) freedom to the agriculturist to possess arms, (8) the starting of village Panchayats and co-operative societies, (9) facilities to the agriculturists by the Railway Companies, (10) irrigation, canals, heavy securities, cow-killing, and (11) the discontinuance of child-marriage.

Farms and Enclosures.

To the American, the word farm calls to mind a single enclosed piece of land adequate in area to support a family, in other words, a consolidated "economic holding." It is doubtful if the corresponding word elsewhere, in the world, calls a similar picture to the mind of most human beings. . . . To the thoughtful, the word would call to mind almost insuperable obstacles in the way of good farming, because to reach the strips belonging to one man's farm it is necessary to cross strips belonging to other men's farms, and the work must proceed in common, making difficult, if not impossible, differentiation and improvement in culture. Enclosure means separating out these pieces of land and consolidating them as far as possible so that each man's holdings may consist of two or three separate pieces, the ideal of a single consolidated holding being impossible of universal attainment.—*American Economic Review*.

Progress of Agriculture.

It must be recognised that any success which could be hoped for out of the Agricultural Department, observes the *Hindu*, must eventually depend mainly on the extent to which the Departmental officers are able to enlist the co-operation of the ryots. We need not go far for a concrete illustration of this statement. Marked progress has been achieved in the Central Provinces in the last few years, and what the secret of this success is can be easily seen from the Report for 1915-16 on the Progress of Agriculture in India by Mr. J. McKenna, Agricultural Adviser to the Government of India. The most important and noticeable feature of the Central Provinces Department of Agriculture in the development of district work is, says Mr. McKenna, "the enlistment of an increasing amount of sympathy and co-operation with the leading agriculturist throughout the province."

Labour in the United Provinces.

The following is the Labour Bulletin of the United Provinces for February last: In the western districts there is reported to be a scarcity of labour, and even local demands are met with difficulty. In the eastern districts, which are the principal recruiting districts of the provinces for other parts of India, labourers are finding ample employment locally, and, as the prospects of the coming harvest are unusually favourable, there is little likelihood of their seeking work elsewhere.

Literary.

THE HINDU IDEA OF ART AND BEAUTY.

Speaking on Hindu Art, before the *Société Internationale de Philologie*, on Friday, Mr. Harendranath Maitra said that, due to a difference in the evolution of the two great world civilisations—that of Greece, from which the civilisation of modern Europe was descended, and the Hindu civilisation—the Indian and European temperaments were to-day different, and this difference showed itself in their respective attitudes towards art and beauty. According to Indian philosophy, beauty was not objective, but subjective. It was not inherent in form and matter, but belonged only to the spirit, and could only be apprehended by spiritual vision. There was no beauty in a flower or tree, in man or woman, as such. All these were fitted to fulfil their parts in the cosmos; yet their beauty did not lie in this fitness, but in the divine idea impressed upon those human minds that were turned to receive it. The more perfectly that minds were tuned to the divine harmony the more clearly was beauty perceived, and the more capable did they become as artists of revealing it to others. Beauty belonged to the human mind; there was neither ugliness nor beauty in matter alone, and for an art student to devote himself wholly to studying form or matter with the idea of extracting beauty therefrom was as vain as to cut open a drum to see whence came the sound. Even the ordinary artist of India tried to conceive the whole spirit of Indian thought as symbolised in the conception of Buddha sitting on the lotus throne—calm, impassive, his thoughts freed from all worldly passions and desires, his mind and body raised above all intellectual and physical strife, filled with more than human power and compassion derived from perfect communion with the source of all truth, all knowledge, and all strength.

THE NEW ERA.

We have received the first three issues of the *New Era*, a sprightly weekly journal started at Lucknow and edited by Mr. Gulam Husain. In view of the recent awakening among the Mahomedan community to the progressive needs of the time, there is surely need for such an addition to Muslim journalism. We understand that our contemporary comes into existence after depositing a security of Rs. 1,500 but says the journal "we are fortified by our resolutions not to swerve an hair's breadth from the path of duty to our country and our sovereign."

MISSIONARY TEACHINGS.

Miss Macmillan, lecturing in Edinburgh, complained of the false impressions spread about the country by Christian Missionaries. She remarked:

If one compared the Hinduism, Muhammadanism, and Buddhism that the best scholars praised and admired with those written about in Sunday school magazines by some missionaries, one could not but be surprised at the contrast. It was as if some one came to Edinburgh, and, for a description of it, told all about its slums, prison, crimes, and vices. It was quite a task correcting such manifold false impressions.

Many Christian missionaries admitted there was something valuable in religions other than their own, but they described these elements as "Christian." Considering that these other religions, except Muhammadanism, were older than and prior to Christianity, why should the missionaries not be fair and speak of the Hindu or Buddhist elements in Christianity?

WILLIAM DE MORGAN.

We have lost one of the sturdiest and most industrious of our literary veterans says a writer in *Bookseller*. Even those to whom Mr. William de Morgan's laborious and carefully-finished work as a novelist made no special appeal could not withhold their tribute of admiration from a man of versatile gifts who, at the age of sixty-seven, turned from another art in which he had gained reputation to win fresh distinction as a writer of fiction. It may be that Mr. de Morgan would have achieved a still wider popularity in his later career if it had not been for his curious and incorrigible mania for spinning out his novels to inordinate length. For him it was written in vain that "Man wants but little here below, nor wants that little long;" and he is even said to have cherished the ambition of writing a novel with many more words in it than any of those which had already made his name something of a terror to readers with limited leisure or patience. Still, for all that, he was a true literary artist, and well deserved the substantial measure of success as a novelist which he won in his old age, and securely maintained until his death.

THE NEED FOR THINKING.

Dan Griffiths writes in the *Socialist Review*: The social problem, including the problem of war, is psychological as well as political and economic; it is the reflex of the "mind" of the people; it is due to bad feeling and bad thinking. The real problem is how to provoke thought.

Educational.

INDIAN EDUCATION.

Indian leaders as well as the Indian public, observes the *Hindu* of Madras, have often come in for a good deal of adverse criticism for their advocacy of the more urgent claims of education on public funds than of some other objects of expenditure. A reference to the detailed memorandum on Sir William Meyer's Budget will, however, show how greatly public criticisms have been justified. We notice from this document that only £3,623,400 has been set apart for expenditure on education out of a total revenue of £98,870,800. Prussia, on the other hand, spends an eighth of her budget on education, while poor Serbia, considered to be a most backward country, allots a fifteenth of her total revenue. What is spent on the whole of India is much less than what is spent by the single city of London, which comes to nearly £5,000,000. It cannot be contended that it is the war that has brought about this state of affairs; for in pre-war years the amount allotted to education was considerably less than that allotted now. Surely, this is a sufficient commentary on the enthusiasm of Government towards the cause of education in this country.

EDUCATION AND LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT.

The Municipality of Kumbakonam supports four schools for boys and two for girls, levying no fees. In its Budget for 1917-18 an additional boys' school is provided for, but the Government refuse sanction to the non-levy of fees. Why should a seventh school be handicapped by fees, when the representatives of the ratepayers are prepared to support it, and why should Government interfere with the discretion of the Municipality? Municipalities are blamed for inefficiency, says *New India*, but what can men do, who are liable to constant interference.

THE VICE-CHANCELLOR OF THE BOMBAY UNIVERSITY.

Mr. Chimanlal H. Setalvad has been appointed Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bombay in succession to the Rev. Dr. Mackichan who left for Scotland to preside at the General Assembly of the United Free Church of Scotland. We Congratulate Mr. Setalvad on a successful term of office.

SCHOLARSHIPS FOR GIRLS.

During the last few years the Bombay Government have inaugurated the policy of paying small scholarships, of the value of Rs. 2 and Rs. 3, to girl students in primary schools, with the object of inducing them to stay a longer time at school and of preparing them for the training colleges. It has been found that this system of scholarships has tended to create a healthy competition for regularity of attendance and better progress. No pressure is placed upon the girls to make them either become teachers or attend training colleges, but it is anticipated that as the number of girls completing the higher standards increases, there is a greater likelihood of some of them voluntarily coming forward to be trained as teachers. It has now been decided that the scholarships should be tenable in any of the standards from the 4th to the 7th and that their value should, in special cases, be raised to Rs. 4. These scholarships are not confined to girls' schools, of which only a very limited number teach beyond the fourth standard, but may be held by girls attending boys' schools also.—*Times of India*.

MOSLEM CULTURE.

The sixteenth session of the Nadwat-ul Ulema was held in Madras recently, Maulvi Syed Shah Sulaman Sahib Phulwair of Patna, presiding. Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim, in his address as Chairman of the Reception Committee, said that the aim of the Ulema was to stimulate and develop the spiritual energy of Islam in the Mussalmans of this country. He also said that they ought to have in each presidency at least one Madrasa, where the highest teaching in Theology and Muslim History would be available and researches carried on in arts and sciences developed by Arabs in Arabia, Spain, and Africa, and in India by the Persians and Moghuls. He appealed to his co-religionists to take a more active part than they have hitherto done in the amelioration of the submerged classes and other philanthropic movements.

HOSTEL ARRANGEMENT.

On the 24th ultimo the new hostel at Jay Narayan's School, Benares, was opened by H. H. the Maharaja of Benares. The hostel is a three-sided building, facing the school, with accommodation for seventy-two boys, and quarters in the centre for the Principal, who will act as warden. A large number of guests were present. A brief history was given of the school and its work since its foundation in 1818 by Maharaja Jay Narayan Ghosal, who entrusted it to the Church Missionary Society.

Legal.

WOMEN SOLICITORS.

Some curious observations were made about the fitness of women to practice as solicitors at the second reading of the Solicitors (Qualification of Women) Bill in the House of Lords. Lord Buckmaster, who moved the second reading of the Bill, recalled the time when 'a woman sat on the Woolsack, but, possibly through lack of legal training, she administered such a wholly unprecedented form of justice that it was said, the city of London rose in meeting against her.' The Lord Chancellor thought that the active practice of a profession was not compatible with the proper work of women as mothers and in attending to their families. The Earl of Halsbury observed that it was true that a woman had sat on the Woolsack 'but she had to adjourn the proceedings to become the mother of Edward I.' Lord Sumner and the Earls of Selborne and Loreburn supported the motion. It is interesting to notice that in several other countries, such as France, a very considerable part of the United States, in Norway and Sweden, and within the British Empire itself in parts of Australia, New Zealand and Canada, women are allowed to practice as solicitors, without any catastrophe resulting therefrom.

A LAWYER'S REMINISCENCES.

In the course of his interesting reminiscences in the new Calcutta illustrated weekly, the *Looker on*, Mr. Eardly Norton writes:—"So far back as I can go into the years of my infancy, I have never wished to be anything but what I am, a free-lance Barrister unfettered by official obligations and untied by judicial responsibilities. My father, John Bruce Norton, frequently took me as a boy of six to spend whole days in the Courts and corridors of the old Supreme Court in Madras. In the former I sat breathless at the clash of wit against wit and was wholly fascinated by the splendour of the Bench at Sessions and the picture of jurymen arrested by the eloquence of the Counsel who in my sight were giants. From the corridors I saw, and winced at the flogging of the prisoners on the triangles in the courtyard, a brutality soon after removed to the precincts of the jail. I retain very vivid recollections of parading before my mother's cheval glass arrayed in my father's gown and bands, passionately enforcing imaginary grievances of unrealised clients to shadowy juries."

LAWYERS IN THE NEW MINISTRY.

The number of lawyers in Mr. Lloyd George's Administration is larger than in Mr. Asquith's observes the *Law Journal*. This fact, so gratifying to the profession, seems to have escaped the attention of the acrimonious persons who were always complaining, that the legal element in the old Ministry was too large. Eight lawyers hold position of Cabinet rank in the new Administration, viz., Mr. Lloyd George, Sir Robert Finlay, Lord Milner, Sir Edward Carson, Sir George Cave, Lord Robert Cecil, Mr. Duke, and Sir F. E. Smith. In the old Ministry there were seven, Mr. Asquith, Lord Buckmaster, and Mr. McKenna have ceased to be Ministers of the Crown, while Mr. Lloyd George, Lord Robert Cecil, Mr. Duke, and Sir F. E. Smith, the other lawyers among Mr. Asquith's colleagues, remain. The four new lawyers in posts of Cabinet importance are Sir Robert Finlay, Sir Edward Carson, Sir George Cave and Lord Milner, who if not precisely a lawyer is, like Mr. McKenna, a 'lawyer-like person,' since he was called to the Bar at the Inner Temple, thirty-four years ago, and sought for some time to practise.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND.

The appointment of Lord Finlay as the Lord Chancellor of England, observes the *Patna Law Weekly*, will indeed be very gratifying to Indians. His Lordship, when he was at the Bar, commanded very extensive Indian practice in the Privy Council, and we may confidently hope that his Lordship's direct experience of Indian questions of Law will be of immense value and assistance to his colleagues in the decision of appeals from India. There cannot be now two opinions about the matter that the best Judge is he who has had also the best practice.

RECLAMATION OF CRIMINAL TRIBES.

A public meeting was held on March 22 at the Mission College Hall, Lahore, under the auspices of the Salvation Army, His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor presiding. Mrs. and Commissioner Booth Tucker gave a very interesting account of the work of the Army in reclamation of the criminal tribes in the Salvation Army settlements. Pandit Harikishen Kaul, who was recently in charge of the criminal tribes, also gave a glowing account of the self-sacrificing work done by the Army. His Honour spoke of his own experience of the criminal tribes when a young officer and said that the Government had reserved 10,000 acres in the new colonies for their settlement.

Medical.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S TRIBUTE TO I.M.S.

Presiding at a meeting of the Indian section of the Society of Arts, in London, on March 28 at which Sir Havelock Charles read a paper by Surgeon-General Sir Pardey Lukis on Opportunities for Original Research in Medicine in India, Mr. Chamberlain said that the medical services in India had given freely of their best in the War. He paid a tribute to the admirable work, remarkable energy and progress of Sir Pardey Lukis while Director-General of the Indian Medical Service, and also to the great impartiality and ability with which Sir Havelock Charles had discharged his often difficult and disagreeable work at the India Office. Mr. Chamberlain said he was convinced that nowhere in the Empire was there a large field than in India for research and fruitful experiment, and he appealed to the leaders of the medical profession in the United Kingdom to make themselves acquainted with the opportunities offered by India to spread that knowledge among their pupils and not to grudge India some of their best pupils.

INDIGENOUS MEDICAL INSTITUTIONS.

The Hon. Mir Asad Ali Khan, speaking at the Ayurvedic and Unani Tibbi Conference at Delhi, on March 17 pointed out:—

Great credit is due to the steady working of institutions, like the Ayurveda Mahamandala of Allahabad, the Delhi Ayurvedic and Unani Tibbi College, the Madras Ayurvedic College and the various Ayurvedic institutions at Mysore, Bombay, Satara, Poona, Gondal, Calcutta, Benares, Lahore and other places. The zeal, with which many a Kaviraj like Messrs. Gananath Sen, Jogendranath Sen and Bhushan Roy of Calcutta and Vaidyaratna Pandit Gopala Charlu of Madras and others are rushing forward the cause of Ayurveda is highly commendable and praiseworthy. In this very city, the fire of Unani and Ayurveda is ever burning by the ceaseless and untiring efforts of our venerable Hakim Ajmal Khan Sahab. The Government too is sympathetically disposed towards this cause, and I am hopeful that, after the War is over—and let us as dutiful and loyal subjects of His most Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor pray for the success of the British arms—it may possibly render aid to deserving institutions, and offer facilities for the free growth and development of the indigenous system.

THE TREATMENT OF LEPROSY.

Sir Malcolm Morris urged that the India Office should encourage the treatment of leprosy in India with a view to stamping it out. He stated that, when in India in 1914, he saw an English member of one of the services who had been terribly affected with leprosy, every trace of which had disappeared under Sir Leonard Roger's treatment.

BENGAL AYURVEDIC CONFERENCE.

The Bengal Provincial Ayurvedic Conference met on April 7 at Dacca under the presidency of Vaidyaratna Jogendranath Sen of Calcutta. About 320 delegates from different parts of Bengal attended the Conference. The President in the course of his address referred to the resolution moved by the Hon. Mir Asad Ali Khan in the Supreme Legislative Council to place Ayurvedic and Unani systems of medicines on a more scientific basis by educating the Kavirajas and Hakims in western anatomy, physiology and chemistry, and which resolution was under the consideration of the Local Governments. The President protested against the remark that western education was necessary to make Ayurvedic system scientific. He, however, suggested that Kavirajas should be trained in anatomy, physiology and chemistry according to Ayurvedic methods. In this connection Mr. F. W. Robertson, Additional Magistrate of Dacca, opened an exhibition of Ayurvedic medical herbs and plants. He said the aim of the exhibition was to propagate ancient Ayurvedic lore and he hoped it might be possible to open a nursery of Ayurvedic plants.

In this connection it is interesting to read in the *Social Service Quarterly* the following observations on the report of the Subathu Leprosy Asylum founded in 1868 and maintained by the well-known mission to Lepers. "The Asylum has two departments, one for Europeans and the other for Indians. The Punjab Government contribute an annual grant of Rs. 7,223 for the up-keep of the Asylum for Indians. At the end of year 1915-16, the number of the inmates in the Asylum was 106. The year under report was notable for the introduction of the treatment of leprosy by the hypodermic use of a Chaulmoogra oil mixture prepared at the Central Research Institute, Kasauli. Five patients have been receiving injections of the mixture regularly, and though the Superintendent expresses the hope that good results may follow and the patients may be able after two or three years to be discharged cured from the Asylum, he is careful enough to point out that the treatment is in the experimental stage.

Science.

LORD MONTAGU ON AVIATION.

Lord Montagu of Beaulieu, Inspector of Motor Vehicles for India, who has made a special study of problems connected with the mastery of the air, delivered a lecture at Bombay recently, in which he described the advance made in recent years by British and other inventors in aviation. Lord Montagu dwelt on the necessity of a fleet of seaplanes for the defence of India, and remarked that a wealthy citizen of Bombay could not demonstrate his patriotism in a more practical and useful manner than by devoting Rs. 1,50,000 for the purchase of a flight of seaplanes for the defence of the west coast. Lord Montagu repeated his prophecy that within ten years there would be established a mail and passenger service by aeroplane between India and Europe.

STAR MOTION.

The star with the greatest proper motion so far discovered is one in Ophiuchus, of magnitude 9.5, which is drifting northward 10 seconds a year—perhaps some hundreds of miles per second of time. This was lately revealed to Prof. Barnard on a comparison, with the Blink microscope, of a recent stellar photograph and one made 18 years ago. An eighth magnitude star in the southern heavens has a proper motion of 8.7 seconds; and the seventh magnitude Groombridge 1830, of Ursa Major, the original "runaway star," has a yearly drift of 7 seconds.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ZEPPELINS.

According to *L'Industrie Electrique*, there is reason for thinking that the Zeppelins now make use of a "fish-shaped" aluminium basket suspended at a distance of 1,000 m. from the vessel, and carrying an observer. The basket is furnished with electric light, fed from a small battery of accumulators, and the observer is in telephonic communication with the Zeppelin.

AEROPLANES FOR INDIA.

We understand that the construction of aeroplanes is to be undertaken in India under the control of the Director of Aeronautics, Simla. The Indian Forest Department have been instructed to forward specimens of indigenous timber to the Civil Engineering College, Sibpur, where they will be tested as to their suitability for use in the construction of propellers and other aeroplane parts.

SIGHT FOR THE BLIND.

Dr. E. E. Fournier d'Albe has invented an instrument, the Optophone, which consists of a small "siren" disc illuminated by a straight Nernst light; an optical arrangement for projecting an image of the line of luminous dots furnished upon the type to be read; a set of selenium or antimonite bridges exposed to the light reflected by the type; a Brown "wireless" telephone relay connected with these bridges; and the telephone receiver used for reading.

What happens is this: the reader clamps the wireless receiver to his ears, passes the paper slowly before him on a little table, switches on the current, and listens intently. As each letter comes within the radius of the siren a certain note sounds in the ear. The actual sound heard depends upon the shape of the letter.

SHELLS KILL WITHOUT WOUNDING.

The explosion of heavy shells can kill persons without apparent wounds. This effect is due to a perturbation of the nervous centres, arising from the explosion of the heavy shells, and the consecutive actions which are produced. Such perturbations are caused by a sudden distention of the circulatory system of the human body due to a sudden pressure exercised upon the whole surface of the body. This pressure reaches a maximum upon the abdominal region, from which all the visceral blood is driven toward the interior portion of a body.

A GREAT DISCOVERY.

The *British Medical Journal* gives an account of a discovery which is of surpassing interest to doctors and of immense importance to the world at large. It is understood that the discovery is quite as important as the X-rays and much more remarkable. With the X-ray, in a darkened chamber, and with elaborate apparatus, it is possible to obtain pictures of the bones and more solid substances contained in the body; by means of the new discovery detailed pictures can be obtained in broad daylight of any organ of the body, brain, liver, kidneys, spleen, etc. Pictures can also be obtained of abscesses of the liver, cuts or wounds in any organ. This wonderful result is achieved by utilising the electricity which the body is believed to generate. The discoverer of this wonderful aid to surgery is stated to be James Shearer, aged 30, a sergeant in the Royal Army Medical Corps. He is a Scotsman who graduated M.D. and Ch.M. at the University of Washington.

Personal.

LORD RONALDSHAY ON INDIA.

The Earl of Ronaldshay, the Governor of Bengal, presided at a meeting of the East India Association, when Lady Katherine Stuart read a paper on "To-morrow in India."

Lord Ronaldshay said: The angle from which the East looked out upon life was somewhat different from that of the West. In the case of both, characteristics that were lacking in the one were to be found in the other, so that they ought to be complimentary and supplementary. The Englishman in India was a very small drop in a very large ocean; he was living in exile in strange surroundings, and among people who were strangers to him—at any rate, when he first went there—and somewhere in his subconsciousness the instinct of self-preservation was at work. But undoubtedly this insular characteristic was one of the obstacles to a closer understanding between the English and Indian peoples. It was not, however, the only obstacle, he was afraid. Personal experience had proved to him that the peoples of India were endowed to an unusual degree with instinctive hospitality and great warmth of heart, and that any little act of courtesy or kindness shown by an Englishman to an Indian would always be returned with interest; but however anxious the Indian might be to fraternise with the stranger within his gates, he was undoubtedly hampered by the rules and restrictions of ancient social custom and tradition. Nobody could deny that the strict rules of caste were as much an obstacle to closer social relations between East and West as the insularity of the Englishman. How to get over the two obstacles was the great and burning question to all who desired to see more cordial relations between the people of India and the people of England, and for the answer he thought they must look largely to time. But they could also look to sympathy.

To-day that goodwill was happily being aided and abetted by other factors arising out of external circumstances. For some years past Indian gentlemen had worked side by side in close co-operation with Englishmen in the highest positions of government in the country—no doubt to the very great advantage of both. There was nothing like the sharing of common responsibility, and the bearing of common burdens, to assist a man to an understanding of his fellow-men. He

was sure that the doubts of the cautious Englishman had been dispelled by experience—he was thinking, of course, of the Indian members of Executive Councils and so on—and, on the other hand, he was also sure that those Indians who had been working in those positions had realised, as perhaps they had not quite done before, that the motive which actuated the Englishman was something more than a mere desire to hold place and power. There might be a legitimate difference of opinion as to the rate of progress which should be maintained along a path upon which we had deliberately set our foot, but there could be no doubt whatever that we should steadily and conscientiously pursue the policy which we had adopted of associating the best intellect and ability of India with us in the government and administration of the country. Another factor working towards a better understanding between East and West was the present conflagration in Europe. Men who had fought side by side, whose blood had mingled in common sacrifice upon the battlefield, were likely to find that they had created ties of comradeship and fellowship which would be infinitely more potent than any obstacle that could be raised by any social custom or tradition.

LORD CARMICHAEL.

The *Pioneer* writes: On departing, the Governor of Bengal, Lord Carmichael, found a discontented province with difficult problems ripe for solution. Most of these still remain, and time has not made them easier to solve. Though unable to deal with the causes of discontent, he undoubtedly by his personal charm managed to alleviate the results. Into the various causes of Bengal's troubles, he has searched unceasingly, though there may be those who think it better to grasp the nettle firmly than to enquire why it stings. He has started a useful tradition of intimate association with all classes of people. He will be always remembered for genial cynicism which never failed to rise superior to the cares and troubles incidental to an important administrative post. He undertook an extremely difficult task, and failed in the more unpleasant part of his duties with philosophical disregard. Philosophy begins in wonder. But it should not end in contemplation.

THE LATE SIR P. M. MEHTA.

In the rooms of the Bombay Presidency Association, on the 4th April, Mr. D. E. Wacha unveiled a portrait of the late Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, which was subscribed for and presented to the Association by the members.

Political.

MADRAS LOCAL CONFERENCE.

The Madras Local and Municipal Conference assembled for the first time on the 17th March in the Victoria Public Hall. About 200 representatives of municipal councils and district and taluk boards from almost all districts attended. The Hon. Mr. Ramachandra Rao in requesting His Excellency to open the Conference said that the gathering had been organised on its present basis with a view to focus public opinion on many vital questions relating to local administration. They believed that a voluntary organisation such as this was very much needed to further the work of the local authorities in this country.

His Excellency the Governor, in the course of his speech said: The field of our labour is large indeed. It is limitless, for each achievement opens before us vistas of a higher standard to be reached, and in any country there is no more valuable and in a true sense patriotic service than that which is given by those who, putting aside their own interests and advantages, give their time to public work. In all such work there are delays and disappointments. Hopes and ideals are not always realised, but there is always a priceless reward in the often unexpressed gratitude of those whose burden has been lightened, and who have been relieved from suffering or hardship or protected from dangers by such disinterested labours. Such work is worthy of the best men that can be found and I trust that as time goes on this will be more and more recognised. To all those who are interested I would recommend a study of the programme of this conference and of its discussions.

Various important papers relating to the different aspects of Municipal work were also read in the conference.

BRITISH PARLIAMENT AND THE DUMA.

In the House of Commons Mr. Bonar Law moved the following resolution sending fraternal greetings to the Duma on March 22.

"This House sends the Duma fraternal greetings, and tenders to the Russian people heartfelt congratulation upon the establishment among them of free institutions, in the full confidence that they will lead to not only the rapid and happy progress of the Russian nation, but the prosecution, with renewed steadfastness, and vigour, of the war against the strongholds of autocratic militarism which threatens the Liberty of Europe."

THE INDIAN PROBLEM.

Mr. Percy Alden, M.P., writes in the *Star*:—

The problem that faces us with regard to India, and perhaps Egypt, is certainly serious and difficult. The final authority will no doubt have to remain for some time to come in the hands of the Imperial Government. For long it will be necessary to maintain armies both in India, Egypt, and other Dependencies, but to an ever-increasing degree these armies will become native; and as they become native, and as the civil administration is more and more associated with the people of the country so governed, it would be possible to transfer from time to time powers which have hitherto rested with Great Britain to the better educated and more disciplined portions of these large communities. It is not enough that India or Egypt should supply leaders—they must also be able to supply an educated electorate. For that reason the Liberal Party regards it as a profound responsibility resting upon Great Britain to see that the Government of these Dependencies does take the necessary steps gradually to educate and train the native populations for a self-government which, though remote at present, is none the less sure to come to pass in the fulness of time. India will also claim an ever-increasing part in Imperial affairs, and she should be encouraged, all the more because of her splendid achievements in this war, to look in that direction for the consummation of her hopes and aspirations.

CONGRESS FOR CEYLON.

The *Ceylonese* advocates the establishment of a National Congress for Ceylon. It is objected in certain quarters that no such organization should be undertaken in war time. To this objection, the *Ceylonese* gives the telling reply:

'The War does not seem to stand in the way of an Irish settlement. It has not prevented ministerial changes in England and France, and a general election in Australia. The Russian Revolution has been acclaimed as a new accession of strength to the Allies. The War has not dissuaded the nineteen elected members of the Indian Imperial Legislative Council from submitting their memorandum of reforms. Why, then, in the name of common sense, should it be allowed to stand in the way of a National Congress for Ceylon?'

CONGRESS PRESIDENTS.

As everything now must be classified as Brahmana and non-Brahmana, says *New India*, a correspondent has taken the trouble to sort out the Presidents of the National Congress. There have been 9 Brahmanas, but 2 of them were elected twice, so they count as 11. There were 17 non-Brahmanas, which divide up: 6 Hindus, 3 Muslims, 3 Parsis, but one of them 3 times, so that they count 5, and 4 Europeans, one of them twice, counting 5, and 1 Christian.

General.

THE MILITARY SPIRIT IN BENGAL.

Some of our Anglo-Indian contemporaries, the *Englishman* for instance, may carp and cavil at us but there can be no question that some of our young men are displaying a soldierly ardour, not unworthy of the representatives of a martial race. The sad story of young Panna Lal Ghose has been told in these columns. He had served in Mesopotamia with distinction as a member of the Bengal Ambulance Corps and had risen to the position of a Lance-Corporal. He returned home after the disbandment of the Corps and entered into private employment. But as soon as the formation of a Double Company was sanctioned, he offered for enlistment. But notwithstanding his stalwart physique and his former service as a member of the Ambulance Corps, he was disqualified for a slight defect in the right eye. How was he then passed as a member of the Ambulance Corps? However, that may be, the young man took the matter so seriously to heart that he hanged himself. The Double Company is fast filling up to the bewilderment of those who thought that the project would end in a fiasco. It is not generally known how keen are the young lads who wish to join the Bengali Double Company.—*Bengalee*.

DEFENCE OF INDIA OATH.

The following is the form of oath or affirmation that has to be taken by every non-European British subject who is enrolled under the Indian Defence Force Act:—"I.....do swear (or affirm) that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to His Majesty, the King-Emperor, his heirs and successors, and that I will, as in duty bound, honestly and faithfully serve in the Indian Defence Force, and go wherever I may be ordered in India by land or sea, and that I will observe and obey all commands of any officer set over me even to the peril of my life, so help me God."

THE PUNJAB UNIVERSITY COMPANY.

The following Press *Communique* has been issued by the Punjab Government:—"His Honour the Lieutenant Governor has great pleasure in announcing that the number of applicants for enlistment in the Punjab University Company exceeds 200. It is believed that the great majority possess the qualification of having passed the Entrance Examination of the Punjab University, while most of the remainder intend to take that examination this spring. Orders are now

being issued for the medical examination of the candidates by the Civil Surgeon of the district to which they belong. A further announcement will be made when the number of fit candidates is known. His Honour takes this opportunity of conveying to the candidates his best wishes for their success in their military career, and his acknowledgments to all who have worked to make the movement a success. But efforts must not be relaxed. More recruits are required and the Lieutenant Governor hopes that in a few weeks he will be in a position to announce that the number of fit candidates is sufficient to provide a company of 228 men."

TOWN-PLANNING.

The Government of Burma has issued a resolution on the report of the Suburban Development Committee, Rangoon, and the report of the departmental Committee on town-planning in Burma. The Committee's recommendations cover the following improvement of communications between the town and suburbs: By a continuation of the existing roads or the construction of new main roads and by the extension of railway, tramway and motor car systems. The division of the suburban area into blocks, according to the purposes to which the land should be put for the poorer middle class, and well-to-do population. Extension of Rangoon municipal limits, with a view to better the development of such areas and to provide means by municipal bye-laws for enforcement of restrictions as to the type of building to be erected in each of the zones.

THE SIKH WOMEN.

Shrimati Satyabala, a Sikh lady, writing in a recent number of the *Sikh Review*, makes a strong plea for her people to give up living in the reflected glory of a brilliant past. Her ideas on women's education deserve to be quoted:

The question of education in general, and that of female education in particular, has been viewed very narrow-mindedly. Education does not consist only in reading and writing. Completion of school education is only the primary stage of education. A B.A. lady, if morally weak or inclined to be selfish, self-opinionated or lazy is more a curse to her family and society than a blessing. We want a system of home education, school education, college education, technical education, and, above all, moral and religious education, such as would produce firm-minded, steady unselfish, virtuous, highly cultured, useful women who may be a substantial factor in our wealth.

NOTHING DOING—I PREFER TO KEEP MY HANDS
CLEAN.—*Company De Gracia, Barcelona.*



BE QUIET, PAINTER, OR YOU WILL HAVE TO
FINISH IT WITHOUT THE ORB.—*David, Bruxelles.*



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The Reconstitution of the Indian Councils

BY MR. G. A. NATESAN.

The history of the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils is thus briefly told:

Before the creation of one regular legislature for British India by the Charter Act of 1833, the Governments of Madras and Bombay as well as the Governor-General-in-Council of Bengal had such powers to make laws and regulations for their respective territories and thus separate bodies of Regulations had grown up in the three presidencies. The legislative powers were not distinguished from the executive and the two were lodged in the same hands.

This confusion was put an end to by the Act of 1833, which vested the legislative power of the Indian Government exclusively in the Governor-General-in-Council and under which Macaulay was appointed in the following year to be the first legislative councillor on the Governor-General's Council, that body being thus increased by the addition of a fourth ordinary member, who had no power to sit or vote except at meetings for the purpose of making laws and regulations. The laws made by this Council were, subject to their not being disallowed by the Court of Directors, to have effect as Acts of Parliament. A clear distinction between the executive and the legislative body is here recognised for the first time, and the Act of 1833 may be regarded as the first land-mark in the history of the Indian Legislative Councils.

The second land-mark was erected by the Charter Act of 1853, by which the fourth or legislative member of the Governor-General's Council was placed on the same footing with the ordinary members of the Council by being given a right to sit or vote at executive meetings. The Council was at the same time enlarged for legislative purposes by the addition of six members: the Chief Justice of Bengal, another judge and four of the Company's servants of ten years' standing appointed by the Governments of Bengal, Madras, Bombay and the North-Western Provinces. The Governor-General's Council, thus enlarged for the purpose of legislation, had, in this way, twelve members: the Governor-General, the Commander-in-Chief, four ordinary members of the Council, the Chief Justice of Bengal, a puisne judge and four representative members from the four provinces. The sittings of the Legislative Council were made public and their proceedings were officially published. This Legislative Council, however, evinced an inconvenient degree of independence and a tendency to interfere with the executive, and the defect was remedied eight years later. — "Indian Administration," by Prof. V. G. Kale.

Though the authority of the East India Company was transferred to the Crown in 1858, the constitution of the Indian Government remained unchanged.

No native of the country had any share in the deliberations of the Council even when Legislative measures were discussed. No wonder many a serious mistake was made and some blunders resulting in terrible consequences were committed. It is interesting to recall at this moment some of the observations in the famous pamphlet on "The Causes of the Indian Mutiny" written by the late Sir Syed Ahmed. That distinguished Mussalman patriot and publicist wrote as follows in 1858:—

The original cause of the outbreak was the non-admission of a native as a member into the Legislative Council.

Most men, I believe, agree in thinking that it is highly conducive to the welfare and prosperity of Government; indeed it is essential to its stability that the people should have a voice in its Councils. It is from the voice of the people only that Government can learn whether its projects are likely to be well received. The voice of the people can alone check errors in the bud, and warn us of the dangers before they burst upon and destroy us.

The evils which resulted to India from the non-admission of natives into the Legislative Council of India were various.

The necessity for a reform of the Indian Councils was keenly felt, and steps were soon taken to achieve that end.

By the Indian Councils Act of 1861, the power of Legislation was restored to the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay, and a Legislative Council was appointed for Bengal while the Governor-General in Council retained legislative authority over the whole of India. It enacted:—

For the better exercise of the power of making laws and regulations vested in the Governor-General-in-Council, the Governor-General shall nominate, in addition to the ordinary and extraordinary members above mentioned and to such Lieutenant-Governor in the case aforesaid, such persons, not less than six nor more than twelve in number as to him may seem expedient, to be members of Council for the purpose of making laws and regulations only; and such persons shall not be entitled to sit or vote at any meeting of the Council, except at meetings held for such purpose; provided that not less than one-half of the persons so nominated shall



The Forcible Deportation of Indian Workmen to Germany.—Cartoon by Louis Ruysschaert.

be non-official persons, that is, persons who, at the date of such nomination, shall not be in the Civil or Military service of the Crown in India and that the seat in a Council of any non-official member accepting office under the Crown in India shall be vacated on such acceptance.

Sir Charles Wood, speaking in the House of Commons, on June 6, 1861, in explaining the provisions of the Bill, pointed out the difficulties that faced them in legislating for a country like India:

We have to legislate for different races, with different languages, religions, manners, and customs, ranging from the bigoted Mahomedan, who considers that we have usurped his legitimate position as the ruler of India, to the timid Hindoo, who, though bowing to every conqueror, is bigotedly attached to his caste, his religion, his laws, and his customs, which have descended to him uninterruptedly for countless generations. But, added to that, we have English settlers in India differing in almost every respect from the Native population active, energetic, enterprising, with all the pride of race and conquest, presuming on their superior powers, and looking down in many respects, and I am afraid violating in others, the feelings and prejudices of the Native population with whom, nevertheless, they must be subject to laws passed by the legislative body in India.

He added:

I believe greater advantages will result from admitting the Native Chiefs to co-operate with us for legislative purposes; they will no longer feel, as they have hitherto done, that they are excluded from the management of affairs in their own country, and nothing, I am persuaded, will tend more to conciliate to our rule the minds of Natives of high rank. I have no intention of doing anything to make this Council a debating society. I wish to quote an expression of Sir Lawrence Peel, to render them a body for making laws. The Council of the Governor-General, with these additional members, will have power to pass laws and regulations affecting the whole of India and will have a supreme and concurrent power with the minor legislative bodies which I propose to establish in the Presidencies and in other parts of India.

According to the Act of 1861, financial discussion was possible only when the Finance Minister proposed a new tax, and the few Indians who were admitted to the Council were nominated members chosen by the Government themselves. Such an unsatisfactory state of things might have been tolerated in the years immediately following the Mutiny, but could not possibly be continued without criticism. Great strides had been made in many respects and intelligent Indian public opinion, though not so powerful and voluminous as it has been in later times, had even then made itself felt on the authorities. "The fuller development and consolidation of those sentiments of national unity that had their origin" in Lord Ripon's ever memorable reign, expressed themselves in unmistakable terms.

The question of the reform and expansion of the Supreme and Local Legislative Councils, by the addition of a considerable proportion of elected members, formed the subject of an important Resolution at the very first session of the Indian National Congress held in Bombay in 1885. At the second Congress it was debated with renewed vigour; Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra, the renowned Oriental scholar, uttered the very remarkable words:

We live not under a National Government, but under a foreign bureaucracy; our foreign rulers are foreigners by birth, religion, language, habits, by everything that divides humanity into different sections. They cannot possibly dive into our hearts; they cannot ascertain our wants, our feelings, our aspirations. They may try their best, and I have no reason to doubt that many of our Governors have tried hard to ascertain our feelings and our wants; but owing to their peculiar position, they have failed to ascertain them.

At the fifth Congress the question was again taken up and a skeleton scheme for the reform and reconstitution of the councils was duly adopted and the President of the Congress was authorised to submit the same to Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, M. P. with the request that he would cause a Bill to be drafted on the lines indicated therein and introduce the same in the House of Commons. Charles Bradlaugh, that noble friend of humanity, true to the promise he had made to the people of India in Congress assembled, introduced the Bill entitled "An Act to Amend the India Councils Act of 1861." The next Congress, which met at Calcutta prayed the Houses of Parliament to pass Mr. Bradlaugh's Bill into law.

The introduction of Mr. Bradlaugh's Bill "at once dispelled the fit of profound cogitation in which gentlemen at the head of Indian affairs had lost themselves and could never spontaneously recover from it. Lord Cross' Indian Councils Bill promptly saw the light of day in the House of Lords. It was, as Mr. (Sir) P. M. Mehta rightly observed, "the official recognition of the *raison de etre* of the Congress and the first of its labours."

The Indian Councils Act of 1892 was an attempt to concede the principle of representation to the Councils by election. Mr. (now Lord) Curzon, in explaining the provisions of the Bill in the House of Commons, observed that the object of the Bill was to

widen the basis and expand the functions of the Government of India, to give further opportunities than at present existed to the non-official and native element in Indian society to take part in the work of govern-

ment, and in that way to lend official recognition to that remarkable development both in political interest and capacity which had been visible among the higher classes of Indian society since the Government was taken over by the Crown in 1858.

Lord Lansdowne, in explaining the policy of the Bill, observed:

We hope, however, that we have succeeded in giving to our proposal a form sufficiently definite to secure a satisfactory advance in the representation of the people in our Legislative Councils, and to give effect to the principle of selection as far as possible on the advice of such sections of the community as are likely to be capable of assisting us in that manner.

The Bill admittedly contained the elective principle, and it was during the debate on this occasion that Mr. Gladstone observed, that the question of the introduction of the elective element into the Government of India was "one of vital importance." "What we want is," remarked Mr. Gladstone, "to get at the real heart and mind, the most upright sentiments, and the most enlightened thoughts of the people of India," and he, therefore, looked forward "not merely to a nominal but to a real living representation of the people of India." But unfortunately the Act itself did not "in terms concede to the people the right of electing their own representatives to the Council," and the task of making rules and regulations were left to the Viceroy; and they were of a most unsatisfactory character. No wonder that the Congress of 1893, had with regret to put on record the fact "that, alike in the rules of the Government of India and in the practice of most of the Local Governments, notably in that of the Government of Bombay, material alterations are necessary if real effect is to be given to the spirit of this Act." The most trenchant criticism of the rules and regulations framed by the Viceroy was that made at that Congress by Mr. G. K. Gokhale who said:

Gentlemen, in regard to these Rules [framed for the Presidency of Bombay to give effect to the Act], I will not say that they have been deliberately so framed as to defeat the object of the Act of 1892, but I will say this, that if the officer who drafted them had been asked to sit down with the deliberate purpose of framing a scheme to defeat that object, he could not have done better.

It is noteworthy that, writing in 1894, two years after the reforms, Sir George Chesney remarked that it was "thus the first beginning of what may possibly hereafter develop into some thing of the nature of Parliamentary institutions as obtaining in other parts of the world." He added also "the step taken may not be a wide one; the mode of regulating nominations rests

with the Executive Government; the bodies to which this partial nomination has been entrusted are themselves elected on a very narrow and exclusive franchise."

At the 20th Congress held at Bombay under the Presidency of Sir Henry Cotton, the demand was made that "the people of this country should be allowed a larger voice in the administration and control of their affairs," and besides seeking an enlargement of both the Supreme and Provincial Legislative Councils, and an increase of non-official members therein, it rightly claimed "the right to divide the Council on all the financial matters coming before them—the head of the Government possessing the power of veto."

The agitation for a better and a more effective representation of the people in the Legislative Councils grew louder and louder; the discontent against the method and manner in which the rules and regulations under the Statute were "framed, worked, and continued for a period of sixteen years in spite of protests from the public," grew intense; added to this was the indignation and deep disgust and disappointment caused by the reactionary regime of Lord Curzon. The situation in every respect caused the gravest anxiety to the responsible leaders of the people. Lord Minto, who inherited the highly embarrassed legacy of the troubles and difficulties of Lord Curzon's regime, before he had been many months in the land "recognised frankly and publicly that new aspirations were stirring in the hearts of the people, that they were part of a larger movement common to the whole East, and that it was necessary to satisfy them to a reasonable extent by giving them a larger share in the administration of affairs."

He heartily recognised the loyalty of the masses of the people of India, and he was not prepared "to suppress the new but not unnatural aspirations without examination." To use his own figure of speech "you cannot sit for ever on a safety valve, no matter how sound the boiler may be." He recognised that "ere long he would have to deal with a mass of accumulated popular discontent—a discontent which was difficult to define but which many moderate and loyal Indians believed to be due to the disregard on the part of their rulers of their (the Indians) just hopes." According to his Lordship, much of the discontent "was justifiable and was directly due to a dawning belief that further opportunities must be afforded for the official representation of Indian public opinion and a great share be grant-

ed to Indians in the government of their country." The first year of his office had not closed before the new Viceroy had drawn up a note for circulation among his colleagues, in the course of which he said :

The growth of education which British rule has done so much to encourage is bearing fruit. Important classes of the population are learning to realise their own position, to estimate for themselves their own intellectual capacities and to compare their claims for an equality of citizenship with those of the ruling race, whilst the directing influences of political life at home are simultaneously in full accord with the advance of political thought in India . . . But we, the Government of India, cannot shut our eyes to present conditions. The political atmosphere is full of change. Questions are before us which we cannot afford to ignore and which we must attempt to answer, and to me it would appear all important that the initiative should emanate from us; that the Government of India should not be put in the position of appearing to have its hands forced by agitation in this country or by pressure from home; that we should be the first to recognise surrounding conditions and to place before His Majesty's Government the opinion which personal experience and a close touch with the every-day life of India entitle us to hold.

This is the true genesis of the Minto-Morley reforms. In its famous despatch to the Secretary of State, dated the 1st October 1908, Lord Minto's Government urged :

The advance in general education, that has taken place since 1892, has added to the complexity of the problem by bringing to the front classes which were then backward, and by making them more keenly conscious of their individual interests and more disposed to claim separate representation by means of special electorates. In framing the greatly enlarged scheme of reform, which is explained below, we have given careful consideration to the views of all classes, and we desire to acknowledge the value of opinions which have been submitted by the educated members of all communities who, though their number is relatively small, deservedly occupy a special position by reason of their intellectual attainments and the attention they have given to public questions.

Referring to the proposed increase in the numbers and the reconstitution of the Legislative Councils, the despatch stated :

We have every hope that the confidence we are willing to place in the intelligence and public spirit of the non-official members will be justified, and that increased responsibility will bring with it the requisite forbearance.

It may reasonably be anticipated that in the newly-constituted Councils only as many officials need be appointed as will be sufficient, in conjunction with three or four non-officials, to enable the Government to carry their legislative measures.

We are of opinion that the time has come when there should be further facilities for debate. We think that members should have opportunities for placing their views on public questions before the Government, and we are impressed with the benefits which both the Government and the educated public would derive from

the well-ordered discussion of administrative subjects in the Legislative Councils, either on a reference from the head of the Government, or at the instance of a private member. Such discussions would give the Government an opportunity of making their view of a question known, and of explaining the reasons which had led them to adopt a particular line of action. We therefore propose that power should be given by statute for members to move resolutions on matters of general public importance, subject to the checks to which we shall presently refer. So far as the educated public are concerned, there can be little doubt that the right to move resolutions on such questions, and to argue these in a regular debate, will be welcomed as a very great concession; that it will be resorted to freely; and that it will tend to bring about more intimate relations between the official and non-official members.

We are clearly of opinion that it is advisable that the Councils should be afforded increased facilities for expressing their views upon the budget, and that these facilities should be given at a sufficiently early stage to enable the Government to take advantage of any advice that may be tendered, and to adopt and give effect to such suggestions as may be found practicable.

Both in the Imperial and the Provincial Councils, they will place the representatives of all classes of the population in a position to take a more effective part in shaping the policy of the Government, and to exert a real influence upon the actual work of administration.

The enlargement of the Legislative Councils, and the extension of their functions to the discussion of administrative questions, are the widest, most deep-reaching and most substantial features of the scheme which we now put forward.

Regarding the scheme as a whole, we consider ourselves justified in claiming for it that it will really and effectively associate the people of India with the Government in the work not only of occasional legislation but of actual every-day administration. It is an attempt to give India a constitution framed on sufficiently liberal lines to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the most advanced Indians, whilst at the same time enlisting the support of the more conservative elements of Indian society.

Lord Morley, the Secretary of State for India, replied to this despatch in his remarkable communication, dated 27th November 1908. He recognised the just observation of Lord Minto, "that the principle to be borne in mind is that election by the wishes of the people is the ultimate object to be secured, whatever may be the actual machinery adopted for giving effect to it."

The Rt. Hon. Mr. Asquith, who was then Prime Minister, speaking on April 1, 1909, on the order for the second reading of the Indian Councils Bill, pointed out:

It is most desirable in the circumstances to give to the people of India the feeling that these legislative councils are not mere automata, the wires of which are pulled by the official hierarchy. It is of very great importance from that point of view that the non-official elements

should be in the ascendant, subject to proper safeguards. In that way you obtain some kind of security that the legislation which finally passes through the mill of the council reflects the opinion of the community:—
P. Mukerjee's "Indian Constitutional Documents."

The whole country welcomed the Reforms with great expectation and joy, and the 23rd Indian National Congress which met at Madras after the unfortunate split at Surat gave expression "to the deep and general satisfaction with which the reform proposals formulated in Lord Morley's Despatch had been received throughout the country." It recorded also its sense of the high statesmanship which had dictated the action of the Government in the matter, and its sincere and grateful thanks to Lord Morley and Lord Minto, who had laboured hard to originate and promote the reforms. But the expectation and joy of the people were destined to be short lived. For a second time, as India's misfortune would have it, the important task of framing the rules and regulations relating to the nomination and election of members of the enlarged Councils was left to the Government of India, i.e., to the tender mercies of the Indian bureaucracy. The Congress which in the previous year had recorded in glowing terms its high appreciation of the principles of the reform scheme had, in the next year, after seeing the rules and regulations that had been framed, to place on record, among other things, its strong sense of disapproval of :

the wide, arbitrary and unreasonable disqualification and restrictions for candidates seeking election to the Councils;

the general distrust of the educated classes that runs through the whole course of the regulations;

and the unsatisfactory composition of the non-official majorities in the Provincial Councils, rendering them ineffective and unreal for all practical purposes.

It was Mr. Gokhale's lot to give strong expression to the injustice done to the principle underlying the Indian Councils Act of 1892, by the narrow and illiberal rules and regulations framed by the Indian bureaucracy to defeat the very objects aimed at. In 1909, it was Mr. Surendranath Banerjea's painful duty to burst forth as follows in open Congress :—

It is no exaggeration to say that the Rules and Regulations have practically wrecked the Reform Scheme as originally conceived with a beneficence of purpose and a statesmanlike grasp that did honour to all that are associated with it . . . Who wrecked the scheme? Who converted that promising experiment into a dismal failure? The responsibility rests upon the shoulders of the bureaucracy . . . Is the bureaucracy having its revenge upon us for the part we have played in securing these concessions?

Deep was the disappointment and great the indignation caused, but Mr. Banerjea counselled his countrymen not to abandon hope. He said :

Let us see to it that, in the depths of our desperation, we do not forget the immemorial traditions of our race, or renounce the unalterable faith which is ours in the ultimate triumph of constitutional and righteous means for the attainment of National regeneration.

But the hope was in vain; the manner in which the rules and regulations have been worked, and the unsympathetic attitude adopted by the bureaucracy in dealing with the resolutions of the non-official members, have made almost every one of them confess to a feeling of helplessness. Almost every member of the Provincial and Imperial Council has a sad tale to tell. It is pathetic to read the following tale unfolded in the pages of *The Indian Review* (March 1917) by Mr. Jayanti Subba Rao Pantulu, a distinguished Indian publicist, who was for years a member of the Madras Legislative Council, till lately a Member of the Imperial Legislative Council, and now Joint General Secretary of the Indian National Congress :—

The deep disappointment caused by the regulations, and the narrow interpretation put upon them, is writ large in the pages of proceedings of the Legislative Council and in the columns of the Indian Press. . . .

The constitution of the Provincial Councils has been so manipulated, even where an elected majority is given, the official continues to dominate over the Council, and the non-official majority has, in practice, become a minority.

As the scheme is at present worked, nothing can be carried in our Provincial Councils against the will of the officials who, in combination with the elected European members and nominated non-official Indians, specially selected to keep up the power and prestige of the Government, lord over them, and make the position of the elected representatives of the people helpless. The elected members not infrequently try to save their face by accepting the suggestions or amendments of the Government and proceed to vote or call for a division, though certain of defeat, to secure a moral victory and show to the public the perversity of the attitude of the Government who would not, by the weight of numbers and sometimes by the influence of the head of the Government, allow even a recommendation to be made to themselves. Important schemes of expenditure are shut out of discussion on the ground that the subject is under correspondence, and the powers of the Council with regard to the framing of the Budget are nil. Questions and resolutions are disallowed arbitrarily by the president. It has been ruled that a member has no right even to move for leave to introduce a Bill without the previous sanction of the Government. As regards the Legislative Council, a standing official majority is constituted, though the Government of India were content to dispense with it. A feeling of helplessness is felt by the elected members at every step, and they are placed entirely at the mercy of the Government.

The Hon. Pundit Madan Mohan Malavya, who served for years in the United Provinces Legislative Council and is now its representative in the Imperial Legislative Council of the Viceroy, and who is held in universal esteem by his countrymen and whose sincerity of purpose and moderation of language have won for him the admiration of even his official opponents, declared not long ago that "the conclusion is forced on our mind that those who have the power are unwilling to part with that power," and he added that "unless we have a potent and determining voice in the administration of our country's affairs, there is not much hope for that progress which it is the birthright of every civilized people to achieve."

If this be the fate of the working of the Minto-Morley scheme in the Imperial Legislative Council, one could easily conceive of the situation in the various Provincial Councils. In the Madras Legislative Council, the hardships of the rules and regulations passed under the Indian Councils Act of 1909, have been felt more keenly than in any other province. Some of the Interpellations have been disallowed; some of the resolutions intended to be moved have been withheld; and the resolutions allowed to be discussed have been invariably defeated, with the help of the standing phalanx of officials supported by the votes of several of the nominated members. On April 3rd, 1917, a resolution was moved in the Madras Legislative Council that, "it be a recommendation to the Government that it should appoint non-official presidents of district boards in a few districts where suitable persons can be found." The Indian member of the Executive Council, who is in charge of the portfolio of the Local and Municipal Department, had to undertake on behalf of his colleagues the unenviable task of opposing such a modest proposal; while he admitted that the principle was sound, he had yet to repeat the perpetual cry of the bureaucracy that, "the time is not yet" for the reform. The result was, as in many such cases, the resolution was lost by 20 against 19, the majority including the Governor, His Excellency Lord Pentland, himself and two of the elected non-official representatives.

The worst evil of the present system is best illustrated by the manner in which the official majority in the Madras Legislative Council disposed off only the other day a recommendation made to the Government, that an enquiry be held into

the economic condition of some typical villages. As was expected, even this modest demand was opposed by the member in charge; but fearing that the motion might be passed, a nominated member, an Anglo-Indian gentleman, came to the rescue of the Government and moved, "that the meeting do pass to the next business." Such a simple request for an inquiry affecting the well-being of the millions of the poor who live in the villages was shut out effectually by a subterfuge and with the help of the solid official votes.

No wonder that the non-official members of the Madras Legislative Council have realised the helplessness of the situation. The Hon. Rao Bahadur V. K. Ramanujachari, who was for years in the service of the Government, and occupied the responsible post of Secretary to the Board of Revenue, in referring to the treatment meted out to him and his colleagues in the Council by the Government and its official representatives, said:—

We see shackles placed on our representations in regard to many points in which we are much interested. The Government have a practical majority in this Council; our resolutions are mere recommendations and there is no danger of Government being turned out of office. Why then this unwillingness to make us realise that we are engaged in the same work as Government are. If our arguments are weak, they carry their own condemnation; if strong, they must be useful and help disposal of business. A regard for our representation can only enhance the prestige of Government. "I wish to point out that their cumulative effect is to discourage us in our attempt to work with Government in their every-day administration which is the basis of the Morley-Minto Reforms."

Here is the tale of woe of another member, the Hon. Rao Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao who has had varied experience as Chairman of an important Municipality, as Vice President of the Taluk Board of his District, and as a member of almost every important select Committee of the Legislative Council in which he has been serving for over three consecutive terms, and whose sobriety and moderation won for him, at the hands of a member of the Government, the justly deserved description of the "Madras Gokhale."

In 1912, ten resolutions were brought forward; only one proposing a diversion or expenditure of about Rs. 50,000 was found acceptable with the Government. In 1913, thirty-one resolutions were brought forward. None of them were agreeable to the Government. In 1914, similarly there were twenty resolutions which raised various points of financial administration but not even one was carried in this Council. In 1915, there were twenty-three resolutions, not a single one could be carried. In 1916, there were twenty-two resolutions, not a single one having been accepted. The result of the recent discussion held a few days ago is so near to us that I need not remind my hon. colleagues as to our

achievements. We have done our best to persuade the Government to adopt a different financial policy, but we have not as yet succeeded in our attempt.

The working of the Legislative Council of the Province of Bengal seems to be no better, and yet it had the advantage till recently of being presided over by a noble-minded and sympathetic administrator like Lord Carmichael. In welcoming the other day his successor, Lord Ronaldshay, the Hon. Mr. Fazul-Huq said:

We are in theory the chosen representatives of the people, but in shaping the policy of the Administration, our voice in the councils of Government is of hardly more weight and value than that of the man in the moon.

Let us remember that this complaint comes from a Province, where the good Lord Carmichael had given his Council "an actual non-official majority." It is one more illustration of the evils of the present system. The *Bengalee*, in describing the recent Budget debate in the Bengal Legislative Council, writes in its issue of the 6th April:—

The prevailing note of the non-official Indian members is one of pessimism; and we fear that it is not confined to the Bengal Legislative Council. Throughout the country, in every province with a Legislative Council, the feeling of the non-official Indian members is that the measure of their efforts is wholly inadequate to the measure of their efforts—there is much cry, but there is little wool. In the position in which they now are in the position of minority even when there is a non-official majority—they feel that they can do very little, and there is a growing sense in the country, that these legislative assemblies are mere academic bodies which have to wait upon the pleasure of the Government for carrying out the popular behests.

Discussion of the financial statement of the Provinces is by far the most important work of the Legislative Councils. The non-official members of our Councils naturally devote considerable attention to this branch of their work, and yet we hear complaints from province after province that their labours in that direction are in vain. Here is the criticism of the *Bengalee* (8th April, 1917) in regard to the recent Budget discussion in the Bengal Council:—

No fewer than 34 resolutions were moved on the Budget in the session that has just closed, and with one exception they were all rejected or withdrawn, some of them receiving the unanimous support of the non-official Indian members. The main drift of these resolutions was to transfer money from the police to sanitation and education, the two great needs of all civilized communities. If accepted, they would not have upset the Budget—there was nothing revolutionary about them. But the Government had made up its mind, and apparently it seemed to involve loss of prestige for the Government to change its mind, even in small matters under the pressure of public opinion.

But the complaint of the non-official members of the Bengal Council does not stop here.

It appears that, in 1916, Government had promised to supply non-official members with copies of Departmental Budgets. In pursuance of this promise, the Hon'ble Babu Akhil Chunder Datta had asked for the Departmental Budgets for the last two years. He was told in reply that copies were not available. Apart from the violation of the pledge of the Government, is it fair, we ask, to invite hon'ble members to discuss the Budget without giving them the amplest materials? The discussion is thus deprived of those living elements which contribute to its reality; it becomes superficial, and more or less a sham, and the Government is responsible for this result.

The fate of two resolutions moved during the course of the recent Budget debate in the Bengal Council proves that no improvement in the existing state of things can ever take place unless the people's representatives have an effective control of finance.

The first of these two resolutions suggested that the starting pay of district munsiffs be raised. This measure, the Government were saying till recently, could not be introduced because the Public Services Commission had the matter in hand. But the report having now been published, the Government stated recently that they were considering the Commission's suggestion pending which they were unwilling to give effect to the proposal. The other resolution referred to the increase of the staff in the co-operative department, a measure of urgent necessity advocated by Sir Daniel Hamilton at the last Bengal Co-operative Conference and supported by the Conference itself.

The tale from the Central Provinces seems to be no better. Presiding at the second session of the Conference (held at Yeotmal in the first week of April 1917,) the Hon. Mr. N. N. Kelkar emphatically declared:—

Unless the composition of the Councils themselves is first thoroughly overhauled, a good deal of the advantage which might be expected from the criticism of these Councils would, I am afraid, be mostly of an illusory character.

The tendency on the part of the officials to restrict the scope and usefulness of the work of their non-official colleagues seems like a contagion to spread from province to province. Here is the statement of the Hon. Mr. V. J. Patel, made at the last meeting of the Bombay Legislative Council:—"I see nothing but distrust on the part of the Government of non-official members, whom they have under the Rules to take on Committees."

On the result of the labours of the non-official members of the Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, we have the statement of the late Pundit Bishen Narayan Dhar that:

Nearly every resolution moved by the non-official Indian members of the United Provinces Council has been rejected—and rejected by overwhelming majorities; for, besides some of the elected members, the nominated members were always ready to support the Government.

At the last meeting of the United Provinces Council, the Hon Mr. Chintamani moved a resolution for the reduction of expenditure under civil works—provincial, by Rs. 75,000, adding this amount to the provision made for secondary schools—general. The resolution was of course rejected, but His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor, who had threatened to disallow the resolution, allowed it to be discussed, but during the course of the debate remarked:—

Under rule 13, said his Honour, resolutions should be directly relevant to some entry in the revised Financial Statement. The present resolution was no doubt directly relevant to the large total expenditure under civil works—provincial, but his Honour was not quite sure whether it should have been permitted without reference to more detailed items. On that point, however, his Honour desired to make no final pronouncement but the matter would receive consideration. The second part of the resolution was also open to similar criticism. The hon. mover wished to add the amount to the provision made for secondary schools, general. It was not stated whether it should be added to the head education or under civil works, provincial, and the Council was left to conjecture what the hon. member's meaning was.

This sort of restriction was never contemplated by the Minto-Morley reforms; indeed, suggestions of a reduction of expenditure in civil works have now become very common, and nobody has till now considered it necessary to object to this procedure, that head of expenditure being able to bear any amount of reduction.

The following table (published in the *Hindu* of Madras) gives the number of financial resolutions moved in the various Councils during the Budget debates (April 1917) and explains their ultimate fate:—

Council.	No. of Resolutions.	Withdrawn.	Rejected.	Accepted.
India	3	2	1	nil
Madras	32	26	6	nil
Bengal	38	26	12	nil
United Provinces	22	10	12	nil
Bihar & Orissa	5	5	nil	nil
Central Provinces	4	2	2	nil
	104	71	33	nil

It will thus be seen that out of a total of 104 resolutions moved, there was not even one which the bureaucracy in its wisdom deemed fit to

accept. Commenting on this extraordinary state of things, the *Hindu* rightly observes:—

Of course, abundance of oral sympathy was exhibited, but we refuse to take the distressing fact of not even one resolution having been adopted as a comment on the political sagacity and practical statesmanship of non-official members. On the contrary, the result exhibits a deplorable lack, on the part of officials, of appreciation of the public point of view of questions brought forward, uncommon imperviousness to non-official suggestions, and a mistaken faith in its own infallibility on the part of the Executive Government.

It is most unfortunate that, of late, a tendency has been exhibited in more than one province to make an arbitrary use of the power of disallowing resolutions. The question of the annual exodus to the hills was allowed to be discussed in the Viceroy's Council and also in the United Provinces Legislative Council, and yet His Excellency Lord Pentland, the Governor of Madras, disallowed the discussion of this very same question.

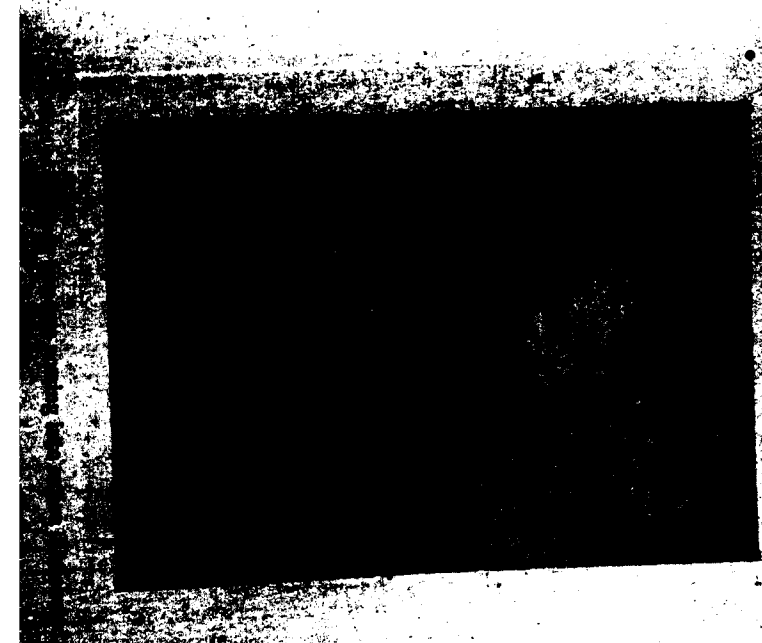
It has also been sought to curtail and work in a narrow spirit, the privilege of interpellation, about which great things were expected. According to the English practice, "it is imperative that Parliament shall be duly informed of everything that may be necessary to explain the policy and proceedings of Government in any part of the Empire, and the fullest information is communicated by Government to both Houses from time to time upon all matters of public interests," and when information is sought to be withheld, it is only when "public interests will suffer by their disclosure." But if any attempt were made to break it, the aggrieved member "can move the adjournment of the House, or move a resolution, asking the Minister to furnish the information." But as has been truly observed:—

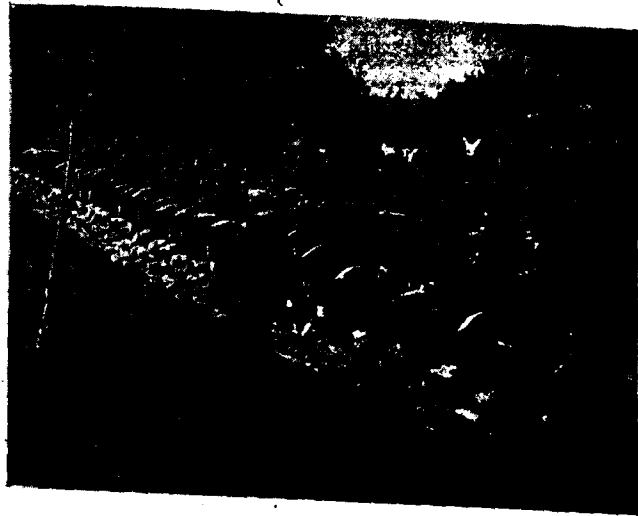
The powers of interpellation given to members of the Legislatures in India proceed on the reverse principle that the Government is not bound to give any information except such as it deems necessary to give in the public interests.

The great boast of the Minto-Morley reforms was that they were designed "to entrust to the Indian peoples a greater share in legislation and Government," and "to really and effectively associate the people of India in the work, not only of occasional legislation, but of actual every-day administration."

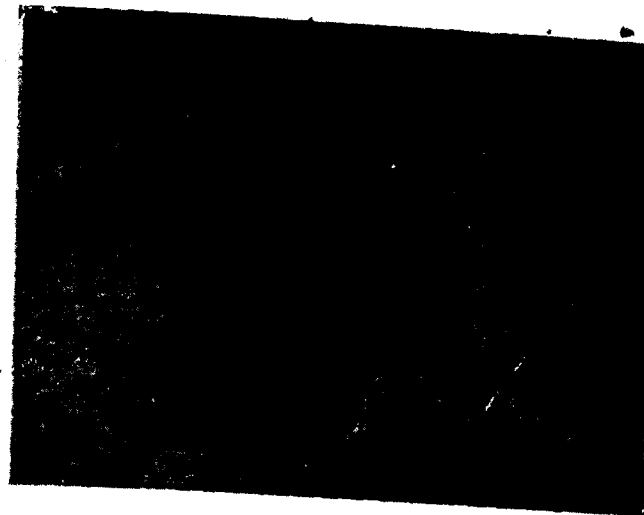
But Indian officialdom, high and low, seems to fight shy of an increased number of meetings of the Legislative Council. The Hon. Pandit M. M. Malavya's resolution in the Imperial Council for more meetings of that body was opposed strongly by the officials, and the reason given by one

Indian Cavalry marching through a French Village.





Gurkhas at kit inspection showing Kukris.



Garhwalis lining Reserve trenches.

of the official members was "either he (the Member of the Executive Council) must do double work, treble work or even more, or else you must multiply the number of Executive Members." If, despite the addition of Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries to the Government of India, further addition to the numbers be deemed necessary, it may certainly be made with advantage; the statement, even if it were true, that the burden of the officials would be increased, cannot be a reason for denying the people's representatives more frequent opportunities to ventilate public grievances. Surely it is the Civil Service exists for the service of the people and not the people for the convenience of that service. In the Madras Legislative Council a recommendation made by a non-official member that not less than eight meetings of the Local Council should be summoned in a year was stoutly opposed. The opposition, of course, was expected, and there was nothing unusual in it. But it is interesting to know the reasons given by H. E. Lord Pentland, the head of the Province:—

The Legislative Council was not an expensive toy. It was not merely a debating assembly. It was an assembly which had for its purpose the assistance of them all in considering questions connected with the administration of the country, and it ought to be directed to all practical purposes for that assistance.

Not content with this, His Excellency thought it fit to state in open Council:

Every question needlessly framed, every resolution brought up which had no substance in it, took up time which meant public money:

and this is the homily administered to the non-official members of the Madras Legislative Council, several of whom are busy professional men, who have been for years systematically making a sacrifice of their time and money in devoting themselves to public work.

When Lord Morley's reform scheme was announced, in common with several of our distinguished countrymen, who rejoiced over the new era that was dawning, the late Mr. R. C. Dutt, who himself laboured not a little for the promotion of those reforms and, in addition, had the privilege of private correspondence and discussion with Lord Morley over it, advised his countrymen to accept the scheme with gratification. He was particularly happy over the wide powers given to the Provincial Legislative Councils to discuss questions of general interest in relation to Executive administration, and this is how he looked forward to the future work of the Legislative Councils.

This will give members of Council, for the first time, the power to travel beyond Legislative Bills, and to inquire fully into the executive administration of the Province. Any executive action which excites general interest, harsh plague relief measures, the over-assessment of a district, gross police misbehaviour in a subdivision, inadequate relief operations in times of famine, inundation or other calamities, inadequate provision of village pasture by the Forest Department, unlawful obstruction to a gathering or religious procession, all such matters will form the subject, not of interpellation only as at present, but of debates ending in resolutions when called for. For the first time, the Legislative Councils will have some control over Provincial administration.—Quoted in the "Life and Work of Romesh Chunder Dutt," by Mr. J. N. Gupta, M.A., I.C.S.

What sort of control the non-official members of the Legislative Council exercise over Provincial Administration and how their efforts in that direction are discouraged and often thwarted, it is needless to mention again. The plain truth is that Lord Morley's reform scheme became an accomplished fact, because Lord Minto realised the true character of the situation and insisted upon it. The Indian bureaucracy never welcomed it; for the matter of that, they have never countenanced any measure of reform which made an inroad on their cherished rights and privileges. The situation was truly and effectively described by Pandit Bishen Narain Dhar in his presidential address to the Indian National Congress held at Calcutta in 1911:—

The first draft scheme published by the Government of India was their (bureaucracy) handiwork and was at once condemned by the Indian public. Lord Morley transformed it into a more liberal and popular scheme. The point, however, is that the policy of reform did not originate with them. On the contrary it was opposed by them.

The bureaucracy, which had been accustomed to govern with all its prestige and power, was unwilling to part with any portion of it and share any of their rights with the representatives of the people. That this was the actual state of affairs could be substantiated from the fact that His Honor Sir Edward Baker, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, in his speech at the Bengal Council Meeting, had to make the following special appeal to the Civil Service:—

I hold that a solemn duty rests upon the officers of Government in all branches, and more particularly upon the officers of the Civil Service, so to comport themselves in the inception and working of the new measures as to make the task of the people and their leaders easy. It is incumbent upon them loyally to accept the principle that these measures involve—the surrender of some portion of the authority and control which they now exercise, and some modifications of the methods of administration. If that task is approached in a grudging or reluctant spirit, we shall be sowing the seeds of

failure, and shall forfeit our claim to receive the friendly co-operation of the representatives of the people. We must be prepared to support, defend, and carry through the administrative policy, and in a certain degree even the executive acts of the Government in the Council, in much the same way as is now prescribed in regard to measures of legislation; and we must further be prepared to discharge this task without the aid of a standing majority behind us. We will have to resort to the more difficult arts of persuasion and conciliation, in the place of the easier methods of autocracy. This is no small demand to make on the resources of a service whose training and traditions have hitherto led its members rather to work for the people, than through the people or their representatives. But I am nevertheless confident that the demand will not be made in vain. For more than a hundred years, in the time of the Company and under the rule of the Crown, the Indian Civil Service has never failed to respond to whatever call has been made upon it or to adapt itself to the changing environment of the time. I feel no doubt that officers will be found who possess the natural gifts, the loyalty, the imagination, and the force of character which will be requisite for the conduct of the administration under the more advanced form of government to which we are about to succeed.

Can anyone, who has watched the course of events in the country since the Minto-Morley reforms, truly say that there has been any perceptible change in the attitude of the Bureaucracy to non-official public opinion? Indeed, there are some who go so far as to aver that even the war, which is supposed to have materially changed the angle of vision, has effected little or no change in the official attitude in India. Sir Edward Baker's appeal to the Civil Service "to resort to the more difficult arts of persuasion and conciliation, in the place of the easier methods of autocracy," has been, generally speaking, an appeal made in vain. Not only has a systematic attempt been made to disregard and defeat the recommendations and resolutions brought forward by the non-official representatives of the people, but time after time the Civil Service officials have added insult to injury by making the preposterous claim that they are the truer representatives of the people—the toiling masses—and that they take better care of their interests and welfare than the educated non-officials. Everyone knows that the distinction sought to be made is as mischievous as it is "unreal and ridiculous." Everybody knows that many an English official, "standing in a proud and sometimes contemptuous isolation which prevents him from ever acquiring a real hold over the facts of native life," and with his unmanageable jaw "which never helps him to acquire anything distinctly approaching to a living knowledge of the language of the people," often "betrays the most startling inability to enter into and comprehend the simplest facts of native life and native thought."

It is absurd that a foreign bureaucracy, ignorant of the language of the people and unacquainted with the feelings and thoughts of the people, their ways of life, their ambitions and aspirations, should pose as their friend and deny to their educated brethren, who are born of the people, bred up among the people, and live among the people, the right to speak for them. The Anglo-Indian frame of mind has been well described by Sir Auckland Colvin, when he says: "The English mind in India has been tempted to stand still, arrested by the contemplation of the fruits of its efforts in former times and by the symmetry of the shrine, the pride of its own creation in which it lingers to offer incense to its past successful labours," and the Civil Service makes it a grievance when it is criticised, failing to realise that the days of the rule of the benevolent and unquestioned autocrat are over.

What is particularly annoying to the officials in the present situation is well portrayed by Mr. J. A. Spender, of the *Westminster Gazette*, in his remarkable book, *The Indian Scene*, written soon after his visit to India during the time of the Delhi Durbar:—

Every step that the Government takes has to be argued and justified to the Legislative Councils, the native press, the bazaar, the increasing number of young Indians who have imbibed Western ideas. To many of the older officials—excellent men whose services can scarcely be exaggerated—the process seems equally disagreeable and undignified. It was not in their contract that they should have to come out of their sanctums and enter into argument with glib Babus, who will perhaps beat them at the word game. Their ideal was that of the silent efficient with no capacity for public speaking. Anglo-India works with the pen and piles up mountains of memoranda (many of which go for ever unread), and it has a corresponding contempt for the man who is effective with his tongue, for the Parliamentarian, the platform orator, the Congress speaker. So far is this driven that positive incapacity for public speaking seems to be counted a virtue; and among the more conservative the opinion is freely expressed that the Service is ceasing to be an occupation for gentlemen and scholars.

Hence the present state of things cannot continue any longer without causing grave injury to the interests of the people and of the Government itself. The nineteen non-official members of the Viceroy's Council state but the bare fact when they observe that, "the people or their representatives are practically as little associated with the real government of their country as they were before the reforms."

Their memorandum and the scheme of reforms, unanimously adopted by the Congress and the Moslem League, rightly lay down that in

the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils four-fifths of the members should be elected. Both the documents point to the urgent need there is for having a substantial majority of elected representatives in the Imperial and Provincial Councils; for "the one general objection which applies to all the Councils is, that the non-official majority is composed of both elected and nominated members which, as the Councils are now constituted, means a standing and, indeed, an overwhelming official majority in every one of them," and Lord Morley certainly never dreamt of this sort of non-official majority when he granted us the concession. His intention was to give us a substantial non-official majority.

As proof of this, we would point out that in the speech he delivered in the House of Lords, on December 17, 1908, on the proposed constitutional reforms justifying the proposal to do away with the standing official majorities in the Provincial Legislative Councils, Lord Morley observed:—

But anybody can see how directly, how palpably, how injuriously, an arrangement of this kind tends to weaken and, I think I may say, even to deaden the sense, both of trust and responsibility in the non-official members of these Councils. Anybody can see how the system tends to throw the non-official member into an attitude of peevish, sulky, permanent opposition and, therefore, has an injurious effect on the minds and characters of members of these Legislative Councils.

Almost every non-official Indian member who has sat in the reformed Councils characterises the so-called non-official majority in the Provincial Councils "a delusion and a snare," and it is somewhat significant to note that when the Bill was discussed in the House of Lords and in the House of Commons, Lord Amthill stated that the non-official majority was not an actual one but only seeming, but Earl Percy went so far as to say, "it was a sham." If any improvement is to be effected in the existing state of things, the non-officials must have a substantial elected majority in the Councils. The increase in the numbers suggested for both the Councils is certainly not too large considering the great strides the country has made in recent years and the vast and varied interests to be effectively represented.

The scheme also formulates reasonable proposals for obtaining "not merely a nominal but a living representation" of the people in the Councils of the country on as broad a franchise as possible, giving at the same time every facility for the representation of important minorities.

Besides possessing a substantial non-official elected majority, every Council must have the

right of electing its own President. For it is essential that discussion should be free and unfettered, and every Member of the Council should be made to feel that when he is in the Council, he is there to speak out his mind freely and unreservedly on the questions that come before it for deliberation. As things are at present, the permanent officials insist upon their time-honoured privilege of deciding what is good for the people, while the legitimate claim of the non-officials to represent the grievances, the wants and aspirations of their own countrymen is disregarded and even scouted. Even Governors of Provinces, though Britishers fresh from England, fall into the hands of the bureaucracy; and things are often presented to them by the official hierarchy in such a light that they are made to stand by their colleagues, to partake in the discussion in the spirit of partisans, press for their own views and often use their influence to secure a majority on their side, and so we have the unexpected, the unnatural, and the unenviable sight of officialdom having the upper hand in Lord Morley's reformed Legislative Councils, when the intentions of the scheme were really to secure just the opposite effect. Debates and discussions carried on under such disheartening conditions cannot in the nature of things be of any real good.

But a mere increase in the numbers of these Councils will certainly not make for any appreciable improvement. It has been and is bound to be really sickening to the representatives of the people to devote their time and talents to a study of the problems of administration and move resolutions in the Councils, the bulk of them being thrown out and the few, even if carried, being not binding on the executive. The non-officials cannot have their heart in the work when, as they have known to their cost, their recommendations have no binding force and it is in the power of the permanent officials to brush them aside or refuse to act upon them at all. As pointed out by the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya,—"and what he says of resolutions proposed in the Imperial Council applies with greater force to those of the Provincial—"

We have moved resolution after resolution in the Imperial Council and, except when the Government has seen it fit to accept the resolution moved by us, every one of them has been rejected. We feel that this is an intolerable situation. We are certain we are not less interested and less honestly anxious for the welfare of our own country and countrymen, than our esteemed European friends of the Executive Council are. It is they who decide whether a resolution passed by the

Legislative Council shall be accepted or shall not be accepted. If I may tell you in confidence, often it is not the Executive Government as a whole which decides it. It is often the secretary of the department or the member or both of them that decide whether a resolution shall be accepted or not. It does not go even to the Executive Council. Whatever decision is arrived at by the secretary and the members is accepted by the rest of the Executive Council. That is the state of affairs, and the result is, that our most earnest endeavours to push forward the reform in domestic matters in various ways are frustrated.

The scheme, therefore, provides that a resolution passed by the Legislative Council should be binding on the Executive Government, and with a view to effectively guard against any hasty or ill-conceived decision, the power of veto is vested in the Governor in Council. If, however, this same resolution, after an interval of not less than one year, be again brought forward before the Council, discussed and carried by a majority, it must be given effect to, because it will then be the twice considered and mature decision of that body.

If then the decisions of the Legislative Council are to be binding on the Executive and its behests enforced, it follows logically that the members should command the confidence of the Legislature; but having regard to our existing conditions, the Congress and the League Scheme will, for the present, be content with a reform which will secure that, at least one-half of the members of the Executive Council shall consist of Indians to be elected by the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Council. The experiment of the admission of two Indians in the Council of the Secretary of State for India, the inclusion of an Indian member in the Executive Councils of the Viceroy and the Provincial Governments has proved a success, an unqualified success, and we have this on the authority of Lord Morley, Mr. Charles Roberts, Lord Minto, Lord Hardinge, Lord Carmichael, and Lord Pentland.

Referring to the services rendered by the two Indian members of his Council, Lord Morley said:—

Those apprehensions regarding this new experiment have been utterly dissipated. The concord between the two Indian members of the Council and their colleagues has been unbroken, their work has been excellent, and you will readily believe me when I say that the advantage to me of being able to ask one of these two gentlemen to come and tell me something about an Indian question from an Indian point of view is enormous. I find in it a chance of getting the Indian angle of vision, and I feel sometimes as if I was actually in the streets of Calcutta.

Speaking at a banquet in honour of Sir K. G.

Gupta, Mr. Charles Roberts, the then Under-Secretary of State for India, said:—

It (the appointment of Indians to the India Council) was not an experiment to-day. It was an undoubted success accepted as a matter of course. That Indians should be on the Council was not merely desirable. It was, he believed, indispensable for the right government of India.

Lord Minto, speaking at the United Service Club, in 1910, gave the following testimony to the services rendered by Sir S. P. Sinha in his Council:

I cannot let this opportunity pass without bearing testimony to the able assistance he has rendered to the Government of India and thanking him for the absolute fairness and broad-minded patriotism which has always characterised the advice I have so often sought from him.

Lord Hardinge paid eloquent tributes of praise to Sir Syed Ali Imam more than once:

As a member of my Council, I repeat, said His Excellency, the presence of Sir Ali Imam has been an asset of the utmost value, and it was a source of unmitigated satisfaction to me the other day to pay him the greatest compliment at my disposal by appointing him Vice-President of my Council.

At a memorial meeting held at Madras in honour of the late Mr. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar, Sir Murray Hammick said:

I learnt to admire his genius, his extraordinary quickness, and, above all, his intense anxiety to be just to all men and to do what he thought best for the welfare and advancement of his country.

Sir John Atkinson said at the same meeting:

He had no administrative experience when he joined the Government. As he himself said to me a day or two after that event he was only a learner. But what a learner! It was astonishing how rapidly he mastered not only the methods of the Secretariat procedure but the substance and intricacies of all the many complicated questions submitted to him.

Only on February 27, 1911, on the eve of the retirement of Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar from the Madras Executive Council, the Government of Madras published the following appreciation of his services:—

H. E. the Governor in Council desires to place on record his warm appreciation of the valuable services which the Hon'ble Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer has rendered to the State during the term of his office. Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer's intimate knowledge of the needs and aspirations of the people of India and his distinguished legal attainments have been of the greatest assistance to His Excellency in Council, while his high sense of duty and genial disposition have secured for him the respect and affection of all.

As late as March 17, His Excellency Lord Carmichael, replying to the farewell address pre-

sented by the Central Mahomedan Association, paid a tribute to Sir Syed Shams-ul-Huda:

"Throughout the last two and a half years, when the action of Turkey had sorely tried the feelings of so many Mahomedans, feelings with which I have the profoundest sympathy, Sir Shams-ul-Huda had been of immeasurable value to me."

The case for the necessity for at least one-half of the number of Members of the Executive Councils being Indians is easily made out.

The Government which recognised the wisdom and justice of admitting an Indian into the Executive Councils of the Viceroy and the Provincial rulers could certainly with advantage to itself and the people add one more to each of them. It would be idle to conceal the fact that the Indian member in every Council often finds himself in a minority while his two colleagues, the permanent officials, the representatives of the Civil Service, with their vested interests, rights and privileges constitute what amounts to a standing majority against him. If there should be two Indian members, to match the two civilians, the Governor of the Province will be obliged to go fully into every question and take upon himself the responsibility of deciding those questions where his Indian and civilian colleagues happen to differ. Such a system will certainly better help the administration than the one now in vogue according to which, when the civilian members agree on a question and so form practical majority, the head of the Province almost invariably accepts their decision as a matter of course. The impotence of the Indian member is greatly aggravated in the case of the Viceroy's Executive Council. Sir Ali Imam made this plain when he declared that but for the countenance and support that it was his exceptional good fortune to enjoy at the hands of the Viceroy, his position might have easily become intolerable. Even assuming that the same good fortune attends the present occupant of the place, which there is in fact much reason to doubt, it would be obviously due to accidental and personal causes and could not afford a guarantee that the Indian view of vital questions had an adequate chance of asserting itself. A touch of humiliation is added to the impotence by the extraordinary power given to a Secretary, always of course a civilian, of referring such orders of a member of Council as he may not approve of to the opinion of the Viceroy or, in the case of Provincial Governments, to any other Member—a power which may be so exercised as to reduce the Indian Member in all important matters to a mere figurehead.

A more satisfactory arrangement would be to exclude the civil service element altogether from the Executive Councils of the Viceroy and the Provincial rulers. For it is well known that none of them is at present master in his own household, and their cabinet "is unduly dominated by a group of permanent officials who enter the Executive Councils automatically, imbued with the spirit of the great centralised departments over which they have been accustomed to preside." For Viceroys and Governors, fresh from Home, with every desire to liberalise their administration, find themselves hopelessly unable to give effect to the policy which they would like to follow, left to themselves. All over the civilised world the permanent official is excluded from a place in the cabinet of his country. It would certainly be no injustice to ask the Indian Civil Servant, following the example of other countries, "to close his official career as the trusted and authoritative head of his department without aspiring to political governance."

Everywhere else the services have simply to carry out the policy of the Government and discharge efficiently the duties they are called upon to do; but in India the Civil Service not only dominates the every-day administration of the country but dictates and enforces its own policy. As has been truly remarked, "In India the term Service is a misnomer; for the Service and the State are interchangeable, or, more correctly speaking, the one is entirely lost in the other," and if the popular will is at all to prevail in the Councils of the Provinces, it should be a condition precedent that if the Civil Service element could not altogether be excluded from them, the Indian element should certainly be equal in number to it.

If the suggestion of the Congress and the Moslem League, that members of the Indian Civil Service should not ordinarily be appointed to the Executive Councils, be accepted, it will enable the Viceroy and the Local Governors "to nominate the members of his own Executive Council from among men, British and Indian, of ripe experience in public affairs, their term of office ending with that of the Viceroy and the Governors."

You may have a Legislative Council with a substantial non-official majority; your resolutions may even be made binding on the Executive; you may provide that one-half of the members of the Council should be Indians. But if the Legislative Councils have no control over the Budget, and the Executive has the right of disposing of your

monies, you will therefore have made no real advance in the reform of the Legislative Councils.

It is certainly not an unreasonable demand that the representatives of the people should have control over the people's money, for that is the one means of compelling the Executive to carry out the will of the people. Students of the English constitution need hardly be reminded that from the time of Edward I, when the first Parliament was formed, the power of the purse has been in the hands of the House of Commons. It was that weapon which ultimately enabled England to obtain the well ordered freedom which she now so deservedly enjoys.

The well known writer on public finance, Mr. H. C. Adams, truly observes, "Money is the vital principle of the body politic. He who controls the finances of the State controls the nation's policy. Constitutionalism is the idea, budgets are the means, by which that idea is realised." This is the true description of the relation that should subsist between finance and constitutional Government. "One of the fundamental principles of every State that either recognises constitutional limitations or purports to develop a constitutional form of government, is the vesting of some measure of control of the public purse in the representatives of the people." This control is usually exercised through the Budget, which is presented by the Executive to the Legislature, wherein the representatives of the people use their efforts "to ensure that care and economy are secured in the finances of the nation." Our Councils, constituted as at present, have no control over the national purse.

In the Despatch which the Government of India sent to the Secretary of State in October 1911, they took care to insist upon one proposition as a constitutional fact, namely, that the power of passing the Budget is vested not in the Legislative Council, but in the Executive, and that it is the latter and not the former that decides any question arising on the Budget. There can be no doubt that, under the law, there is no power in the Legislative Council to claim to meddle with the Financial Statement of the Governor-General in Council. If the constitutional proposition enunciated by the Government of India were accepted literally, it would mean that the Legislative Council has no control over either the raising of revenue or the incurring of expenditure.—A. R. Aiyangar's "Indian Constitution."

Our representatives can claim no right to determine the sources of revenue nor even the annual expenditure. They can only make a recommendation to the Executive in the form of a resolution that certain expenditure need or need not be incurred. But the fate which generally

awaits resolutions by non-official members has already been described.

And it is no wonder that several of the non-official legislative councillors seem to think that their labours in discussing the financial statement are more or less a farce. The Hon. Mr. Abdul Rasul, speaking at the Bengal Legislative Council on the 3rd of April, spoke as follows:—

He wished to say a few words about the futility of the Budget debate. After all they were not allowed to vote on the Budget. They were allowed to make long speeches, and hon. members of the Executive Council reply to them. Those speeches usually referred to matters which had been fully debated on the financial statement. What was the use of repeating those arguments again and again? He would suggest that the procedure should be amended, and that on the day fixed for the Budget debate, there should be no debate at all. After all they had to accept the Budget, and what was the use of all these discussions? Instead of that debate he thought there should be a longer time between the introduction of the financial statement and the day on which they could move resolutions, so that they could not only speak but vote and show their strength. It was true that those resolutions were usually defeated, and often because the European members thought that in season and out of season they must support the Government.

In the same Council, the Hon. Mr. Fazl-ul-Huq began his Budget speech with the following interesting observation, the humour of which will be appreciated:—

I know of a deputy magistrate who was so fully convinced of the infallibility of his judicial wisdom, that he used to write out his judgments beforehand, and then amuse himself by calling upon pleaders and mukhtars to argue the case. The practice of calling upon the non-official members of this Council to discuss an unchangeable and unalterable Budget seems to be as much justified as that followed by this deputy magistrate.

The Hon. Mr. Anvika Charan Muzumdar made a similar complaint but in much stronger terms, and it is as follows:—

My Lord, it is sickening to contemplate that no less than thirty-four resolutions were moved by non-official members on the financial statement; but with the solitary exception of one small resolution, for which the Hon'ble Mr. Hornell must be thanked, they were all stubbornly resisted and rejected by Government. In two cases they were negatived by the bare casting vote of the vice-president in the chair. Surely this ought to be sufficient to break the backbone of even the most obdurate optimist in Your Excellency's Council with of course the exception of those who either paid or unpaid hold a brief for the Government.

The Hon. Mr. V. J. Patel, of the Bombay Legislative Council, put the whole case in a nutshell when he observed:—

My Lord, after all is said and done, what is the amount of control that we non-official members possess over

the financial proposals of Government? . . . We non-official members have merely the privilege of bringing forward proposals and moving resolutions. If this small privilege is thus encroached upon, then no wonder the Morley-Minto Reform Scheme is regarded as a failure. I have read the despatches of both Lords Morley and Minto on which these Financial Rules are based, and I can confidently tell this Council that the liberal spirit pervading throughout these documents is lacking in practice.

The justice of India's claim to have the control of its finances was recognized by Sir William Hunter, when he said:—

I cannot believe that a people numbering one-sixth of the whole inhabitants of the globe, and whose aspirations have been nourished from their earliest youth on the strong food of English liberty, can be permanently denied a voice in the government of their country. I do not believe that races . . . into whom we have instilled the maxim of "No taxation without representation" as a fundamental right of a people, can be permanently excluded from a share in the management of their finances.

It speaks volumes in praise of the patience and public spirit displayed by the non-official members of the legislative councils that, under the most trying and disheartening conditions and "chafing every time at the restrictions placed upon their activity and their usefulness," they should have won the praise of Viceroy and Governors of Provinces for their moderation and self-restraint and for the advice they have given to the Government from time to time. It would be wrong to say that non-official criticism and advice have not been without effect on the policy and administration of the country, but as the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri points out "so high is the expectation which the public entertain now-a-days of the legislative councils, and so keen is their sense of the impotence of their representatives from a constitutional point of view that nothing can satisfy them hereafter short of the power of regulating the policy, disposing of the finances and controlling the Executive."

Such exactly is the nature of the reforms sought to be made in the constitution of Legislative Councils by the Congress and the Moslem Scheme. The entire scheme itself may thus be briefly summarised:

The King-Emperor will govern India through a Viceroy assisted by an Executive Council, composed of six persons, three Indian and three European. The European members will be appointed by the Viceroy, but need not be chosen from the Indian Civil Service or any other Service in India. The Indian members are to be elected by the elected members of the Viceroy's Legislative Council. The Council of the Secretary of State being abolished, and he being reduced to the status of the Colonial Secretary, all control over the

Executive will be exercised by the Legislative Council in India. It will be enlarged to about 150, four-fifths of whom will be elected by the people of the country on a direct franchise, Mahomedans being entitled to a certain percentage of these seats through separate electorates of their own. The members of the Executive Council will be *ex officio* members of the Legislative Council, and the Viceroy will nominate the remaining members from officials as well as non-officials. The Council will enjoy the power of legislation for all India subject to the veto of the Viceroy and to disallowance by the Crown within a certain period. The Council will be competent to interpellate the Executive in the same way as members of Parliament do in England, and to pass resolutions which may be vetoed by the Viceroy in Council but shall be binding on the Executive Government if reaffirmed substantially after one year of such veto. The Council will elect its own Speaker. Its duration like that of the members of the Executive Government will be five years. The Viceroy may dissolve it before its time, but he must summon another Council within a certain period. No more than one year should elapse between one meeting of the Council and another. As to finance, the Executive Government will frame the proposals for each year which will be discussed by the Legislative Council and must be passed in the shape of money Bills. The expenditure on the army and the navy, however, shall not be subject to the sanction of the legislature. The Government of the Provinces is to be more or less on the same lines. Each Province should have a Governor appointed directly by the Crown. Provincial legislation will be subject to the veto of the Governor and to disallowance by the Governor-General. The financial relations between the Government of India and the Provincial Governments are not fully worked out; but the general idea is that there should be a division of the revenues into Imperial and Provincial, and that for deficiencies in the Imperial Budget the Provinces shall be called upon to make contributions on principles to be settled from time to time.—("Self Government for India under the British Flag." By The Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri.)

The scheme itself "falls short of responsible government as understood in the Dominions," and the framers of the scheme have deliberately avoided the full Parliamentary system as unsuitable to the present condition of India. More important still, under the scheme, the expenditure on the army and the navy will vest in the Government of India only. Any impartial critic will therefore see that what India aims at now "would rank distinctly below the Colonial standard and even below the Irish." The truth is our scheme is but "a half-way house," but that is a credit to the Indian politicians who are responsible for the scheme and who have throughout in piloting it been carefully bearing in mind the peculiar conditions in which India finds herself at the present day.

The Memorandum of the Nineteen

BY SIR JAMSETJEE JEJEEBHAY, BART.

It is an ill wind that blows nobody any good as India has discovered in the course of the terrible struggle that is desolating Europe. In the first place, it has demonstrated beyond the possibility of a doubt, if any demonstration on the subject were needed at all, the strength, loyalty and importance of India to the Empire; and, secondly, it has made Great Britain and the Dominions realize what the political and international status of India is and what it ought to be in relation to the strength and glory of the Empire as a whole. Many British and Colonial statesmen of all shades of opinion and all grades of authority have frankly confessed to a change in their angle of vision. Moreover, this is a time when every other part of the Empire is undergoing a process of political introspection, and questions of the reconstruction of the Imperial fabric as a whole and of the readjustment of the internal machinery of its parts are exercising the minds of statesmen. It would be strange, indeed, if at such a juncture India alone were to act the rôle of a silent and disinterested spectator.

As in other parts of the Empire, so in India too, speculation is busy as to what change India's position is likely to undergo after the War internally as well as externally. Among the many pronouncements on the subject, I single out as the most notable the Memorandum of the Nineteen which epitomises the demands of India.

No keen and dispassionate observer of the progress of political thought, education and action in India can afford to dismiss the Memorandum as an ill-conceived document. There may be honest differences of opinion as to details in the scheme proposed; but it cannot be denied that the Memorandum expresses the deliberate and earnest convictions of the leaders of thought in this country, and as such it deserves very careful consideration. It has had the support of all the elected members of the Supreme Legislative Council, except a very few; and in the case of the latter, their action has been repudiated by their constituencies in no uncertain terms. Consequently, the Memorandum can very well be described as being the country's mandate on the subject. It is now too late in the day to contend that the educated classes neither lead nor represent the masses in India. Evidence to the contrary has gathered with overwhelming force during the last few years, and the proceedings of the Congress and Moslem League meetings at Lucknow have demonstrated the strength and solidarity of the National sentiment.

It would be as unwise to shut one's eyes to these signs of the times as to say that the grievances and disabilities which the Memorandum asks to be redressed and removed are imaginary. It is a happy relief to note that at least one of the disabilities catalogued in the Memorandum, or to speak more accurately, only a part of it, has since been removed, though temporarily, by an inevitable change in the military policy of the Government of India. Regarding it, however, one can hardly resist the remark that even there only the fringe of the problem has been touched so far. Let us hope that this as well as other questions affecting the honour, dignity and welfare of India will be dealt with in a statesmanlike spirit. For there is no doubt that otherwise discontent and disaffection will prevail and ruin the work that wise and sympathetic statesmanship has achieved during the last few years.

Nor need any doubt be seriously entertained as to India's fitness to govern herself within certain limits, after the overwhelming proof of high administrative talent and ability given by those who have had or are having opportunities of responsible administration. Moreover, how is fitness to be judged, unless the opportunity to show it is there? If, therefore, it can be shown that wherever there has been an opportunity, the required fitness has been amply displayed, there ought to be an end of that line of argument. And even apart from it all, it must not be forgotten that the sagacious dictum of the late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman that "good government is no substitute for self-government," sums up the teaching of history on the subject of the evolution of governments.

A LEGEND OF SARANATH.*

BY

PROF. P. SESHADRI, M.A.

Hunting, each day the neighbouring Raja came
To wilds of Saranath: the promised deer
Was there to furnish forth the royal game
And thus the monks avoided round the year
Worse havoc in their wood, by banded bow
And feathered arrow. But one cruel morn,
A luckless hind was marked out for the woe;
The creature seemed to deepest pity born,
As, big with young, she looked with guileless eyes,
And meekly bore her weight:—When lo! there came
Buddha, before the king with pitying sighs,
Offering himself, instead, for the game
The awe-struck king fell speechless on his knees,
No more did arrow reach those haunts of peace.

* From the "Nigrodh, Migha Jataka."

PRESERVATION OF PROTOPLASM: 313

Only me! quoth Baby.

BY LIEUTENANT COLONEL R. BRYSON, F.R.C.S.E., I.M.S.

"It is not what a nation gains, it is what a nation gives that makes it great."—(Speech of Prime Minister of England.)

TWO very popular themes in Madras at the present moment are "Reduction of Infantile Mortality" and "Education."

The methods to be adopted by an affectionate parent in order to convert the potential B.A., squirming in his arms into the finished product, a Government Servant, are the subject of many dissertations and numerous experiments. A few observations on the subject of educational efforts to instruct artisan and citizen, merely to live, may perhaps be of passing interest to a few.

Said fond parent may be a prosperous person dressed in a frock coat or a poor ryot adorned with a rag. The degree of affection for their offspring will vary and may be in favour of the cooly, the limits of ambition will also differ and will naturally be higher as a rule in the case of the well-to-do and cultured. The infant knows nothing, about class or wealth, position or education, religion or caste. Instinctively it craves for its birthright, a right to live. Hunger, thirst, a pain in its little inside, discomfort from cold because it is insufficiently clad or from heat due to excess of swaddling garments. These are things baby does understand.

Urdu, English, Tamil are beyond its ken, but there is a universal method of expressing its feelings adopted by every infant in the world and when it cries something is wrong!

Little can be said for or against the child except that it is agreed by all that it should be given a chance. Opinions vary as to how that is to be accomplished. Its weakness is its strength but what about the parents? Civilized, wealthy, educated "He" may be and "His" wife may be a graduate of a University. What trouble have the latter taken and how far have they succeeded in finding out what the former is pleading for in such pitiful strains? Can they, to any extent, translate the language of what in their superior ignorance they call "one that cannot speak." ("In," not, and "fans," pr. p. of "fari," to speak.) Judged without prejudice or bias a howling infant is undoubtedly wanting something. But can the deaf hear? And moreover it exerts no finical discrimination in accepting

what is poured down its alimentary tract nor at a later stage does it mind whether its receptive brain absorbs the tenets of Hinduism or the doctrines of Islam. You may shovel either down its auditory canal without let or hindrance. Yet Daddy who goes to health lectures and reads the "Local Self-Government Gazette," raises not a little finger to interfere when Mummy serves out "Bacterial Kunjee" to their hungry and thirsty offspring. And again Jew and Gentile alike smack their kiddies when, as they suppose, they are naughty.

Baby survives! By a combination of auspicious occurrences and fortuitous circumstances, by some miracle the child lives! Duke's son, cook's son, son of a zamindar, all come of stock who know by dint of effort of sanitary commissioners and by sad experience that a child of tender years is exposed to the risk of an attack of small-pox, with mutilation, loss of eye-sight, loss of life as a result. Vaccination against the disease is a preventive measure, cheap and simple. Not a theoretical problematical fad of a few but a universally accepted precaution of proven undoubted efficacy.

Q. Does that make any difference?

A. Baby's life is cut short at the age of two by an attack of small-pox.

Q. Is this fiction? Are these traveller's tales?

A. India is losing lakhs of Rupees every year from wanton waste, preventable sacrifice of its human harvests.

In the present world-war it is the man-power of the nations that is going to turn the scale for or against victory. If it is the man behind the gun, what about the man who makes the gun, who brought the gun to the man behind it and what about the man who feeds and clothes the lot. It is but a variation of the "House that Jack built," a tale for babes and sucklings replete with wisdom for the sages of all ages. All the countries now involved realize the significance of the perambulator as they never did before.

Public men are trying in various ways to bring home to Indians the great discovery of the age, for the inhabitant of Hindustan is lagging woe-

fully behind the rest of the world in grasping the fact. But what is everybody's business is nobody's business. The masses don't even know that thousands never survive their birth for very long. Each unit grieves for a short time his own loss but is not much interested in the losses of others.

In the opinion of many neither the doctors nor the Government are going to make any appreciable reduction in the high death-rate amongst infants, unless the people take the matter to heart and work out a solution of the problem for themselves.

Compare for a moment a motor car and a baby. Contrast the lavish expenditure on the former with the cold neglect of the latter. The cars are comparatively few in number, difficult and costly to make, owned by a select small section of the community. Roads are maintained for them, tarred and lighted. Taxes are paid for them, they are insured and at the slightest sign of indisposition they are hustled into hospitals which thrive on attending to them. A distinct corporation exists in their interests alone, to see to it that they are saved from the possibility of accident or collision. All this solicitude to reduce the mortality rate of an inanimate object.

Audi alteram partem. The case for, the state of the babe. To begin with it is Nature's culminating effort. Rich in the profusion of her generous gifts she would seem almost to defeat her own aims by the lavishness of her blessings for that which is common is not valued. The most wonderful thing in creation is the common possession of squire and hind, black and white, a universal property! Living, growing protoplasm needing only the initial start on its course, mysteriously imparted to it on the conjunction of two microscopic cells brought into proximity of each other. It needs not the aid of draughtsmen and mechanics, it evolves its own motor, carburettor, *et hoc genus omne*. Its spontaneous development continues till the man is in his prime, and more, it has up to a certain stage the power inherent to resist the malign influence of outside circumstances, it can adapt itself to a great extent to its environment. Would that my motor had greater power of adaptation and jolted me less on a ratty road.

Botanists explain the waste of pollen by saying that Nature provides against such loss in order to preserve the species. The *genus homo* still pervades the earth but many of its orders are dying out because they have not learnt in

time the value of their own seed. It takes centuries of civilization to bring a realization of the correct value of a human infant.

Incredible as it may seem, it would appear, judging by facts, that the existence of a class of the community who make a speciality of children is known only to a very few in India. They are commonly known as physicians and they study how to safely conduct them over their first threshold, to rear them in health and treat them in sickness and to protect them from those evil influences to which they are particularly susceptible. A few individuals appreciate their value and make use of them when a child in their own particular circle needs them but there their appreciation ceases. To enable others in less favourable circumstances to take advantage of their skilled services never strikes them. In this twentieth century you scour the length and breadth of the Presidency in vain for endowed children's hospitals. If the doctors are not afforded facilities for treating the sick infant, is it surprising that they have no chance of assisting in the successful bringing up of the healthy child.

Shades of culture and civilization! How far is India superior to China? Will any Indian dispute the fact? And yet the Chinaman pays his medical attendant so long as he is in good health and docks him his salary when he falls ill. Go to the ant and consider his ways. Be wise and hearken to the cry of the sanitarian. Pay him his maintenance and exact results in accordance with his endeavours. Only see to it you do not frustrate his efforts by crass stupidity and veneration of customs however damnable in their results.

Baby will benefit most by his ministrations and cries aloud for him but sad to relate you don't understand what he shouts at you at the top of his voice. In a few months he will give it up as a bad job. None will listen to his weary wail and he leaves an unsympathetic world let us hope for a better. It could not be worse, for it ruthlessly snatches away the only thing of value to it, its life.

So much for this part of my subject. A few observations on Education to round up what has gone before.

Deep at the root of the annual holocaust is a matter of vital importance, viz., finance. And yet in all the schemes proposed, discussed and sometimes even carried into partial execution how carefully is it ignored. What wonder they make no more impression, on the high mortality rates, than would a snail sedulously attacking a pyramid with its delicate horns. Many infants

must die from poverty from the present era to the end of the world. Lack of funds to impart to the parents an understanding of their infant's need, want of means to supply those needs when understood. Medicine costs money and so does milk. Give a healthy child a good house in sanitary surroundings, good food, suitable clothing, adequate provision for keeping clean and so on and he can't help living. He may laugh but he won't cry. And you can pay the sanitarian out of the money you save on doctor's bills with much benefit to yourself and your family as fewer tears need be shed. The poor agriculturist and the down-at-heel citizen will agree with all this but will probably remark that, so far as they are able to provide the items enumerated, you might without inconveniencing them add a chunk of the moon and a brace of constellations from the heavens. If, therefore, finance is *La Source*, the Alpha and Omega of the matter, it becomes a question first of how to engage the sympathy of the financiers and next how to lead and direct their activities into the correct channels. One illustration will show what a difference may result from the prevalence of sound ideas at a critical moment. Thirty-six years ago an Indian gentleman of rank, wealth and knowledge, and brimming over with the milk of human kindness conceived the idea of bestowing a large sum of money on some charitable object. Many projects were considered, and he was all but persuaded to add another choultry to the many in existence. At the last moment wiser counsels prevailed and he built and endowed a maternity. Some 30,000 women have been confined in this hospital during these years and the mortality rates in the last annual report was for mothers 1.04 per cent. and for babies 2.18 per cent. Compare these with the corresponding figures for the general population and note that a large number come to hospital only because they were very ill or thought there was little hope of recovery. Incidentally a remarkable coincidence might be mentioned. At that time our philanthropist had no son though it may well be imagined it was the one burning desire of his heart to possess an heir to his wealth. It was his son who told us the story and who informed us that it was the first matron of his father's hospital who was in attendance when he was born. The blessings of his father's endowment increase with the passing years and he is now deeply interested in extending the scope of its activities.

It is obvious that there is a wide field for education of a special nature and the aims and

objects of its teaching are numerous. First one would need to get in touch with the scholars who are earnestly, conscientiously, interested in the well-being of their fellows and willing to spend their own excess of wealth wisely and well, thus demonstrating in a practical way their fitness for disposing, with the best results, of the property of others. Words without deeds are futile in these days and the public are acquiring a fine discrimination in appraising the value of a public man of means who stops short with expressing his sympathy with suffering humanity in platform oratory. *Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin.* This is the interpretation of the thing. *Tekel* thou art weighed in the balances and art found wanting, etc. Having tracked down the members of your class the need for a mighty effort to save the wreckage of infantile mortality and prevent the storms which play such ruthless havoc amongst the new born must be brought vividly to their notice. Next they must be instructed in the numerous methods in which mortality rates might be approximated to those of more civilized communities. The establishment of maternities is only one of many such. Amongst others to be dealt with in the curriculum would be institutions for the training of midwives to supplant that terrible curse, the barber-midwife, now a thing of the past in European countries. Out-patient dispensaries for women and children exclusively. Hospitals for children. The erection and endowment of milk depots where poor mothers can obtain milk for nothing or next to nothing for themselves and for their babies. An adequate supply of nurses and doctors and lady visitors for the poor of the community who can have their services in their homes free of charge. Creches for working women. Pre-maternity wards and periodical medical inspection of school pupils. Such are a few of the establishments for which Indian childhood cries, and cries in vain. And this in a country where an able-bodied mendicant is never turned away from the door with an empty hand, where the good housewife considers it a point of honour always to have ready a small dole of rice, if nothing more, for any and every applicant on her threshold. A land where it is the custom to feed a certain number of beggars on great occasions. Pamper the mendicant, a stranger in your gates, and neglect your own flesh and blood. Queer contradiction and surely a case in which charity should begin at home. Do you wonder at high mortality rates? Marvel rather that so many infants live.

Fashions in fabrics change and so do fashions

in charity. The Indian is getting clearer views on the values of bequests. Many are beginning to question the utility of hoarding vast stores of uncut gems in the dim recesses of a temple, clearly a most unprofitable investment, of benefit to few. Even as an exhibit they compare badly with what one can see in the plate glass windows or glass topped cases brilliantly illuminated of an up to date jeweller's shop. And here in an effort to increase the wealth of the nation by conserving its youth is a glorious opportunity. One could think of no better outlay from the point of view of returns.

In a course of lectures to the wealthy philanthropists the syllabus would be incomplete if it did not include the subject of mistaken notions, widely extant, which need a very thorough overhauling. As examples of some of these: It is cleanliness not a show of cleanliness which is next to godliness. If with better knowledge you do not insist on strict sanitary precautions in your own house you are not likely to obtain good results in your poor neighbour's hovel even though you spend money to enable him to do so. Example is better than precept and in this case worth much.

When you are making a charitable offering if you do it with one eye on the honour's list you are not doing yourself justice, for common sense must tell you that honours must cease, automatically, to be an honour if it became possible to purchase them. A suggestion has been made that it would be well to institute a class of distinctions, one could hardly call them honours, as a reward for donors of charitable gifts. But such have not yet been invented and surely a little reflection will satisfy you that there can be no honour so great, no reward so valuable as that of calling into being and providing for, the maintenance of an institution to benefit your own and future generations. Carefully thought out and organized, and run on business lines the receipts will be at the rate of compound interest and more. It does good long after you yourself have departed this life and the benefits accruing increase with the rolling centuries, for well ordered hospitals, homes and the like invariably grow as their importance and utility are recognized. A rose by any other name would smell as sweet and one who lives to-day was when he died just William Shakespeare. The guide to St. Paul's Cathedral, when you ask him about its architect, tells you it was designed by Wren and points to the inscription "*Lector, si monumentum requiris,*

circumspice." (Reader if thou seekest his monument look around.)

Don't be put off with the idea that this is the work of a Government. It is an unfortunate fact that most of the work in the way of rescuing infants is done in India with State-aid. But how can any administration tackle such a vast problem with the comparatively minute sums at their disposal. It has never been accomplished anywhere in the world and how would you enjoy the enormous taxation which would be necessary. A volunteer is worth a dozen conscripts. While you are soothing your conscience by vainly endeavouring to shuffle responsibilities, babies are dying in hundreds and thousands. It is no use saying Indians won't go to hospitals. Who wants to? How often does one hear of hospitals being closed for lack of attendance? On the other hand how often do you hear of requests for extension, of complaints of overcrowding and so forth?

As a result of this war, rich and poor have gained a better idea of what is required to save life and restore the sick to health.

At its close a great campaign might well be started against the causes that cut short in the prime the lives of the Indian nation. But the units of which the nation is composed must do their bit and then only will the truth of Mr. Lloyd George's dictum be realized.

SONNET.

BY

MR. MONINDRANATH CHATTERJI, B.A., L.T.

The world now lies a-groaning in her throes!

Time, as her nurse, an eager watch doth keep;

To hail the glorious issue angels peep

From airy nooks, and oft their eye-lids close

In pray'r; down from a silver planet flows

A genial beam; from the Olympian steep

The bright eyes gaze below; Hell's vasty deep

Locks up who wander here as Man's dark foes!

Ay, great things are now struggling to be born

From such uproar's tumultuous echoings;

For, when night's storms are past, a smiling morn

Makes glad the universal face of things:

And long Alemena lay in travail sore

Till she brought forth the hero fam'd of yore.

War-Time Finance, Trade, and Shipping in Japan

BY MR. SAINT NIHAL SINGH.

Almost every month brings fresh proofs of Japan's financial strength during war-time. Large blocks of bonds floated in London and Paris for purposes of prosecuting the Russo-Japanese War, have been cancelled on several occasions. Nippon has bought a considerable quantity of British Treasury Bills, and has floated a loan for Britain. She has given large credits to Russia to enable her to buy munitions made in Government and private factories. The Japanese Government has had no difficulty in obtaining loans internally.

Industrial concerns of all sorts have readily secured large sums of money that have been spent on expanding their capacity for production and distribution. Money has also been forthcoming for the establishment of many new enterprises. There have been occasions when there has been such a plethora of money in the country that people have found it difficult to invest their surplus.

These are all indications of a prosperity that is unprecedented in the annals of Japan. For two years the balance of trade has been in her favour, in an ever increasing amount. The excess of exports over imports was Rs. 26,37,85,588 during 1915, and is estimated to have exceeded Rs. 55,65,00,000 during the following year.

In 1914, the balance of trade was somewhat against Japan. During the three preceding years, the excess of imports over exports had been very considerable. With two exceptions, i.e., in 1898 and 1905, the balance of trade had never been so heavily against the Japanese as in 1913, the amount in that year being Rs. 14,50,00,000. Between 1896 and 1914, both years inclusive, there were but two years (1906 and 1909) when the balance of trade was in favour of Japan, and on each occasion only by a small margin. War-time prosperity, therefore, is doubly welcome to the Japanese.

Before the war, Japan was moreover a borrowing country. Her Government was heavily in debt to Europe. The amount of foreign loans outstanding on March 31st, 1915, was Rs. 2,22,83,25,996. Japanese industries had been built up on money borrowed from the West. Many of them were handicapped by lack of capital, and looked with longing eyes to Europe and America for additional financial support, for purposes of improvement and expansion.

The outbreak of hostilities, rudely disturbed the tenor of Japanese evolution. It stopped the flow of money, machinery, and raw and manufactured products from Europe, on which Japan depended to a great extent. For a time, at least, it dealt a heavy blow to her export trade, dislocated her industries, and threw all classes of people into distressing conditions. Only the wisdom and resourcefulness of the people have enabled them to withstand the shock of war, to adjust themselves to the conditions created by the struggle, and to turn to account the opportunity that the crisis provided.

The efforts of the Government to tide the nation over the critical period have been singularly successful, and are primarily responsible for the prosperity that now prevails in Japan. Japan found herself, at the outbreak of hostilities, with a large surplus in the treasury; she had got wind of the coming cataclysm, she could not have been better prepared to face the crisis.

The Government at once took measures to guarantee the war marine insurance so as to enable the merchant ships to carry on their work. Rs. 1,20,00,000 were sanctioned out of the Imperial Treasury to relieve the distress of persons who produced silk and other articles for export to foreign markets, as it was certain that the export of such articles would fall during the initial months of the war. A bountiful rice crop produced in the country in 1914 led to an unprecedented fall in the price of that food-stuff—the most important product of the land—and caused great misery among the agricultural classes. Government stepped into the rice market and made heavy purchases in order to keep up the price.

For several months after the outbreak of hostilities, the Japanese foreign trade remained in a depressed condition, causing great economic depression throughout the country. In the later half of 1915, however, conditions began to change for the better. The need for munitions in Russia led that country to make an ever-increasing demand upon Japan. The rise of prosperity in the United States of America created a market for Japanese silk and other luxury products. The appreciation of silver increased the volume of Japanese exports to China. As the course of the war lengthened, Nippon extended her commerce in all the countries that formerly depended upon

Europe for obtaining their supply of manufactured goods.

No one will be amazed to learn that Japan's largest customer last year was Russia. The value of Russian purchases of Japanese goods in 1915 was more than seven times greater than it was in 1914. Japan's exports to Britain doubled in a single year. Her exports to France also increased considerably. On the other hand, her exports to Italy fell off. On the whole, however, the increase in the orders from Russia, Great Britain, and France more than made up for what she had lost through the entire stoppage of her export trade with the enemy countries.

Japan has greatly extended her trade with India. Her exports to our country, slightly under Rs. 4,50,00,000 in 1913, were more than Rs. 6,30,00,000 in 1915. Commodities imported from India, however, declined from about Rs. 25,90,00,000 in 1913 to about Rs. 22,00,00,000 in 1915. Since imports from India in 1913 had been much in excess of the normal, the shrinkage is somewhat smaller than is indicated by these figures.

Japanese trade with the Straits Settlements, the Dutch Indies, Siam, and the Philippine Islands expanded considerably during the last year. Australasia also gave larger orders to Japan. The United States of America proved a good customer, and the volume of exports to various South American countries increased.

A careful analysis of the export statistics shows that the greatest expansion has taken place in copper, woollen cloth, leather manufactures, and silk and cotton tissues. Russia, Great Britain and America all bought greater quantities of copper. Russia bought large quantities of woollen cloth and leather goods. The increase in the value of exports of knit underwear, buttons, porcelain, earthenware, ironware, machinery, rubber tyres, brushes, lamps, toys and fertilizers exceeded Rs. 15,00,000 in each case. Window glass was exported for the first time.

I have been surprised to note how the Japanese have succeeded in capturing the English market that was formerly supplied by Germany and Austria. Hosiery and knit underwear that, before the war, came from Central Europe, are now obtained from the Far East. Last summer women were wearing hats made in Japan. Millions of pairs of gloves have been imported to Great Britain from Japan since the outbreak of the war. France has obtained large consignments of Japanese matches. A large stall in the Industries Fair, held in London last year, was devoted to Japanese manufacturers, and as one

examined article after article, one was compelled to admire the ingenuity and enterprise of the Japanese people.

A careful examination of the commodities imported into Japan shows that the raw materials needed for the manufacturing processes have been imported in large quantities, and show little or no shrinkage when compared with the imports of previous years. Indeed, some of the materials were bought in larger quantities than ever before. This was especially the case with imports of oil seeds, hides and skins, tanning materials, crude caoutchouc, shells, animal and vegetable fibres, pulp for paper-making, and ores. The home industries needed large supplies of these commodities to meet the increased demand.

It speaks much for Japanese organization that they were able to obtain and to transport raw materials at a time when the rest of the world was bemoaning the shortage of tonnage. It also speaks much for their energy that all the raw materials imported were rapidly converted into manufactured goods and shipped abroad.

The Japanese are particularly proud to have been able to get along without German dyes, medicines, and chemicals since the war began. Formerly they depended almost altogether upon the principal enemy country for such supplies, as, in fact, did Great Britain, the United States of America, and other countries. The shortage caused by the stoppage of the import of German dyes has been met by the increased use of natural indigo and other vegetable dyes. The home production of medicines and chemicals has grown greatly. The Government has rendered assistance to these industries by enacting a "Law for the Encouragement of the Manufacture of Dyes, Medicines and Chemicals."

Gas and electrical industries have been developed since the war began, and such development has enabled Japan to get along with smaller quantities of kerosene. The import of that article has gone down in consequence.

The Japanese are desirous of importing machinery from abroad to supplement the production. The war has greatly interfered with such imports, and this has dealt a blow to the industrial world. Some of the orders for machinery placed in Europe before the war are being transferred to the United States of America; but that country is immersed in the work of producing munitions, and none too eager to execute such commissions. Japan is thus being thrown upon her own resources, and this will stimulate her machine industries which they were already making rapid progress.

I have already alluded to the part played by Japanese shipping in producing unprecedented economic prosperity in Japan. If the nation had not possessed a considerable number of merchant ships at the outbreak of the war, and had not stimulated their manufacture since then, she would not have been able to carry on the foreign trade that she has handled since August 4, 1914. Enemy shipping which formerly played an important part in Far Eastern trade has been out of commission. The shipping of the Allies has been largely engaged in war-work, and in carrying the necessities of life to support the people in the Allied countries and the armies in the field. Through the operation of Seamen's Act, the Oriental service of the Pacific Steamship Company from San Francisco has been suspended during the greater part of the duration of the war. In these circumstances, Japan would have found herself stranded if she had not had a merchant marine of her own, and had not been able further to expand it. In 1915, Japanese vessels to the number of 13,803, with a total tonnage of 26,892,886 entered the Japanese ports, whereas in 1913, the number was 1,278, and the tonnage was 1,752,892.

The far-seeing Japanese are trying to make their people realise that with the stoppage of hosti-

lities the conditions that have stimulated Japanese economic life will more or less disappear. There is not the least doubt that the Japanese will not find it easy to retain all the trade that they have captured during the war. Already there is complaint that the Japanese goods are shoddy. Persons who make these complaints fail to realise that they are receiving good value for their money, and that it is idle to compare Japanese articles bought at low prices with others manufactured elsewhere sold at a much higher price.

Whatever may happen in future, the Japanese are at present living and working most wisely. Instead of frittering away their money upon luxuries, they are paying off their debts to foreign nations, making loans or giving credit to their European Allies, and extending their capacity for production. The new Budget proposes to pay off Rs. 12,00,00,000 of foreign debt. Rs. 7,50,00,000 are to be paid off by means of the sinking fund that is being provided. The remaining Rs. 4,50,00,000 are to be paid by raising an internal loan. The Government also proposes to raise an additional loan of Rs. 20,75,00,000 by means of further domestic loans. The Budget reflects the great financial strength that Japan has acquired in war time.

INTENSIVE FARMING IN INDIA.*

BY MR. A. K. YEGNANARAYANA IYER, M.A.

UNDER this title are brought together in a collected form various papers published from time to time by the author either as separate pamphlets or as articles in newspapers. In the main, the book is a very elaborately set out plea for the extended use of artificial fertilisers in India. Chapters dealing with the elementary principles of agriculture followed by one on the nature and value of various manures, both natural and artificial, lead up to a discussion of the problems of manuring connected with the important crops like rice, cotton, wheat, sugar-cane, tea, coffee, cocoanut, potatoes and onions. These chapters are prefaced by one mainly dealing with co-operative organisations by way of explaining the methods of helping farmers to raise the funds required for purchasing these fertilisers. This chapter written more or less on the lines of Pratt's well-known book on the subject will be found to be one of

the most interesting in the book, for examples are taken from nearly every country in Europe to show how the movement has transformed their once poverty-stricken peasantry into thriving agriculturists.

The question of an adequate supply of manure to meet the needs of expanding cultivation, and for increasing the produce on the areas already under cultivation, is certainly becoming more and more acute. To meet this situation the departments of Agriculture in India are trying to popularise various methods, viz., the improvement of the quality of the cattle manure itself by better methods of collecting and conserving, the growing of green manure crops to a much larger extent than at present, the use of the less costly and locally available commercial manures like oil-cakes, fish guano, bone-meal and the like more generally, and to a limited extent especially as trials, the use of costly imported fertilisers like sulphate of ammonia, sulphate of potash, basic slag or superphosphates in cases where the condition such as plentiful irrigation water, the

* "Intensive Farming in India," by John Kenny, Director of Agriculture in Hyderabad: Higginbotham & Co., Madras.

growing of valuable crops and, above all, the means of the raiyat may warrant the trial. At the present time this caution is quite essential owing principally to the high price of these fertilisers; for cases are not by any means rare where artificials yielded out-turns neither commensurate with their cost nor such as could not be secured by the use of cheaper manures.

There can be no question as to the excellence and value of these fertilisers; their use is practically universal in Europe and America and to the ordinary man at least what is loosely termed scientific agriculture is synonymous with the use of these fertilisers. The author deals with them fairly exhaustively. The principles of manuring, the nature and value of practically every article that may be used as manure, the manurial requirements of the various crops mentioned above, criticisms of manurial experiments on different crops conducted in practically every country in the world and a great many useful suggestions—these are features which will be valuable to those engaged both in ordinary farming and in the planting industries.

At the same time we must observe that a more judicious selection of his facts and a more succinct presentation of them would have enhanced the value of the book. As it is, the book suffers from a superabundance of material brought together without regard to the class of readers to whom the author avowedly intends the book. Nor should we pass without comment what we regard as a certain obtrusively objectionable feature in the book; we refer to Mr. Kenny's criticisms of the work of the departments of Agriculture in India and his attitude towards the efforts at the improvement of agriculture in this country.

Without going into the fairness or otherwise of this criticism, we may be allowed to join issue with the author in some of the opinions he has freely expressed or leaves it to be inferred.

"The raiyat knows his business and needs little teaching. Your improved plough is unsuitable, your dry farming, your seed selection and the many details of the art of crop raising which you claim to teach are certainly not new to the Indian raiyat." This is a view expressed with much sarcastic embellishment throughout the book. It may be said in reply that the improved plough is one of the most efficient implements and is being taken up by an increasing number of raiyats in this country. In Mysore, the number can be counted in thousands. They are now made locally in that State in several centres, and these same ploughs are requisitioned

from parts of Hyderabad as well. We should not wonder then if the heavy black cotton soil ploughs of that enterprising firm of Messrs. Kriloskar Brothers of Satara have found their way into the black cotton soil tracts of Hyderabad itself. This increasing use is the best testimony to its value, for it is the raiyat's testimony. As regards the contention that many "improvements" are not new, we can only say that it would be a wonder indeed if they should be new in a civilised country like India where agriculture is centuries old. To admit this is certainly not to admit that there is no scope for their extension. A good practice known in one village or tract is unknown in scores of other villages or tracts and the transference into them of these same practices would be regarded as genuine improvements, losing nothing in usefulness or importance by their not being new to the country as a whole. We believe that much misunderstanding can be avoided if agricultural 'improvements' are recommended not for the whole of India taken as a unit nor even for the provinces but for smaller individual tracts and even groups of villages. Commenting on the ability of the Bengal raiyat to detect and identify paddies with much accuracy, Mr. Kenny exclaims, "And yet we have good earnest souls out fresh from Europe endeavouring to teach the raiyat how to select seeds." It is not quite clear what Mr. Kenny means by selecting seeds; if it is the identification of the different varieties as the context would indicate, it is certainly not commonly understood by that line of improvement. Whatever it may be, the remark shows the spirit in which Mr. Kenny regards some of these attempts of the Agricultural Departments. And yet while there is criticism *galore* of the experiments conducted at the various farms in India, Mr. Kenny has hardly any of his own to go upon; the almost only manurial experiment of his own which he describes is a tale of woe; for the land was unsuitable, the sugar-cane sets dried up, there was trouble with the borer, there was irregular supply of irrigation water, and there was a babul tree overshadowing one of the plots; and despite these we see him trying to draw conclusions from the results.

We are sorry that in an otherwise excellent book we have had to note these blemishes, but we have a right to expect at least a Director of Agriculture to explain the aims and work of the departments of Agriculture in their true perspective and thereby help their up-hill work.

The Place of Manas in Indian Psychology 321

BY MR. P. JAGANNADHASWAMI, B.A., L.T.

THE six *darsanas* are regarded as the best achievements of the genius of this country. But none of them has taken up for its enquiry the problem of analysing mental processes from the standpoint of psychological research. The main problem of the *darsanas* being to lay down the means of liberating the finite soul from the bonds hampering its onward march to become infinite, no special value has been attached to any attempts at the analysis of mental processes as such. This does not mean that psychological analysis of mental events has been neglected, but that it appears in a very incidental manner. Unless a student is careful to sift psychologically treated parts from the exposition contained in the treatises, unless he has prepossession for psychological point of view of looking at mental events, the impression produced will be that no psychological work is contained in these treatises. In the Upanishads are found a few outline sketches of some mental processes; as the sources of all the *darsanaic* learning, they may be regarded as the original sources of psychological research work contained in the later-day Sutrās. In establishing the relation between finite and infinite souls and in therefore analysing the nature of the finite *atman* with a view to discover the infinite elements in its nature, Badarayana, the author of the Vedānta Sūtras, has referred to a few psychological problems. So also in the Sāṃkhya *darsana* appear, in an incidental way, a few problems treated psychologically. Patanjali has often referred to the component elements of the mental context when he has taken up the question of detailing the means of abstracting interest from the objects of external perception. The Nyaya doctrine being mainly logical, the cognitive aspect of mentation has been adequately discussed and here are therefore seen a few outlines of the psychology of cognition. Throughout the *darsanas* are scattered psychological materials.

Manas is one of such problems. This word *manas* is used in different senses in the early Samhita portions of the Veda and in the early parts of the Upanishads; in many places it is very ambiguous. *Manas* is one of the symbols of Brahman as "Mano Vai Brahman"; cf. Brih 4, 1, 6; Chand 7, 3; and Chand 3, 18. In some places *manas* is volition; cf. Chand 7, 4. In some places

it stands for 'feeling,' 'heart,' 'spirit,' 'disposition,' etc. *Manas* is used to denote one of the organs of the body; cf. Satap Br. X 4, 1, 17 and Prasna 6 and the commentary on Svet 5, 14. In many places *manas* is regarded as one of the *indriyas*; cf. Maha 1, Brih 2, 4, 11 and Brih 4, 5, 12. And sometimes *manas* is treated as the central organ to which are subordinated all the *indriyas* and the other organs of the body, or as the central principle which organises all the activities of the body; cf. Garbha 4; Pragna 4, 2; Brih 4, 5, 12 and 1, 5, 3; Vyāsa Sūtras 2, 4, 6; and 2, 3, 22; Svet 1, 5 commentary. So varied and so ambiguous is the usage of the word in the earlier systems of thinking and especially in the Upanishads. But as they have got systematised in the later Sūtras and their Bhashyas, this *manas* has come to be regarded as one of the *indriyas* besides the ten *indriyas* of Karma and Jnana.

Mental context, according to the Indian thinkers, may be said to consist of three important elements, e.g., *atman*, *manas* and the *jñāna indriyas*. *Atman* is the Ego, the subject of all mentation; it corresponds to mind or Ego or better Soul. *Manas* is generally translated by the word mind. Professor Max Muller is largely responsible for this rendering. He seems to have been charmed by the alleged etymological relationship between the two words. But *manas* being an *indriya*, i.e., a gateway of experience, and mind being the subject of all experience, it is incorrect to regard both as equivalent terms. That which corresponds to mind is therefore *atman*. The five *jñāna indriyas* are the five special senses which are the gateways of experience. Comparing these three elements of *atman*, *manas* and the *indriyas* with mind and the five special senses, we find that in the later enumeration there is nothing corresponding to *manas*. The problem of the present paper is to study the need for this extra sense, its nature and its function in mentation.

The five gateways of knowledge are the five special senses, the eye, the ear, the organ of touch, the nose and the tongue. They are the gateways through which colour, sound, tangibility, smell and taste are experienced; these are the qualities that originate in external objects. This perception may therefore be called external perception, i.e., *bahit pratyaksha*. There are also facts of per-

ception which refer not to the external objective reality but to the inward mental life. Experiences of pleasure or pain, recognition of right or wrong, awareness of desires, feelings and such mental changes, these that are not originated in the objective world and are not therefore experienced through any of the five special senses, present a problem for enquiry. Except in the origin of these two classes of facts, they are both equally facts of perception. If the former be called those of external perception, these may be designated as facts of internal perception. If there are *indriyas* to account for the facts of external perception, there must likewise be an *indriya* through which internal perception takes place. If there are *bahit indriyas* (external senses) to serve as the *karanas* (means) of the *bahit pratyaksha* (external perception) there must likewise be an *antah indriya* (internal sense) to serve as the *karana* (means) of this *antah pratyaksha* (internal perception). Such an *indriya* is *manas*. Accordingly it is defined in the *darsanas* as the *karana* (i.e., tool) of the perception of pleasure, pain, etc. *Sukhadukkhadyupalahithasulhanam indriyam manah*. Thus, the need for this extra sense as the eleventh sense lies in the explanation of the so-called internal perception on the same lines as those of external perception. Though in modern psychology these facts of the experience of the mental states are explained without any internal sense, the need for this extra sense cannot be slighted if these subjective facts are looked at from the point of view of the *darsanas*.

Not only for the possibility of internal perception, but for that of external perception also is *manas* necessary. In Vaisheshika Darsana III, 2, 1, *Manas* is described as that which in bringing *atman* and the *indriyas* and the objects of perception together, makes knowledge possible or in not bringing, impossible. The process of perception, as detailed in the books of the Tarka philosophy, is as follows:—*Atman* joins *manas*, *manas* meets the *indriyas*, the *indriyas* meet the objects of perception, *atma manasa samyujyeta*, etc. *Manas* thus brings into relation *atman*, the perceiving subject, and the *indriyas*, the gateways of knowledge. If *manas* therefore is in action, there is knowledge; if it is not, there is no knowledge. Cf. Brih 1,5,3, *anyatra mana abhuvam*, etc. I am become one with *manas* somewhere, I fail to see. I am become one with *manas* somewhere, I fail to hear. One sees by *manas* alone; one hears by *manas* alone and Chanā 7,3, *sat yada manasa*, etc. (When one uses his *manas* to will that he reads, he reads; when one uses his *manas* to will that he acts, he

acts). *Manas* is thus inevitable for any process of mentation. In the waking state of life, this relating agent will bring the immaterial soul within, in contact with the material reality outside. But in sound sleep when there will be cessation of knowledge and of all consciousness, this relating agent, *manas*, gets into a bag-like gland known as *puritati* and is thus cut off from all relation to outside reality. And when *manas* comes out of the bag, it will be in a position to meet either *atman* on the one hand or the *indriyas* on the other and consciousness becomes possible. When *manas* and *atman* meet, there is internal perception; but when *manas* brings *atman* and the *indriyas* together, there will be external perception. This hypothesis of the *puritati* bag is therefore made to explain the fact of the cessation of consciousness in sound sleep known as the state of *sushupti*. As the state of *sushupti* is regarded as the state of *amanda*, i.e., eternal bliss and as *sushipti* is had when *manas* is out of activity, it is said in Vishnupurana "mana eva manushyanam karanam banda moksha yoh: bandhasya vishayasangi mukterm-vishayam tatha."

(*Manas* is the sole cause of the bondage or salvation of man. Relation with the objective reality is bondage and non-relation is salvation.)

Another characteristic of the activity of *Manas* is that it permits only one fact of perception in one moment. Cf. Nyaya Darsana I. 1-16. *yugapat gnanamutpattih manaso lingam*: Knowledge of several things is not had in one single moment; *Manas* will not allow it. This function of *Manas* is further discussed in Nyaya Darsana III, 2-60 to 63, and in the commentary on Sutra III, 2-1 of the Vaisheshika Darsana. In contradiction to this text there may appear to be some facts of experience. While eating a pudding for some considerable time, one person will be engaged in enjoying the taste and the smell of the pudding and in seeing at a beautiful painting or even in meditating upon some important philosophical question; here appear so many acts of consciousness occurring together. One who performs the eight feats of *astavadhanam* is conscious of eight things in one and the same moment. Such examples of experience are quoted in the commentaries; and they are explained in Sutra III, 2-62 of Nyaya Darsana, *Atatachakra* Darsana Vat, etc. If a wheel having a number of spokes is quickly turned round and round, an appearance of one sheet of wheel will be experienced. This is owing to the quick succession of one spoke after another. So also when *Manas* unites a number of *indriya*

experiences. One by one in quick succession, it may appear that all those acts of consciousness have taken place in one single moment. This account of *Manas* may be fairly compared with the problem of the span of attention.

This function of *Manas* is the most important. This determines *manas* to be one but not many. Indeed, every individual has a separate *Manas* (*pratyatmaniyatatatust anekam*); but one individual has only one *manas*. Though there are so many senses as five to perceive different stimuli of the reality, it is not necessary that there must be so many *manases*. The function of *Manas* is to relate the *indriyas* with the *atman*. The same *manas* can relate all the *indriyas*. If more than one *indriya* has to be related with *atman* in the same moment of perception, then surely more than one *manas* is necessary for every individual. But as the Sutra III, 3-60 (*jnanayangapadyadekam manah*) of Nyaya Darsana says, there is only one *manas* because of the absence of different perceptions happening in the same moment of perception.

On the same ground is it declared that *manas* is a substance, i.e., a *dravya*. A *dravya* is defined as one which possesses qualities (*gunas*) or activity (*kriya*). *Manas* possesses this activity of joining the *indriyas* with *atman* and is hence a *dravya*.

Every *dravya* is of some dimension. According to the Vaisheshika doctrine, there are four kinds of dimensions, e.g., infinitely small and infinitely great, small and great. The infinitely small *dravya* is an *anu dravya*, i.e., an atom, the smallest particle of matter. An *anu* is itself imperceivable by the senses, i.e., is *atindriya*. *Manas* is an *anu* substance; it cannot be of any other dimension. It cannot be small or great, because objects of these dimensions are perishing and changing. If it be changing, its relating capacity gets impaired. *Manas* cannot be said to be infinitely great, for objects of this dimension are perceivable by the senses; *Manas* is not so seen. But there is another alternative which must be also refuted. Like *akasa*, *atman*, etc., *manas* may be regarded as a *Vibhu* substance, i.e., a substance that is all-pervading. But *Manas* cannot be all-pervading, because there are occasions when it does not come in relation with the *atman* and the *indriyas*. *Manas* is therefore an atom of substance.

This is about the nature of *Manas*. In explaining the function of *Manas*, some Oriental scholars, even Deussen, appear to have regarded this as a faculty of mind; it is considered as the faculty of attention or as the faculty of volition. But in the light of what is said here about the nature of

Manas, it can be said that it is rather incorrect to dismiss *manas* as "a faculty of self-consciousness." *Manas* is a *dravya* of a particular dimension. It enters the *puritati* and comes out of it in sleeping and waking moments. It is assigned definite and highly significant functions. To regard it as merely a faculty is to make it a non-entity. This faculty-explanation of *Manas* is decidedly against the texts of *darsanas*. *Manas* is a third element required to understand the processes of mentation, though on the lines of modern European Psychology, it is an extravagant hypothesis that leads to ambiguous and incorrect analysis.

This suggests a problem for reflection. Besides the functions that *Manas* is made to do as enumerated above, there is, I believe, a very important function of *Manas* which has not been clearly explained anywhere as yet. If we consider the nature of *Manas*, it is seen that it is a substance, a material substance but one of the smallest dimensions. It stands as a mediating link between the immaterial *atman* on the one hand and the material *indriyas* on the other. As a material substance it joins the *indriyas* which are also *dravyas*, i.e., material substances; and as one of the finest and most subtle dimensions it is able to meet the immaterial *atman*. It is a bond between two orders of existence—material and immaterial. And *Manas* thus solves this riddle of modern psychology how matter and spirit, body and mind are brought into relation. The *indriyas* are indeed more refined than the things of the objective reality but are yet *dwyanukas*, things of two atoms; they are therefore gross. But *Manas*, being an atom, is material and hence able to meet these two atomic *indriyas*. *Manas* is the only substance that is an atom; this unique character of *Manas* shows that it is, though matter, of such a highly refined and subtle character that it approaches the scale of immaterial substances. It is therefore a bridge between these two orders of being; and as such it is assigned some important characteristics of both of them. Like gross matter, *Manas* has some dimension or other and is limited in not being all-pervading. Like spirit, i.e., not-matter, it is unchanging, *atindriya* (not perceivable by the senses); it can move from *indriya* to *atman* and from *indriya* to *indriya* in such a quick succession that is impossible for gross matter. Though the all-pervading *atman* is near, and with, the *indriyas*, both of them do not meet unless *Manas* relates them. This is the place that must be assigned to *Manas* which solves one of the riddles of all thinking, scientific or philosophic, in a very adaptive and happy way.

THE STUDY OF INDIAN ECONOMICS

BY MR. S. A. PANDE, M.A., LL.B.

THE study of Economics may be conveniently divided under the four heads given below, viz :—

1. Positive Economic Science.
2. Economic Art, or "Applied Economics," or what is also called "Art of Political Economy."
3. Economic Politics, or Public Economics;
4. Economic Ethics, or Ethical Economics.

A brief description of these four heads, for the sake of clearness, will not be unwelcome to the readers.

HEADS OF ECONOMIC STUDY.

1. The Positive Science of Economics explains the economic data in the manner of natural sciences; it traces cause and effect in the economic universe. It studies "how man strives to secure his material well-being." It explains how wealth is produced, and how it is distributed, the definition of wealth, and the various factors producing wealth. It does not tell how to produce wealth, but tells how it is produced.

2. The Art of Political Economy is that department of economic study, which elucidates and devises the methods by which a given economic end may be attained. The scope of this department of economic study is to ascertain as to how all economic activities, both of the State and of individuals, should be moulded, with a view to the general well-being in the fullest and broadest sense. The aim of Economic Art, according to Professor Ely, is "such a production, and such a distribution of economic goods as must in the highest practicable degree subserve the end and purpose of human existence for all members of society."

3. Economic politics, says Professor Chapman, is all that politics which has reference to economic facts. This department comprises mostly the activities of the State in the domain of economic facts; some of the economists, like Professor Keynes, do not refer to this department. It is well to recognise this department as a separate entity, as the virtue of minute classification is to facilitate study and avoid confusion.

4. The last, though not the least, in importance, is Economic Ethics which is concerned with what human actions should be in relation to

wealth. In this department we seek to determine ideals in regard to the production and distribution of wealth, so as best to satisfy the demands of justice and morality, says Professor Keynes.

Having given a brief description of the heads of economic study, we shall now consider the manner and way of proceeding with it. We shall take the heads, one by one, and examine what is done with respect to them, and what remains to be done.

POSITIVE ECONOMICS.

And first as to Positive Economics. In all the civilized countries of the West, there exists ample literature on this subject of Positive Economics. In India, however, one is sorry to say, there exists no such authoritative literature on this science. There are a few books, and some of them sufficiently good, which treat of the positive science of economics; but they are not exhaustive. Men like Sir Theodore Morison have urged that India must work out her own theory of the economic science; that the Western theory of economics will not hold good in India, as that theory is based on the Western industrial organisation.

There are, no doubt, some parts of the science which may be said to hold good in all parts of the world; but there are others which will apply only to particular environments. It is therefore necessary that systematic and vigorous efforts should be made to build up a sound Positive Science of Indian economics. Independent study will be needed; the fault of the existing literature on this subject is that it is much more the imitation of the Western science than the exposition of the Indian economics. It is generally believed that our ancients did not devote their attention to the study of economics; but great Sanskrit scholars like Dr. Haraprasad Shastri assure us that the study of Economics was in no way neglected in ancient India. It is not that the Science of Economics was developed by the Europeans only as is generally supposed.

The learned Shastri says that one extensive work on "Arthashastra" (Economics) has been recently discovered. (Vide the paper read by the learned Shastri at the Central Hindu College, recently, and published in the *Indian Review* for April 1916.)

It is said Kautilya's Arthashastra is the last encyclopedic compilation of the entire science as developed by our ancients; it is further told that the book contains the quintessence of ideas developed by ten different schools of thought that preceded the author who flourished at the end of the 4th century B.C.

It is very desirable that our Science of Economics should be based on such ancient indigenous works on the subject rather than on the Western system. Some such starting-points will be very good and helpful in the interests of the study. To develop the science on the above lines, it will be very advisable and essential that the veteran Indian students and professors of the subject should devote their leisure to the study of the science. The present writer is inclined to think that Indians are likely to have a better perspective and a better understanding of the circumstances of the country than the European University Professors of Economics in our Indian Universities. The writer means no disparagement to the able University Professors, when he puts forth the suggestion that our Indian Professors will be better able to develop the indigenous system of Indian Economics.

It is therefore desirable that some of our Indian Professors in the Indian Colleges should work out the Indian Science of Economics by ample reference to ancient works on the subject and attain to the same distinction in the economic world as Professor Taussig, or Professor Marshall. The necessity of such a science cannot be too much emphasized; for it will be only by the correct and deep study of such a science that we shall be able to launch schemes and ideals in the other departments of economics. It will be admitted on all hands that there is a number of problems in the economic world which demand immediate solutions; but such solutions can only be made by a careful study of Indian economics as a positive science. The only effective and efficient way of solving practical problems is the sound study of theory. I therefore hope that some of our young and energetic Indian Professors will earnestly put before them the ideal of Professor Taussig, or Professor Marshall, and attain to the same distinction in the international assembly of learned economists as have done, for example, the two Professors just referred to above. It will be noted that our system will be independent and individual; it must be truly indigenous and truly descriptive of Indian conditions.

ECONOMIC ART.

It must be repeated once more that the sound

study of Indian Economics as a positive science as adverted to above is very essential to the right solution of problems in the domain of Economic Art, Economic Politics, and Economic Ethics; but circumstanced as we are, it is not advisable nor prudent to postpone the consideration and study of questions in these other departments of economics. Political economy does not ask primarily whether the greatest amount of wealth is produced, but rather how men live, how far through their economic activity the moral aims of life are fulfilled, and how far the demands of justice, humanity and morality are satisfied. This last is the view advocated by Professor Schonberg who represents the view of the dominant German school. In this domain therefore we shall have to see how to increase our production of wealth; but far more important will be the task of seeing that the wealth is distributed properly among the different agents of production. There is not the least doubt that considerable injustice is done to labour in many parts of the country due to the avarice of the capitalists. It is also equally true that more than honest due is wrested from the tenants by the landlord for the rent of the land. It is also true that higher—far higher—rates of interest are extorted from the debtors by the Indian Shylocks, than are their due. In labour are included both the manual labour and intellectual labour like that of Government servants in the various departments. This department of economic study involves therefore a world of problems which touch the vital interests of the society, and affect the daily life and existence of individuals constituting the nation. Therefore a systematic scheme of the practical vital problems should be prepared, and the work of studying them should be distributed to various members of the institutions working for the study of Indian economics.

The mitigation of the miserable plight of labourers in Northern India, different parts of Central Provinces, Orissa, and other backward tracts of India; the avoidance of the usurious and exorbitant rates of interest which are being extorted by the Indian money-lenders who are thus keeping their clients in perennial and perpetual monetary bondage; the removal of inefficiency due to illiteracy and bad surroundings; intensive cultivation, regular water-supply by irrigation, and an equally regular and cheap supply of manures; the promotion of industries indigenous to the nation in the rural areas of the country to lessen the pressure on agriculture, and to increase the efficiency of the general life; the improvement of

the Indian cattle by providing them good and ample fodder by the prevention of such exports as oil-cake, or cotton seeds; the lowering the prices of the daily necessities of life by preventing large exports of raw materials and food-grains—these and similar others are the pressing and vital problems of the country demanding the immediate, concentrated, and earnest attention of the students and professors of economics, as well as of all others who are both qualified and interested in the study.

ECONOMIC POLITICS.

We shall now turn to the third head of our subject, *viz.*, the economic politics. Here we shall be concerned mainly with the economic activities of the State. In India, the State manages some of the railways; it owns great portion of the land; it manages currency, it also conducts some industries, it also controls finance; these activities of the State need careful and scientific study to see their full import and scope. The location of some of the Indian reserves in London; the management of the railways by State; the fiscal system; the assessment of all State taxes; irrigation and navigation; public works; the attitude to be adopted by the Government towards Indian industries; the management of labour by the State—these and similar others are the problems to be attended to in this department. Every State in the world undertakes economic activities of one sort or the other. Some of the economic activities are generally taken up by all States of the world. Indian Government is no exception to this rule; under this department therefore we shall have to study very carefully, by the help of ample and judicious use of statistics, induction and deduction, all the economic activities of the State to advise the Government regarding the best methods of improving the condition of the body-politic.

ECONOMIC ETHICS.

Under this head we shall have to think over and map out the just and correct ideals to be put before us in the discharge of the economic activities, both of the individuals and of the State.

Ideal conditions of wages, ideal rates of interest, ideal rent, ideal profits, that is ideal distribution of the wealth produced, as well as ideal production of wealth—these would be the topics under this head. Under this head we will have to find out all the best ideals regarding economic phenomena to make the most of human life. The object of economics should not be only to study "how a

man strives to secure his material well-being," but to suggest how a man would be able to make the most of his life, both materially and intellectually. I think we limit the scope of economics, when we take it to refer only to the material well-being of a man. It should refer to all life of a man, including both the material and the spiritual aspects of it. Our study of economics will be perfect only when we are able to bring home to every individual the means and knowledge to enable him to make the most of his existence on this mortal earth. This should be the ideal of economic study.

CONCLUSION.

I have suggested in the course of this article what should be done in the domain of economics. I hope that the different societies in India established for the promotion of economic study, will take up systematically the problems in the order suggested above. In the beginning problems relating to a single province should be undertaken. In all provinces economic societies having for their object the study of economic phenomena should be instituted. These should take up the study in right earnest dividing work among their members according to the headings I have suggested above.

The societies will find ample work to do; the study of all headings should be begun concurrently; but if members be not available in such a large number, then the two heads, *viz.*, Positive Economics and Economic Art should be taken up at once. There is a world of problems requiring very immediate attention in the economic art.

It is, therefore, desirable that public attention should be directed to economics more than to anything else in the near future in the systematic way suggested above; the work will have to be done by Indians themselves, as they are in a better position than foreigners to understand the conditions of their own country. It is hoped my countrymen will soon put before them the goal of a sound economic study of their own country, and establish societies to carry on the same as soon as possible; authoritative exposition of the economic problems by the societies will, I feel confident, command the attention both of the public and of the Government. The societies in different provinces should work however in good co-operation with one another.

A GLIMPSE OF ABBASIDE ARABIA

BY MR. G. M. D. SUFI, B.A.

IF the long line of distinguished rulers of the House of Abbas, two names—Harun and Mamun—stand out pre-eminent for the grandeur of their court and the intellectual development of the Muslims, styled by some as the Oriental Renaissance, particularly in that of Mamun whose Caliphate extending over a period of twenty years (813-833 A.D.) constitutes the most glorious epoch in Saracenic History and has justly been called the Augustan Age of Islam. The achievements of the Muslims, in the words of a well-known writer, were not restricted to any particular branch of science or literature but ranged over the whole course of the domain of intellect: Speculative philosophy and *belles lettres* were cultivated with as much avidity as the exact sciences. Mathematics, Astronomy, the science of Medicine, etc., all made gigantic strides during this period, the intellectual heritage of which passed both into Saracenic Spain and Christian Constantinople, whence it descended into modern Europe.

In order to enable the reader to realize the greatness of Saracenic Power at the time, I would invite his attention to the state of contemporary kingdoms in Europe. Germany and Austria, as they are present, were nowhere. Russia was inhabited by the Slavonic tribes scattered over a large portion of it. Italy remained a mere geographical expression to the end of 1870. The Norsemen from the north had begun to ravage the fairer parts of Europe. England was cut up into the Heptarchy, the rulers of which struggled hard to obtain the overlordship. Egbert had succeeded in subduing his turbulent neighbours and had become *Maharajadhiraj* in our Indian terminology, when the Danish invasion began. The Byzantines were often subjected to pay tribute to the Arabs. The only great kingdom was that of the Karlings who ruled over the Frank Empire. Spain was under the Ormeiyads. Such was the state of Europe when Arabia was at the height of her greatness, when her sway extended from Morocco in the West to Hindu-Kush in the East.

As with Amin and Mahmud after Subaktageen, so with Amin and Mamun after Harun-ul-Rasheed. The great Harun had two sons, Amin by his wife and cousin Zubaida, and Mamun whose mother was a Persian slave. It was arranged that the Caliphate should pass to Amin and after him to Mamun, but that the Empire should be divided

between them. Amin was to receive the western provinces, and Mamun the eastern, where the people would gladly welcome a ruler of their own blood. The struggle for supremacy, which began almost immediately on the death of Harun, was in the main one of Persians against Arabs, and by Mamun's triumph in 814 was begun the interaction of Persia on Arabia.

Mamun cannot be said to be a military conqueror. The conquest of Crete and Sicily alone may be laid to his credit although it is stated that Kashmir and Tibet were also brought under his sway, and one of the important chiefs of Tibet embraced Islam and sent valuable presents to the Caliph. Mamun had a different bent of mind. He believed more in the might of the pen than that of the sword, and the pen has given lustre to the achievements of his reign, and immortalized it more than the sword could ever do.

The central seat of glory was at Baghdad, the capital of the Abbasides. The origin of Baghdad may be traced from *bagh-i-d-aul* (the garden of justice) from the fact that Anushirwan the Just, the celebrated king of Persia, dispensed justice here, and Mansur the great-grandfather of Harun selected it against Damascus, the capital of the Ommeyyads whom the Abbasides succeeded. Baghdad reached its zenith during the days of Mamun, when its population was computed to be ten lakhs with thirty thousand mosques, and ten thousand baths, and no less than thirty colleges, and according to Gibbon, 868 physicians practised medicine. It was on account of the greatness that even in its decaying days it was to Baghdad, in later years, that Dailam and Saljuk Mahmud and Altamash bowed and craved the conferment of titles from it. Mulasim, the successor of Mamun, however, removed his court from Baghdad, sixty miles further up the Tigris, to Samarra which suddenly grew into a superb city of palaces and barracks—an Oriental Versailles, but only for fifty-six years!

Mamun was anything but orthodox. He adopted the opinions of Mutazalites, the Muslim Rationalists, and tried to introduce them in his dominions. "We see for the first time," says Oelsner, "perhaps in the history of the world a religious and despotic government allied to philosophy, propagating and partaking in its triumphs." The tolerance of Mamun knew no distinction of race or creed, and all his subjects were eligible for the highest offices. He established a regular council of state which was composed of represent-

atives from all communities, Muslims, Jews, Christians, Subseans and Zoroastrians. Liberty of conscience and freedom of worship was enjoyed by one and all, the very existence of eleven thousand churches, besides hundreds of synagogues and fire-temples is a clear proof of that.

Besides poetry, literature, history and biography for which the Muslims had a special aptitude, philosophy and the exact sciences were studied with great zest. In the beginning inspiration was derived from Greece, but when the earlier Abbassides had established the Department of Translation and books on Greek philosophy and medicine were more common, there were produced men like Avicenna who considerably improved upon them. According to a story Mamun is said to have had a dream in which he saw the venerable figure of Aristotle seated on a throne and giving him useful advice and asking him never to quit good company. In consequence of this vision, Mamun sent a deputation to the Roman Emperor, Leo the Armenian, to obtain scientific books for translation into Arabic. The Caliph's example was followed by others. Translators from distant countries flocked in the hope of ample rewards. The House of Wisdom, the headquarter of the Department of Translation, became the seat of savants and artists from all countries, including India. Geometry, engineering, the movements of the heavenly bodies, music and astronomy were

the principal subjects to which attention was directed.

To quote the words of a distinguished historian and jurist, "the astronomical observations made in Mamun's reign in connection with the equinoxes, the eclipses, the apparitions of the comets and other celestial phenomena were most important. The size of the earth was calculated from the measurement of a degree on the shores of the Red Sea—this at a time when Europe was asserting the flatness of the earth. Abul Hasan invented the telescope, of which he speaks as 'a tube to the extremities of which were attached diopters.' These 'tubes' were improved and used afterwards in the observatories of Maragha and Cairo with great success. Innumerable works on arithmetic, geometry, philosophy, astronomy, meteorology, optics, medicine, and mechanics, etc., were compiled and issued to the public. The first observatory in Islam was established by Mamun in Shamassia on the plains of Tadmor. Afterwards several others were created at Wasit, Apamea, etc.

I shall now conclude with the remarkable words of Prof. Nicholson, "that in some departments they (the Arabs) made valuable additions to existing knowledge must certainly be granted, but these discoveries count for little in comparison with the debt which we owe to the Arabs as pioneers of learning and bringers of light to Mediæval Europe."

THE MISSION OF THE SCHOOLMASTER

BY FLORENCE RIPLEY MASTIN.

Men have builded ships that ride the cloud
And brave the lightning. There are those like gods
Who have sown the darkened earth with starry light
And turned the invading waters of the sea.
But greater than these great, a man of men
The Schoolmaster! For he has builded Youth.
Oh, never can the tempest rend the dreams
That he has launched across the mists of space,
Nor the black night engulf the hills of green
Whereon his flocks are pastured; all that Time
Has given men will die—but only his,
The gift of Youth in long procession,
Can never pass, Youth with its eternal dream!

SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR INDIA

I. The Hon. Sir S. P. Sinha.*

'When we speak of self-government,' said Sir Satyendra earnestly, 'not one of us ever contemplates any separation between Great Britain and India. We gladly recognise that the ties between the two countries are too strong to break and, if they were not, we would not have them broken. Let the British Government retain the amplest powers of veto over all our affairs. But subject to that veto, let us have now an instalment of self-government on Colonial lines, and let the basis of these concessions be broadened as rapidly as we fit ourselves for their extension. Of course we shall make mistakes—there will be many and big mistakes. Atrocities even may occur—never mind, even they will not prove that you have been wrong to trust us. Only be bold, and the outcome will be not merely a contented and prosperous India, but an India which will be ten times as strong a British asset as she is to-day.'

'I am no sentimentalist. I do not rest these proposals merely on grounds of abstract justice to India, but also upon considerations of the highest expediency to Great Britain. It is to Britain's interest that India should be happy, prosperous and self-governed. Such an India will be a source of strength to the Empire in every way. India only asks to be trusted. Surely she has earned a right to that.'

Discussing the objections to his proposals from the conservative British view-point, Sir Satyendra Sinha said:—'We are sometimes told that because it took you centuries of struggle and development to work out your political freedom, therefore we must be content to progress at the same deliberated pace. Are we, then, to derive no benefit from your experience? Surely you were working out the problem of free institutions for all mankind? Railways were started in England less than a century ago, but you have not insisted on making us wait for them as long as you had to wait. I know Englishmen are cautious by nature and temperament, but extreme caution is sometimes no less harmful than its opposite. And for this purpose—that is, cautioning as it were, against extreme caution—I would like to read to you a passage from Ruskin.' Here Sir Satyendra took up a little book which lay on the table and read as follows:—'All measures of reformation are effective in exact proportion to their

timeliness. Partial decay may be cut away and cleansed, incipient error corrected; but there is a point at which corruption can no more be stayed, nor wandering recalled.'

'What I am contending for,' pursued Sir Satyendra, 'is not merely a matter of better treatment for individuals. It is not enough to offer so and so a high position in your Government. You should give us real self-governing powers.'

'Is it your opinion,' he was asked 'that the Indians have made the best possible use of the limited powers of self-government which have already been conceded?' 'It is my opinion,' he replied, 'that, considering the very limited opportunities afforded to them of schooling themselves in the art and practice of self-government, they have done extraordinarily well. If we are to wait for true self-government until we are perfect we shall wait for ever. In the words of Dr. Johnson, "Nothing will ever be attempted, if all possible objections must be first overcome."

'What,' next inquired the *Christian Science Monitor* representative, 'would be the effect of a self-governing India upon the position of non-official European residents?' 'Please remember,' answered Sir Satyendra, 'that we always postulate the continuance of British rule. That is a guarantee that we shall always welcome the British merchant and rejoice in his prosperity. For a long time to come we must look up to the British as our guides and mentors.'

'Speaking as one who is not an Englishman,' said the interviewer, 'but who comes from a neighbouring country, I must confess to an admiration for the tolerance and humanity of the Englishman, which have been so strikingly exemplified in the present struggle both on land and sea.' Sir Satyendra displayed emotion for the first time. 'Do you know,' he said, 'I find it very difficult to say all I feel about the Englishman. As I said in my Presidential Address to the National Congress at Bombay, no other race could or would have done the work of the English in India. I admire them—nay, I love them—for I believe that they are a people physically, mentally and morally clean and if I am sometimes called upon to attack them or criticise them when they seem to fall short of their own standard, I assure you it is not with pleasure that I do so. Let England trust us,' said Sir Satyendra in conclusion 'and she will never regret it.'

*From an interview with a representative of the *Christian Science Monitor*, an American paper.

II. The Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri.*

My heart swells with pride as I think of the momentous resolution which, in mutual concert, our National Congress and our Muslim League came to in the recent Lucknow session, concerning the progress of our people towards Self-Government. An Indian patriot finds immediately placed in front of him for the first time in the history of our political effort an object worthy of the great Nation to which he belongs and the great and varied culture which forms his richest inheritance. Self-government under the British flag, equal partnership in the British Confederation with the United Kingdom and the Overseas Dominions, constitutes a destiny which the proudest people need not scorn. This generation of our public workers must count themselves blessed that they are privileged to see the fair vision of emancipated India gather form so quickly and come into vivid view to inspire them with hope and promise denied to their fathers. These are great days: great destinies are taking shape, great ideas are swaying the hearts of men, and great causes have evoked great enthusiasms and exacted great sacrifices. India has not been a silent spectator; happily removed from the thick of the conflict, she still feels that she has enormous stakes in it and throbs with the most lively interest at every turn and shift in the mighty drama which is in progress in most parts of the world. If no belligerent nation can remain its old self after the War, neither can India be held down to her ancient moorings. We in India have likewise new dangers ahead, we have likewise to refashion our polity, we must likewise claim a share of the great principles of popular freedom and opportunity of unhindered self-expression which are being reconquered at terrible cost for human civilisation. Come then, all of you who live for something beyond the hour, all whose hearts can feel, all whose souls can be fired to high purpose, come all and aid in this great work. Whether you bring much or little, whether you use pen or tongue, let your heart be pure and your resolve manly. Let us not think too much of the risks and difficulties. They are great, but so are the forces that fight on our side. Indian blood has not been shed, Indian treasure has not been poured out, in vain. Subtle bonds, unsuspected heretofore, have drawn Englishman and Indian together; new ties of brotherliness and comradeship have been confessed on both sides, and England and India have

* From the Presidential address to the Bombay Provincial Conference held at Nasik.

realised as never before how sorely they need each other. Do not believe it, if anybody tells you that the War should not make, and has not made, any change in our mutual relationship. Hard-headed party leaders have experienced a profound change in their dearest convictions on account of the War.

. In acute controversy, a disavowal or qualification of a statement cannot be repeated too often. Sometimes in innocence, but sometimes also through perversity, people go on attributing motives and views which you have repudiated and demolishing arguments which you have never advanced. The political reformers of India are accused of advocating the immediate grant of responsible government, and the use by the reformers themselves of the expressions Home Rule and Colonial Autonomy, not in their rigid constitutional significance as applied to Ireland and to the Self-Governing Dominions, but as convenient and compendious descriptions of their demands, has been turned against them as an avowal of a desire to bring about revolutionary changes by such tactics as obstruction and intimidation.

The extreme nervousness of those who are responsible for peace and tranquillity in the country enables us to understand their proneness to take alarm on insufficient grounds. But it is difficult to find an adequate excuse for their indiscriminating dislike of all political agitation and their reckless condemnation of moderate leaders as revolutionaries. The scheme of changes embodied in the principal resolution of the recent Lucknow Congress is described as a definite step towards self-government. The framers of the scheme have been anxious that its introduction should not require the scrapping of existing machinery or give cause for the suspicion that they were aiming at the subversion of British rule. The forms of administration will remain untouched. The Governor-General, Governors and Lieutenant-Governors, Executive Councils and Legislatures will be there as ever. The great services, the financial system, the judicial system, and the educational system will continue intact. There will be no dislocation in the Department. No interests like those of commerce or agriculture will be threatened. The free life of no community and the free practice of no religion will be in peril. Military matters, war and peace, and treaty-making will be in the same hands as heretofore. If none of these dire consequences is likely, is it fair or reasonable to spread a panic of coming revolution? We do

not wish to conceal the fact that great and substantial changes are contemplated in the scheme. Certain vested interests will suffer; civil authority will change hands, and a great devolution of power will be effected. But these changes, profound as they are, do not involve "red ruin and the breaking-up of laws." What great popular movement, intended to satisfy the ambitions of a people long kept down, was ever attended with less change? Congress leaders have laid themselves open to the charge of weakness and undue regard for the susceptibilities of men in power. They have never been guilty of excess or violence. The bureaucracy, long used to irresponsible power, has grown intolerant of criticism and cannot treat political opponents with the broadmindedness and courtesy, which are characteristic of public life in communities in which civil power has ceased to be the monopoly of a class. Fed up with the belief that the people exist for them, rather than they for the people, they naturally think that anything which threatens their privileged position threatens the very root of the established order of things, and any political agitation, of which the tone is not apologetic, appears to them as dangerous and disorderly propaganda. No caste in India has never been more jealous of its privileges than the Indian Civil Service. They firmly believe that they know everything, that no department can do without them, and that power not in their hands must necessarily be abused. When it is proposed that an elected majority should pass the legislation of the land, control the finance and criticise the executive administration, they naturally think that the proposal, if carried out, will bring down the whole structure of Indian society and cause irretrievable ruin.

One of our mentors gravely tells us that in the legislatures of the land we have the fullest opportunities for the expression of opinion, and he wonders what more we could want. Why, has it never struck him that we too have learnt to worship at the shrine of freedom? Opportunity for the expression of opinion? The time is gone when that would have contented us. *We want political power: let there be no mistake about it. We want the right to rule ourselves.* Within the last few weeks, the world has resounded to the peans of joy which greeted the establishment of democracy in Russia. Men's hearts were stirred, as they have been rarely in the history of the world, when they read the superb message of President Wilson to the American Congress. He said: "Civilisation itself seems to be in the balance, but right is more precious than peace,

and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried dearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own Government, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for the universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as will bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself free at last."

Historians teach us that the prosperity and glory of ancient empires were hollow, because they were built upon slavery, that even the boasted republics of old had no real freedom because it was denied to the large numbers of slaves who were never included among the citizens of the State. There is no slavery now in the British Empire, but a huge deduction must be made from the boast that it stands for the principles of individual liberty and perfect equality when it is remembered that the coloured people whom the whites hold in political subjection and occasionally treat with contempt and even cruelty vastly outnumber them. Love of liberty should include the love of liberty for other people as well as for yourself. To grant freedom voluntarily to subject peoples is an act of chivalry between nations, which is of the rarest occurrences in history. The republicans of Russia in the sudden joy of their freedom resolved to strike off the fetters of the Poles and allowed them to thrash out a constitution for themselves in a convention based on universal suffrage. In British India, the people are exhorted by Government officials not to worry about their political advance, because the Governments in India and in England are thinking of the matter earnestly. It may be said that Polish freedom was a public measure in time of War. That could not be said of the grant of freedom to the Filipinos by the United States of America. So far from exploiting the poor islands which they had acquired, the Americans, worshippers though they be of the almighty dollar, spent, it has been said, large sums of their own on educating and elevating the Filipinos. In granting these people a full measure of Home Rule out of free will and without threat or pressure from outside, the greatest republic of the world has proved itself likewise the noblest republic. So long as man can appreciate magnanimity and altruism, the people of the United States will be honoured as the most selfless and unsullied champions of international freedom. England, famed in history not without cause as the home of liberty, has yielded the first place in this immortal roll. The Republic of Russia has taken the second place. Let England look out before the third place is occupied and bethink herself of her duty to India,

III. Mr. V. P. Madhava Row, C.I.E.*

We must, therefore, concentrate our efforts on attacking the present system of bureaucracy and securing a truly Representative Government. It is only then we should have a solution of the questions that are now agitating the public mind, whether in the region of trade, commerce, agriculture and finance or education and sanitation. The bureaucracy has been tried and been found wanting. We must now ask to be brought face to face with the British democracy, who should take up our case and free us from the rule of the bureaucracy.

The British Nation practically divested itself of all responsibility for the Government of India when it made the Secretary of State supreme in all matters relating to India except declaring War or applying its revenues for certain uses. He was given a Council; but this Council is composed mainly of members of the same bureaucracy and owing to want of touch with the Indian conditions, its advice cannot be of much value to us and has been even harmful. This bureaucracy, instead of forwarding the cause of Self-Government, has put every obstacle in its way. It opposed the measures of Lord Ripon in regard to Local Self-Government and equal treatment to Indians and Europeans thirty-five years ago. It opposed the Minto-Morley Reforms which gave extended powers to the Legislative Councils, both Imperial and Provincial. Every effort to give Indians a large number of appointments in the higher grades of the service has been obstructed.

The bureaucracy has neglected and mismanaged things so badly that, when a crisis like the present war arises India, in spite of her earnest desire for giving every support to the Mother Country, finds herself unable to do all she can in helping England in men and material. This aspect of the question has been well brought out in General Sir O'Moore Creagh's letter where he says that, if the Provincial Autonomy recommended by Lord Hardinge in 1911 had been granted, the help would have been immensely greater. The fact is the bureaucracy will not allow full scope being given to the schemes of Self-Government even as they are.

We have now arrived at a crisis when the whole question will have to be thoroughly gone into and settled once for all. Just as after the Mutiny the British Nation took away the Government from the hands of the Company, so

*From the Presidential address to the Madras Provincial Conference held at Cuddalore.

now, they will have to replace the bureaucracy by popular institutions and entrust the administrations to the people themselves under the suzerainty of the British Nation. How this should be done is a matter which Parliament is best qualified to decide. But this much we may safely venture to say that any reform to be made should aim at a complete change in the character of the Government, and there should be no such thing as a gradual extension of Self-Government. The Provinces will have to be re-grouped according to the chief languages spoken in them. The machinery of Government should not be on the costly scale that we have now, and popular control over the executive should be secured.

In his concluding address, Mr. Madhava Row made the following telling remarks:—

In our sittings during the last three days subject after subject bearing on the well-being and progress of India has been taken up and discussed from different points of view. At the end of the discussion, we found ourselves in every case confronted with this dead wall of everything being in the hands of the bureaucracy and we are utterly unable to help ourselves; until this dead wall is removed no progress is possible. We discussed fiscal autonomy, we discussed Self-Government, we discussed industrial improvement, and we discussed the Land Revenue Settlement. But at the end we found that the remedy lay in some sort of responsible, representative government being given to the people with full control over the finances of the country. Personally these discussions have been to me most instructive and have gone a long way to confirm the conviction that was growing in my mind that our Rulers have not taken the true measure of the changes that are taking place in the political outlook of the intellectuals of the country. If, the passage of India from one state to another, namely, from the bureaucratic Government to Self-Rule, is to be not catastrophic but evolutionary, then I advise the Conference to concentrate its attention on Self-Government.

My honest conviction is that the bureaucracy has outlived its usefulness, and if there is no change in the character of the Government, the British Government cannot count to the same extent upon the contentment of the people as they have hitherto been able to do. The foreign bureaucracy is not the proper agency for improving the material and social condition of the lower classes—I mean the untouchables—and this can be effected only by a self-governing State.

IV. Mr. H. S. L. Polak.*

Self-Government is never given; it is taken by those who have deserved to have it. Think of all the Nations that have perished and now are dust. They did not know how to preserve it, their precious spiritual possession of Nationality, and it was taken from them. The achievement of self-government means long and weary preparation, moral earnestness, steadfastness, faith in the idea and a determination to attain it by all means known to godly men.

During the last few weeks, we have witnessed an apparent miracle, I refer to the Russian Revolution. But that Revolution was not an accident. It did not merely happen. Nothing in nature merely happens. The Russian Revolution was striven for during more than a generation by all the best minds and most ardent patriots in the country, who did not count the cost of their efforts made to liberate their country from the chains that bound it. I suggested yesterday, half humorously, that the day might come in India when many of those present on the platform might find themselves in durance for their country. There was, however, a note of seriousness in my remark. In India, to-day complaint is made of a few hundred internments of people, who are believed to be suffering for their patriotic convictions. Assuming that this is so, in what country, struggling for self-expression, has there not been such a suffering and much worse? What is it, compared with what has happened in Russia? During that period of a generation many thousands of Russians, men and women, were spirited away from their homes, and none knew what had become of them. Some died in military fortresses, but most were exiled to Siberia and there compelled to live out their lives, amidst the severest climatic and the most horrible social conditions, because of the love that they bore their country, until it almost seemed as though the Russian Government were determined to people the uninhabited lands of Russia in Asia with the best intelligence and the most ardent patriots of European Russia. And the women suffered and sacrificed equally with the men and oftentimes in an even greater degree. That is why, to-day, the franchise in Russia is being granted to the women on equal terms with the men; why, women may even become ministers of State. Russia owes much to her women patriots.

I earnestly hope that, in her efforts to Self-Government, India will never have to undergo

*From an address delivered at Shikarpur, Sindh.

Russia's ordeals and tribulations. But it may well be that, in the days to come, some who have attended these Congresses and Conferences all over the country, during the last few years, may be deprived of their liberty in their efforts to serve their countrymen. So they will also be serving India. The way of the patriot is perilous. Religion is not an easy thing. The true patriot, the truly religious man is a pioneer, seeking the light by which to lead his countrymen to their duty, to their attainment of their national ideal. He has to break a new path, he has to face a new trial, he has to dwell in the lonely wastes, he has to scale unclimbed peaks, from which to view the steep ascent from the past and the yet steeper ascent to the future, and in the accomplishment of his task, he will have many bitter failures and unnumbered disappointments, for that is the lot of the pioneer.

Only in the spirit of the pioneer amidst suffering and tribulation, Self-Government, in its fullest meaning in overflowing measure, is to be attained. How many of India's public men will become pioneers? How many will hold aloft for their countrymen the torch of Truth?

There seems to be a thought, in some places, that Home Rule will grow of itself, like the little negro girl slave, Topsy, who declared that she was never born; she "grewed." But self-government has to be carefully worked for and cultivated diligently, amidst pain and suffering, and sacrifice, often upon the bodies of saints and patriots and martyrs, who gave their all gladly, that their countrymen might have life abundantly.

I have heard an enormous amount of patriotic talk on the various platforms in this country. I could wish that many of the speakers would adopt a self-denying ordinance, and vow to study deeply, earnestly, and thoroughly, so that their work might be better done. One of the most striking conditions of apprenticeship in the Servants of India Society, founded by that great-souled patriot, Mr. Gokhale, is that, for five years, the workers are bound to silence and study of the problems to be faced by them. Even the present President, the Hon. Mr. Sastri, had to undergo this discipline at the feet of his Master. If that ideal of silent and persistent work in the country's cause be accepted, we shall soon have a chain of pioneer-workers for Self-Government from one end of India to the other, and showing the path to the achievement of a higher ideal than this country has ever yet known, the attainment of the India for the future, built upon the inspiring traditions of the past and enriched by self-sacrifice and holy lives in the present.

V. Mr. G. A. Natesan.*

There is no use concealing the fact that "hitherto the policy of England in India has been, to a very large extent, dominated by a fear for the security of British rule." India's magnificent conduct in the present war has proved not only to Great Britain but to her enemies as well how unjust the suspicion has been, and the war has brought to the Englishmen as a body the opportunity "to boldly face the realities of the situation in India and to base their government on the will of the people." These reforms are due to us not as the price of our loyalty—and we spurn the very suggestion—but as reforms too long delayed on account of unjust suspicion and distrust, and on account of the unwillingness of those who have been in power to part with vested rights and privileges. Since the Minto-Morley Reforms, much water has flown under the bridge, and even Lord Morley himself could not have foreseen the tremendous outburst of loyalty and enthusiasm which the present war has evoked in the minds of the princes and the people for the British Throne, and for the cause which it is upholding and fighting for at such heavy cost. India has given freely of its money and its blood for the struggle, because it is convinced that in this war Great Britain is "engaged in a mortal combat with despotism, to vindicate the principle of self-government not merely for itself but also for mankind," and that the failure of Great Britain in this titanic struggle means the destruction of self-government and the annihilation of the principle of nationality. And that is why the princes and people of the land are cheerfully sacrificing their lives and their wealth to keep the cause for which Great Britain stands "involute." Great Britain to-day is "fighting now to the death against the claim of a single nation or race to impose its civilisation on the world and to dominate the other nations of Europe." "If it is wrong for Germany to attempt to impose her *kultur* upon unwilling nations, it is equally wrong for England to attempt to impose her government and civilisation upon India against the will of the Indian peoples." "We cannot fight for one set of principles in Europe and apply another set of principles in India." It will not do at this time of the day for the bureaucracy to advise the Indian people to keep quiet and contented, and bid them worship the "gods" that have given them a rule much more efficient than

* Concluding portion of a lecture delivered under the auspices of the Congress Propaganda Committee with the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri in the chair.

any Indian rule can be. A good government does not always mean a popular government, and Englishmen, who try to think differently for India, must remember the famous dictum of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman that "good government is no substitute for self-government."

What India aspires to, is, what President Lincoln described as "government of the people, for the people and by the people."

In his *Problem of the Commonwealth* Mr. Lionel Curtis boasts that "the task of preparing for freedom the races which cannot as yet govern themselves is the supreme duty of those who can. It is the spiritual end for which the Commonwealth exists, and material order is nothing except a means to it." While denying the suggestion that we are unfit to govern ourselves we are willing to assume it for the moment and we therefore ask the British nation to declare that Self-Government is to be our goal and that it should undertake its high spiritual task of fitting us for it without any further delay. In Canada, in Australia, in New Zealand and in South Africa the grant of Self-Government has proved a blessing to them and to the Mother Country. And as has been forcefully pointed out by the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri in his admirable little book on *Self-Government for India under the British Flag*, "the grant of responsible government, wherever it has been made, has only strengthened the bond between the suzerain power and the subordinate but autonomous governments—a lesson which may well be borne in mind by those prophets of evil who prognosticate that in India political generosity will be met with ingratitude."

Strangely enough the prophets of evil are the very people who hold all the power, who demand all the prestige of their office, who cling passionately to its rights, its privileges and its emoluments and yet deny the sons of the soil their claim to a legitimate share in the government of the country. The situation has been well described by His Lordship the Bishop of Madras:—

"The danger of the present situation consists largely in the fact that, with notable exceptions, Englishmen in India are not only opposed to the feelings and sentiments of educated Indians, but also to the inevitable tendency of their work and policy. We need to realise that we cannot now base the Government of India upon any other foundation than that of the will of the Indian peoples, that we are here as servants of the Indian people and not as their masters, that a foreign bureaucracy can only be regarded as a temporary form of Government, and that our ultimate aim

and object must be to enable India to become a Self-Governing part of the British Empire, and to develop her own civilization upon her own lines."

There is no use forgetting the fact "that the conditions which necessitated and justified an official autocracy administered by a privileged class of foreigners have long passed away;" that at the altar of prestige and efficiency "which means the perfecting of the official machine and completing its domination over the outside public" too much of valuable sacrifice has already been made, that under the present system "a kind of dwarfing or stunting of the Indian race" is going on, that it compels all of us "to live all the days of our life in an atmosphere of inferiority," that it has stereotyped us to the lot of "hewers of wood and drawers of water in our own country," that under that system, to quote the painful statement in the pages of the Report of a Royal Commission from the pen of an Indian Member of the Executive Council: "every Indian officer whether high or low feels that he is not serving himself or his country but is an individual hired to labour for somebody else." The late Sir Henry Cotton who always used to recall with commendable pride that, for a hundred years, his family had been members of the Indian Civil Service, very rightly observed, "the Indian Civil Service is moribund and must pass away after a prolonged period of magnificent work to be replaced by a more popular system which will perpetuate its efficiency while avoiding its defects." As Sir William Wedderburn, another distinguished member of the same service, has observed, "the fault is not in the men, whose average character and abilities are of a high order, but in the system which places them in a position antagonistic to popular aspirations; which gives them autocratic power without effective control, which stimulates selfish ambition and penalises independence of judgment." British statesmen of all classes and creeds have been talking of late, and indeed of taking some steps to refashion the fabric of the Empire. They would do well to remember what Machiavelli pointed out years ago:

The organic unity of a State cannot be established until subjects are treated not as inferiors but as equals; surely no Federal Empire can stand upon a sound basis whilst one of its chief members, a great country inhabited by three hundred million human beings, is relegated to an unworthy and humiliating position.

What India yearns for is her rightful place in the Empire and she can only have it in the proper sense of the term by being permitted to enjoy the privilege of Self-Government.

Let all people, English and Indian who seek to interpret India's noble aspirations, remember the following exhortation made recently by Sir Francis Younghusband to an English audience:—

"Lay fast hold of this fact that the leaders of Indian opinion and the great mass and bulk of the people have not the slightest desire, hope or ambition to sever the tie with England. In making their demands it is not severance but autonomy at which they aim; Self-Government, indeed, they want; but Self-Government within the Empire, not outside it."

On the 22nd March, a few days after the recent Revolution in Russia, Mr. Bonar Law moved the following Resolution in the House of Commons which was unanimously adopted:—

"This House sends the Duma fraternal greetings and tenders to the Russian people heartfelt congratulations upon the establishment among them of free institutions, in the full confidence that they will lead to not only the rapid and happy progress of the Russian nation, but the prosecution, with renewed steadfastness and vigour, of the war against the stronghold of autocratic militarism which threatens the Liberty of Europe."

Referring to the same event, Mr. Lloyd George, the present Premier, observed that it marked a world-epoch and was the first great triumph of the principles for which Great Britain entered the war i.e., the dethronement of autocracy and the establishment on a sure footing of popular freedom. Speaking again on the 12th of April, at the American Luncheon Club, Mr. Lloyd George made a remarkable pronouncement in the course of which he said:—

"When France in the eighteenth century sent her soldiers to America to fight for freedom and independence of that land, France was also an autocracy. But once the Frenchmen were in America, their aim was freedom, their atmosphere freedom, their inspiration freedom. They acquired the taste for freedom and took it home, and France became free. That is the story of Russia. Russia engaged in this great war for the freedom of Serbia, Montenegro and Roumania. They were fighting for the freedom of Europe and they wanted to make their own country free and have done with it."

How truly can these remarks be applied with regard to India! Our countrymen who have gone in thousands to fight in the various theatres of war will surely return with the self-same love for national freedom referred to by the Premier and more than all, redoubled, if we may say so by their own heroic efforts in the cause of the Empire which is also the cause of human liberty.

In the same speech the Premier made another very striking observation :—

"There are times in history when this world spins so leisurely along its destined course that it seems for centuries to be at a standstill. There are also times when it rushes along at a giddy pace, covering the track of centuries in a year. These are such times."

These remarks apply with no less force to India also. The Premier concluded the remarkable speech in the following eloquent words :—

"The freeing of Russia from oppression which has covered it like a shroud for so long; the great declaration of President Wilson, coming with the might of the great nation he represents into the struggle for liberty—these are the heralds of dawn. And soon Frenchmen, Americans, British, Italians, Russians, yea, and Serbians, Belgians, Montenegrins and Roumanians will emerge into the full light of perfect day."

Are they alone to emerge into the light of perfect day and is India only to be denied this divine heritage?

VI. Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak.*

We are told we are not fit for Home Rule. A century has passed away and the British Rule has not made us fit for Home Rule; now we will make our own efforts and fit ourselves for it. To offer irrelevant excuses, to hold out any temptations and to make other offers will be putting a stigma on English Policy. England is trying to protect the small State of Belgium with the help of India; how can it then say that we should not have Home Rule? The Congress has passed the Home Rule resolution. The Provincial Conference is only a child of the Congress, which submits to the mandate of its father. We will follow Sri Ramachandra in obeying the order of our father—the Congress. We are determined to make efforts to get this resolution enforced even if the effort leads us to the desert, compels us to live incognito, makes us suffer any hardships and even if it finally brings us to death. Sri Ramachandra did it. Do not pass this resolution by merely clapping your hands, but by taking a solemn vow that you will work for it. We will work by every possible constitutional and law-abiding method to get Home Rule. Through the grace of God England has changed its mind towards us. We feel our efforts will not be without success. England proudly thought that a tiny Nation might

* From a speech at the Nasik Conference.

be able to protect the Empire by itself. This pride has gone down. England has now begun to feel that it must make changes in the constitution of the Empire. Lloyd George has openly confessed that England cannot go on without the help of India. All notions about a Nation of a thousand years old have to be changed. The English people have discovered that the wisdom of all their parties is not sufficient. The Indian soldiers have saved the lives of the British soldiers on the French battlefield and have showed their bravery. Those who once considered us as slaves have begun now to call us brothers. God has brought about all these changes. We must push our demands while the notion of this brotherhood is existing in the minds of the English. We must inform them that we, thirty crores of the Indian people, are ready to lay down our lives for the Empire; and thus when we are with them none shall dare cast an evil glance at the Empire.

VII. Mr. Abbas Tyabjee.*

There is not a single Muhammadan in India who does not want Home Rule. Of course there are a few Muhammadans who are kept for show to say that they do not want Home Rule. This is true. When we demand Home Rule the Government says we are not fit for it. But if we ask them to make us fit giving compulsory primary education they will not do that even. Generally in all subjects but specially in those relating to politics, the English people have no faculty of imagination, and they will not make any previous preparation for anything.

VIII. Mrs. Besant.

With India's past and with her present, who shall dare say that India is unfit? It is only an excuse, only a pretence; they know that they cannot justify it. India is fit for liberty the moment she intends to take it and makes up her mind. Whether you are fit or not, it is for you to prove in the next few years. If you are fit for it, show it by the protest that the Government dare not disregard. Remember that you have to-day in your scheme one advantage you never had before. England stands as fighting for Freedom. The whole world will look on her and look on you. How can England face the world, when peace arrives, if the only autocracy that rules in the world is the autocracy of Great Britain in India?—*Speech at Cuddalore.*

* From a speech at the Bombay Provincial Conference, Nasik.

TOPICS FROM PERIODICALS.

India's Contribution to Civilization.

Prof. Jacob Kunz, Ph.D., writes a thoughtful article in a recent issue of the *Hindustan Student* under the comprehensive title, "On the contributions of India to Human Civilization." Professor writes at some length on the mathematical genius of ancient India. He points out :—

Mankind is indebted to the people of India for some of the most important contributions both of the earliest and of the present time. To the ancient Hindus we owe the decimal number system, arithmetic and algebra. It is true, algebraic notations were used by Diophantus in the beginning of the 4th century A.D., while the Hindu father of Algebra, Aryabhata lived about a century later followed by Brahmagupta, born in 598 and Bhaskara-Acharya born in the year 1114 A.D. Since the time of Alexander the paths of trade were open between the east and the west, and wandering scholars may have carried their science from India to Greece and vice versa. It is, therefore, in many instances difficult to state definitely who was the real author of a given mathematical symbol or theorem. And in this remote past the first mathematicians were probably not so eager in attaching their name to a discovery as in our time, where every little progress appears on the scientific market.

The Hindus invented the decimal number system, purely negative numbers and zero; they knew the fundamental operations, addition, subtraction, multiplication and division. In algebra they were able to solve equations with one unknown quantity of the second and third degree; they invented or knew the operations of combination. Their mathematical genius was especially creative in the solution of indeterminate equations of the first and second degree.

Then follow some specimen equations in which geometrical methods are used in the solution of algebraic equations. Prof. Jacob continues :—

Mathematics is the queen of sciences, number theory the queen of mathematics, and even here the ancient Hindus have stated and solved some very important theorems. Numbers and algebra seem to appeal more strongly to the Hindu mind than lines and geometry.

There seems to be a long interval between the ancient and the present period in which comparatively little has been done by the Hindus in exact sciences. But in very recent years again Hindu scholars like J. C. Bose have made very valuable contributions to physics and physiology.

The writer regrets the progress of the mere biological sciences in the West to the exclusion of the humanistic cultures of the East, and concludes with a reference to the devastating war which is the culmination of Europe's energy in the pursuit of the knowledge of the sciences. "Hence the absolute need for religion—a religion of salvation from a deadly materialism."

The Negro in the Field of Invention.

In the American journal called *The Journal of Negro History* for January 1917, we have before us an idea of how much the usually despised negro has contributed to the development of scientific knowledge in the field of technical and scientific industry. The traditional attitude of the average American on the question of the capacity of the negro for high scientific and technical achievement is that the negro has done absolutely nothing worth while. Notwithstanding the frequency and persistence of such misrepresentations, the facts are gradually coming to the front, to prove that the negro not only now, but in the immediate past, exhibited considerable inventive genius. In the period preceding the Civil War (1861-66) mechanical inventions of merit by coloured persons were not numerous, but this was also true of all classes of inventors of that time. The political situation of the negroes then would obviously lend itself more readily to developing literary talent and oratorical ability than to producing mechanists, engineers or inventors. Even in this period the mechanical industries of the Southern States were carried on mostly by slaves, and many simple mechanical contrivances of the day were devised by the negro in his effort to minimise the exactions of his daily toil. None of these inventions were patented as being the inventions of slaves.

With the broadening of their industrial opportunities and the incentive of a freer market for the products of their talent, the negroes correspondingly exhibited inventive genius in nearly every branch of the industrial arts, viz., domestic devices, mechanical appliances, electricity through all its wide range of uses, engineering skill and chemical compounds. Some very important industries now in operation on a large scale are based on the inventions of negroes. A machine for lasting shoes, which forms the nucleus of a great united shoe machinery company, that of making automatic lubricators for machinery, a steam boiler furnace, various appliances for musical instruments, machinery for making paper-bags, are a few among the many inventions of the negroes.

"The colour of a man's skin has not yet entirely succeeded in banning his admission to the domain of science, nor in placing upon his brow the stamp of intellectual inferiority."

An Indian Catechism.

The March number of the *Contemporary Review* contains an important contribution under the arresting title, "An Indian Catechism" from the pen of our venerable friend, Sir William Wedderburn. This catechism on Indian politics is primarily intended for the British elector, who is generally ignorant of the real condition of affairs in India. Sir William says that the Indian problem, in spite of the intricacies of administrative details, is really a very simple one.

The question is, whether, against the protest of united India, we should enforce a system of bureaucratic government, alien to British principles of freedom and progress; thereby alienating affection, and stimulating unrest; or, whether, reciprocating the goodwill and trust made manifest to the world by India in this crisis of our history, we should satisfy the reasonable expectations of a law-abiding and peace-loving people, thereby consolidating India, with her vast resources, as a tower of strength for the British Empire?

For the sake of convenience the main points for decision are indicated in the form of a dialogue between an enquiring British workingman and "Indophile," a person of experience in Indian affairs, who is in sympathy with Indian aspirations. Naturally enough the first question turns upon the vague term "Indian Unrest" and the possibilities of a remedy. The British workingman has also heard of a deputation of Indian leaders and would fain know their status and the merits of their claim. Indophile explains:—

India's claim is, in its nature, a "Petition of Rights," addressed to the British nation as the High Court of the Empire; and her case may be briefly summarised in the following propositions:—(a) That by reason alike of their ancient civilisation, and their modern educational developments, the people of India are specially qualified to manage their own affairs; and the claim now put forward, on behalf of a united India, for an effective advance towards self-government within the Empire, deserves the most favourable consideration of the British people. (b) That the British connection has been highly beneficial in the past, by protecting India from external aggression, by maintaining internal order, by promoting unity among the various races, and by opening the way to further progress; but in the course of years, far-reaching changes have been developed in India's relations to the Empire, so that a system of government by foreign officials, operating through great centralised departments, has ceased to be suitable to Indian conditions; and the time has come for a well-considered measure of progressive reform, which will bring the administration into harmony with modern requirements. (c) That the claim for reform is based upon successive Royal Proclamations, and upon a direct pledge, given in Parliament with unanimous assent, that there will now be "a new angle of vision" in dealing with Indian affairs.

Nor is self-government altogether novel to

India. Four-fifths of the Indian population are village communities—"little self-governing republics which have been the admiration alike of the historian and the economist." And for immemorial ages the village—this little "sheet-anchor of Indian statecraft"—has been the foundation of Indian polity.

Sir Charles Trevelyan, a former Governor of Madras, in his evidence before the Select Committee of 1873, dwelt upon the extreme importance of these rural municipalities, and explains how by ancient habitude the Indian peasantry are specially fitted for the management of their own rustic affairs: "The foundation of Indian society," he said, "is the village municipality; that has been the salvation of India. One foreign conqueror after another has swept over India, but the village municipalities have stuck to the soil like their own *Kusa* grass, which they liken it to; it is a kind of grass which it is impossible to tear up by the roots, because it grows in bunches, and they say that the village constitution is like that grass."

And what of the educated classes? Sir William finds ample intellectual endowments in India and recounts the extraordinary patience and struggle of the Indian competitor in London. Alike in educational and administrative capacities the Indian has proved himself equal to the highest demands. And then look at those quasi-independent Feudatory States managed so well and so progressively by Indian princes and statesmen.

Sir William then describes the Congress organization and its scheme of self-government prepared in consultation with the Moslem League. The Deputation will place before the British Democracy India's modest demand "for a reasonable share in the management of her own affairs." Will it be opposed? The British people, warns Sir William, cannot blow hot and cold enforcing in the East what they reprobated in the West. And quoting the Bishop of Madras that, "we cannot fight for one set of principles in Europe, and then apply another set of principles in India," Sir William says:—

Through bureaucratic ineptitude we lost the United States of America; and it was only by the grant of self-government that our great colonies were preserved to us. Now, the merest common sense demands that we should extend to India's peace-loving, intelligent, and loyal population a generous measure of that self-government which, under circumstances of difficulty and discord, brought peace and brotherhood to Canada, Australia, and South Africa.

Sir William then proceeds to discuss the validity of the arguments put forward by the opponents of India's claim. The plea that the Mahomedans are against the Hindus is now altogether untenable, as the Moslem League has given cordial support to the Congress resolutions.

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Next comes the "fantastic proposition" that the European civilians are the trustees of the interests of the masses, and not the educated Indian. Sir William ridicules so absurd a myth and enumerates all the measures which the educated Indians adopted in the interests of the masses. It is unnecessary to dilate at any length on this part of the discussion. Suffice it to refer to Mr. Gokhale's elementary education bill and the origin of the schemes for agricultural banks and arbitration courts. The English civilian is always foreign in India—even after a prolonged stay in this country, but Sir William does not complain of the individuals of that service.

I have no complaint against the personnel of the Permanent Civil Service. So far as these public servants have truly been servants of the public, their record has been excellent. There has not, I believe, existed in any country a public service more capable, industrious and trustworthy; and in times of war, pestilence, and famine, they have shown a devotion beyond praise. The complaint is not against the men, but against the system, which has placed them in a false position, making them masters where they should be servants. An *Imperium in Imperio* has thus been created at Simla; so that the Permanent Civil Service, a privileged foreign body, with professional interests adverse to Indian aspirations, dominates the administration, and intervenes, as a non-conducting medium, between the goodwill of the British Democracy and the reasonable claims of the Indian people.

The last question has a touching allusion to Sir William's credentials to speak on behalf of the Indian people and their aspirations, and we finish with Sir William's message.

Belonging to a family which has served India for three generations, I entered the Civil Service in 1859, and passed through the official mill in the Bombay Presidency, serving in the Revenue and Judicial branches, and, as Chief Secretary, I was in the Secretariat, where, as Chief Secretary, I was in charge of the Political, Judicial, Secret, and Educational Departments. After retirement from the service, I obtained a seat in Parliament, and was elected Chairman of the Indian Parliamentary Committee, which owed its origin to Mr. John Bright, and at one time numbered over 200 members of the House of Commons. On two occasions I had the honour to act as President of the Indian National Congress, being unanimously elected, at Bombay in 1889, and at Allahabad in 1910; and as Chairman in London of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, I have for the last thirty years maintained constant communication with the Indian leaders in the different Provinces, seeking to make known in England the Indian view of Indian affairs. From personal knowledge I can affirm with absolute certainty that the aims and objects of the Indian leaders are simply and solely to promote the welfare of India, to revive her ancient glories, and to obtain for her a worthy place as a partner in a free, tolerant, and progressive British Empire. It is to be hoped that the British people will rise to the height of the occasion. The problem is a simple one: Trust the people; and India will become the biggest asset in the world for the cause of peace on earth and goodwill toward men.

Socialism in India.

Mr. Ahmed Shafi, writing in the *Hindustan Review* for March 1917, describes the slow but sure process that is going on in the nationalisation of the principal instruments of production in India. The advance is not appreciable, and Government has been giving effect to this process not with a set purpose but unconsciously. The benefits of this process may not be felt by us in the immediate present, but its effects will be fully appreciated when the control of State-finance falls into our hands by the advent of self-government.

One of the earliest manifestations of this socialistic principle was the building and management of railways by the State. The pressing need of strategic railways forced Government to embark on this venture, and though the railway policy of Government has been wavering, signs are not wanting that a bright future awaits us in this direction. The authorisation in Madras of District Boards to collect funds by the levy of a small cess for the construction of light railways marks another important advance in this direction. A central State bank, which would have nationalised our finance and would have made our earnings easily accessible to us, was sacrificed to propitiate the London money market. And this scheme must revive again and again until it becomes a concrete fact. Government control of distilleries of liquor has been a very good success from the financial point of view. Co-operative credit societies, which have spread throughout the length and breadth of the country, coupled with the increasing number of joint-stock companies, will nationalise our industries and agriculture which was being pursued practically for the benefit of the money-lender.

Moreover, they will revive the village industries and thus be a sure check upon the evils of factory labour. The co-operative ideal should be to place our industries in the hands of our working classes and to destroy the aims of the European financier and syndicalist. Government control of salt-mines and forests is a further item to the credit of Indian revenues, and Government control of post offices and telegraph lines is a model of careful and honest management. These are some examples of the principal instruments of production being nationalised in India.

The Economics of a Deccan Village.

Dr. Harold Mann of the Agricultural College, Poona, writing in the last number of the *Indian Journal of Economics*, describes a representative village of one of the three chief types of villages in the Deccan. It is named Pimpia Soudagar, very near Poona, representing the dry cultivation of the western Deccan, and lies distinctly in the zone of fairly assured rainfall, in which practically no irrigation takes place. There are also two other types of villages besides this, viz., a village which possesses a large number of wells for irrigation and whose prosperity depends on the existence of these wells; and that type which is a creation of irrigation canals in which cultivation is intensely rich. These three types are applicable to the whole area of western Deccan.

The characteristics of cultivation in the village of Pimla Soudagar, are, first, the very large area held for cultivation and hence assessed, which is not actually cultivated in any year, and which only bears a very thin crop of grass, and, secondly, the existence of a large fallow area. The history of the land-revenue of this village illustrates in a striking manner the increase of leakage of revenue during the later periods of Mahratta rule, some reduction in the early British period followed by a very large rise. During Mahratta rule, the holdings were large, and the holders few, and it appears as if the number of holdings declined in periods of disturbance and rose in periods of peace and good government. The same results have followed in the long British period, and the average holding is now below what is necessary to maintain a cultivator's family. The owners of by far the larger number of holdings must rely on other occupations either at home or away, or they must sublet their holdings. A very large proportion of cultivated plots are under one acre in size, and this excessive fragmentation of land is an evil of far greater moment than that merely resulting from the sub-division of holdings themselves.

The extent to which the landholders have left the village, without giving up ownership is shown by the fact that only 64 per cent. of the registered landholders cultivate their holdings. If we take 10 acres as being the smaller limit of an economic holding, we find only 17 per cent. of the holdings are above this limit, but 23 per cent. of the areas cultivated are larger than this ; and hence there is a tendency for the area of cultivation to be larger than the area owned. But in spite of this the bulk of the holdings are still

incapable of supporting families in ordinary village conditions. The number of fragments in single men's cultivation is even greater than the number of fragments in a single holding. All the evils of the cutting up of holdings into very minute fragments are of much greater force in the cutting up of cultivation into such small fragments. And in this village without any material amount of irrigation, it is a disadvantage without any mitigating quality.

One-third of the male population of the village is practically compelled to work outside. And if we take all the debts incurred by the villagers as a charge on the land, we get an average charge from the debts incurred by the villagers of Rs. 13 per acre. And since land is almost the only form of capital in the village, the charge of indebtedness remains very much the same. This load of debt is the first result of the extreme subdivision of the land, and is due to the increase of population tied to the land without the increase in the intensity of the cultivation necessary to support them. A very large area lies fallow, and this is a sign of backward agricultural methods, insufficiency of manure, and inadequate cultivation. Buying outside manure is probably unprofitable to the cultivators, but the small yield is probably still further diminished by the fact that rotations are very little attended to. And the cause of this seems to be that the people will not cultivate a crop unless they consider it is fairly certain and unless it is either needed for the food of their families or else brings cash into their hands. The idea of using crops to build up the futility of the land has not entered into their minds at all. The general results observed are the splitting up of holdings into fragments too insufficient to support families, the incurring of debt which now hangs round the neck of the village, the impossibility of paying for this debt by the cultivation of a dry area, and the inevitable going out of nearly 30 per cent. of the whole male population to non-agricultural work. Cropping has been so modified as to make the village more self-sufficing for food and fodder, and more area has been devoted to crops which at least pay the working cultivator better than those formerly grown. The remedy of the situation lies ultimately either (1) in increased intensity of cultivation which requires the removal of the present load of debt and more easy financing; and better use made of the soil resources; or (2) the prevention of the excessive fragmentation of the land which would result in the creation of a large landless proletariat.

An Indian Mathematician.

In the course of a lengthy appreciation of Mr. S. Ramanujam's mathematical researches, Mr. P. V. Seshu Aiyar writes in the March number of the *Educational Review* :—

India is certainly a country for the mathematician; and her early mathematicians were without exception astronomers—votaries of a science at once the grandest and oldest. Brahmagupta, Bhaskara and Mahavira Charya to mention only a few wrought in middle ages what Europe is still acknowledging heavy indebtedness to. A full however set in later, and India is to-day emerging again from an isolation of over a thousand years.

He then refers to the many unpublished works of the well-known Madras mathematician, now in Cambridge, and testifies to the "astonishing individuality and extraordinary ingenuity" displayed in his papers. It is regrettable that want of adequate medium in India to make known his researches have for long stood in the way of an appropriate recognition of his genius. And the war has marred what little we can yet learn of his great work in England. It is therefore very pleasant to read the following notes from the above article. Mr. Seshu Aiyar writes:—

His first published paper on "Some definite integrals" appeared in *The Messenger of Mathematics*. It contains besides some transformation formulæ, the values of some curious and interesting definite integrals of Gamma Functions of the variable.

The Quarterly Journal of Pure and Applied Mathematics has published up till now only two papers of his. Many of his results have been "anticipated" by European mathematicians, in particular, by Hermite, Krenkecker, Weber and Greenhill." None the less it still contains a large number of new results.

The proceedings of the Indian Mathematical Society—the official organ of the London Mathematical Society—has yet published only one paper, adjudged by its bulk, individuality and originality to be “one of the most remarkable published in England for many years.” But by far the longest paper that has arrested the critic and merited his respect is, “On Certain Arithmetical Functions” contributed to the Transactions of Cambridge Philosophical Society.

“ I was one of those who had the privilege of looking into Mr. Ramanujam's note books when he was here”, says the writer, “and I may say that in addition to what has been published, as shown above, he had in his notes many more curious and interesting results and theorems and that when he comes out with such theorems, specially a definite integral theorem at which I hear he is now working, and his theory of divergent series, I have no doubt, he would astonish the mathematical world.

The Education of Indian Christians.

Answering and supplementing the arguments of the Bishop of Madras concerning the reform of missionary education in India, Mr. John Mathai, writing in the April number of *The International Review of Missions*, makes some accute reflections. Mr. Mathai argues that the Church in India is entering on a new phase in her history, that it must immediately tackle with the problems of settling her own relations to the Nationalist movement, and the relations of the Indian Church to the European Church and the whole question of denominational differences. And the provision of a distinctly Christian atmosphere in colleges which train the future leaders of the Church is of the essence of that problem. The best period for the development of a distinct collective personality is probably the time spent at a University. At present whatever Christian atmosphere there exists in a missionary college depends on the existence of a small Christian staff, which is often altogether out of proportion to the large number of students who attend it. One obvious means of strengthening this somewhat slender material for the creation of a Christian atmosphere is to introduce into the college a larger reinforcement of Christian students, whose outlook and tone would be the determining thing in the life of the college. For the professed object of missionary colleges at present, viz., the leavening of non-Christian society with Christian ideals, the most effective means is not direct religious instruction, though this is important but the silent influence of a Christian atmosphere, and whatever Christian atmosphere at present exists among the educated classes at present, is due less to the characteristic work done in missionary colleges than to the eager and widespread study of English literature which embodies Christian ideals. And it would be untrue to suggest that in the numerous social and political movements which have sprung up in the country since the establishment of the Universities, men educated in missionary colleges have alone taken a predominant share. Not only in leadership, but in the average level of personal and public character, there is little to distinguish the products of Christian colleges from those of other colleges. For people who argue that a purely Christian education will have all the ill-effects of a pothouse education, there is the remedy of non-Christian students coming in contact with Christian students in college life and in professional colleges.

An Indian Kameralist.

Mr. J. C. Coyajee, writing in the "Bengal Economic Journal," describes how Kautilya's "Arthashastra" is a work on the lines of those books on Kameralism, which Germany produced in such abundance from the 16th to the 18th century. Kameralism was a combination of ideas, political, juristic, technical, and economic, but towards the close of the Middle Ages, it came to be largely separated from jurisprudence, while it was extended to include, besides the original idea of dominal and regalian administration, broader matters of economic policy. And it was only in the 18th century that Economics was separated from technology and politics. There is a close correspondence between the thought and the methods of Kautilya and the Kameralists. Close similarity of treatment between Kautilya and the Kameralists argues a similarity in the economic and political circumstances under which they were writing. There are several points of affinity between the environment of Kautilya and that of the Kameralists. (1) These writers were studying what we may call the maxims of war economy; while Adam Smith and the later economists had in view a peace economy, and their teaching was carefully adapted to it. (2) There was in both cases a very rudimentary state of national feeling, and the struggle for existence was carried on between small States of fluctuating magnitude. The economists following Adam Smith have taken up for study the economic problems of nations. (3) A corollary of this immaturity of national feeling was the importance attached to the prince by Kautilya and the Kameralists, to both of whom the welfare of the prince is *par excellence* the welfare of the people. And there is a remarkable analogy between the methods and opinions of Kautilya and of the Kameralists.

Both of them have the same ground plan. Kautilya divides his work into two main topics, science of Government (Dandanite) and agriculture, trade, cattle breeding, etc., (Vārtha.) The Kameralist writer Justi begins similarly by presenting the chief theorems of State-craft and then he comes to the division called Policy (all methods whereby the riches of the State may be increased.) Kautilya never falls into the naive mercantilist fallacy of considering gold as wealth *par excellence*; but he regards gold as a most important form of wealth. Kautilya also rises superior to the other fallacies of the Middle Ages. He is not averse to the exportation of gold as a means of obtaining

imports. And in shunning the excesses of mercantilism, Kautilya is paralleled by the leading mercantilists. On the subject of population and area of a State, Kautilya was a true Kameralist; and is not a whit behind them in his enthusiasm for a large population or territory. The Kameralists insisted on increase of State-regulation and of the economic activities of the State. And Kautilya lived in an age when State-regulation and enterprise was carried to a very high point indeed, and when the State intervened to fix prices, profits and brokerage. And he does not hesitate in recommending that the State should regulate both profits and wages. On the subject of coinage, both Kautilya and the Kameralists had correct notions; but Kautilya seems to be in advance in one important particular. Both protest against the debasing of coinage, but Kautilya would abolish all seigniorage charges. Both analyse scientifically the elements of the cost of production. Kautilya has a very correct notion of time as affecting the cost of production (which was a matter of controversy even in Ricardo's days). He defines profits very carefully, and distinguishes between productive and unproductive labour and makes herein many observations which are remarkably modern in tone. He has some pregnant remarks on luxury. And like the Kameralists, his advice to the prince about the methods of replenishing the treasury, presents a seamy side, and a number of crooked counsels.

INDIA IN INDIAN & FOREIGN PERIODICALS.

THE ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF THE AGRICULTURAL POPULATIONS IN THE DACCA DISTRICT. By F. D. Ascoli. ["Bengal Economic Journal," January, 1917.]

HOUSING OF THE WORKING CLASSES IN BOMBAY. By Mr. J. P. Orr, C.S.I., I.C.S. ["The Social Service Quarterly," April, 1917.]

DEFECTS OF THE LAND TENURE SYSTEM OF THE UNITED PROVINCES. By Brij Gopal Bhatnagar. ["Indian Journal of Economics," December, 1916.]

WOMEN'S EDUCATION IN INDIA. By Margaret Pope. ["The East and the West," April, 1917.]

INDIA'S MASS MOVEMENTS IN THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH. By Frank W. Warne, D.D. ["The International Review of Missions," April, 1917.]

INDIAN WORKMAN'S INSURANCE SCHEME. By Mr. G. A. Chandavarkar, B.A. ["The Mysore Economic Journal," April, 1917.]

LANCASHIRE'S DEFEAT—AND AFTER. By Mr. Saint Nihal Singh. ["The Modern Review," May, 1917.]

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE WAR.

In moving the Resolution in the Commons accepting India's contribution of £100,000,000 towards the cost of the War, Mr. Chamberlain said:—

I would ask the House, before we pass to the particular gift now under discussion, to spend a little time in reviewing other contributions which India has made. The figures which I shall use, partly of necessity and partly from choice, have not been brought up to date. It is not desirable that the latest figures and the latest position should be revealed to the world. I hope, however, that the account which I shall be able to give will be one which shall do proper justice to India, be at the same time satisfactory to this House, and not misleading to anyone in India.

INDIAN ARMY'S ACHIEVEMENTS.

The Army of India, before the War, consisted of 78,000 British troops, and 158,000 Indian troops, or a total of 236,000 men. In addition to these, there were 18,000 Imperial Service troops. That force was organised for a purpose not confined, of its own motion, by the Indian Government, but laid down after consultation with the Imperial Government at home, to discharge duties which it was then contemplated the Indian Army might be called upon to fulfil. The Indian Military Budget in the year before the War amounted to £20,000,000. This country has, under the Resolutions of the House, borne the extraordinary charges attendant upon the employment of Indian troops elsewhere. The Indian Military Budget for this year, instead of being £20,000,000, is £26,000,000. That additional £6,000,000 of expense is, I may say, almost entirely due, and directly due, to the circumstances of the present great War. What use has been made of the Indian Forces, constituted as I have described, in the course of this struggle? Indian troops have fought, I think, in almost every theatre of the War—in France, in Egypt, at Aden, on the Suez Canal, in Gallipoli, in East Africa, and in West Africa.

Hon. Members: Mesopotamia!

Mr. Chamberlain: Neither the House nor I am likely to forget that they have fought in Mesopotamia—nor will that Army! Let the House cast itself back to the anxiety felt in relation to our Army in France in the winter of 1914. Nearly one third of the forces were drawn from India. They were the first of the overseas troops. The Indian Army provided the first defence of British East Africa, and repelled the first

Turkish attack on the Suez Canal. The Army in Mesopotamia, which in the last few days has retrieved—how gloriously retrieved!—the check and misfortunes of our earlier operations, and which has struck a blow that resounds throughout the whole of the Eastern world, and not the Eastern world alone, is an Army which, from first to last, through all its sufferings, hardships, and disappointments—and in its triumphs!—is in the main an Indian Army based upon India. It is difficult when one reviews the deeds of the Indian Forces in this War to select for illustration any particular instance, but the House will not forget, and the country will not forget, such episodes as in France the recapture of Neuve Chapelle in October, 1914 by the 47th Sikhs and the 20th and 21st Companies of Sappers and Miners. The 47th Sikhs lost in that attack 178 out of 289 engaged; and the Sappers and Miners lost 119 out of 300. They will not forget the attack of the Garhwal Brigade at Neuve Chapelle on 10th March, and I am sure the House will forgive me, on the occasion in particular, for referring to the actions—the glorious actions—of the Indian regiments in Gallipoli. Who is there who can read without emotion of the action of the 14th Sikhs at Cape Helles, when the supporting troops on the other side unable to get to them fought their way, and held on to the last with the loss of nearly all their British and nearly all their Indian officers, and with a loss of 430 men out of 550 engaged? When a day or two afterwards the same ground was traversed again in a successful advance of our troops, the General who was in command has told me every Sikh had fallen facing his enemy, and most of them had one of their enemies under him. May I remind the House that on that occasion, fighting alongside them, were the Lancashire Fusiliers. No narrow spirit of sectional or racial jealousy animated either of them on that day, but one glorious emulation as to how best they might serve the Empire, how best they might do glory to it.

STRENGTH OF THE FORCES.

I am going to ask the House to listen to a brief summary of what the Indian Army has contributed. On the outbreak of War there were 530 officers of the Army in India on leave in this country. They were made over to the War office to help them to organise the New Armies which it was necessary to create here. Before the close of last year over 2,600 British officers had been drawn from India, apart from those who accompanied their units abroad, and the total number of British officers in India before the War broke

out was less than 5,000. On the outbreak of War the Indian Army Reserve of Officers consisted of forty members. It comprises now over 2,200 of whom about 800 are on field service. Apart from the Indian Army Reserve of Officers, commissions have been given in the Indian Army to 271 cadets from Quetta and Wellington, where military schools corresponding to Sandhurst have been established since the War began. Of the rank and file—again, I say, I have not tried to get the very latest figures—the total British and Indian Forces which have gone on active service must approximate a figure of 350,000; and the Army, as I have reminded the House, before the War was 236,000. All the units of the Indian Forces have been kept well supplied with drafts, and, in order that that might be done, the establishments of the cavalry regiments in India have been increased by 20 per cent., and the establishment of the infantry regiments have been increased by 40 per cent. New units have been created, drawn not wholly from those classes or races which were recruited before the War; and in particular I note on this occasion—because I am anxious to correct a mistaken answer which I gave some months ago—that a company of Burma Pioneers was enlisted in consequence of the desire of the people to take their share in the great struggle. There is another experiment which has been made, which I am watching with the greatest interest and with earnest hope for its success. A Bengali Double Company has been created, and I hope it will justify its creation.

I leave the direct supply of combatant troops, and the House will not blame me if I spend a moment over the medical services. The medical arrangements of the Indian authorities, whether at home or abroad, have come under severe criticism, and this is not the occasion for me to offer any justification or any defence; but I want to tell the House in a few words what the Government of India did from the narrow resources—for, after all, they were narrow resources—at their disposal. Forty field ambulances, six clearing hospitals, thirty-five stationary hospitals, eighteen general hospitals, nine X-Ray sections, eight sanitary sections, seven advanced depots, and one general medical store depot have been sent on service overseas. The personnel provided for these units and other services amounts to 258 officers of the Royal Army Medical Corps, 704 officers of the Indian Medical Service, 40 lady-nurses, 475 assistant surgeons, 854 sub-assistant surgeons, 720 British nursing orderlies, 2,840 Indian ranks, and nearly

20,000 Indian followers. In order to meet the heavy demands on the Indian Medical Service nearly 350 officers have been withdrawn from civil employment, and some 200 private practitioners and civil assistant surgeons have been given temporary commissions. In the subordinate branches, 205 assistant surgeons and 560 sub-assistant surgeons in various kinds of civil employment have been released for military duty. May I say at once, whilst abstaining from any plea in defence of either the Secretary of State for India or the Government of India in connection with the Military arrangements, that as far as I know, all the testimony from everyone who has had experience concurs in this, that the devotion and self-sacrifice of the officers of the Medical Service attached to the Expeditionary Forces have not been exceeded, and could not be exceeded, in this War? The House knows that this is not the last word of the Government of India on the subject. They have just made service compulsory for men of European birth and Anglo-Indians in India and they have opened registers for Indians to volunteer for the defence of their own country.

INDIA'S MATERIAL RESOURCES.

After referring to the Imperial Service Troops, output of munitions, German influence in India and Frontier troubles, Mr. Chamberlain proceeded:—

Very briefly I would just like to say that my review of the contribution of India to the War is not complete and it cannot be complete, without some mention of the aid rendered by India in producing and supplying for our needs, products, raw or manufactured which were of vital importance to us. Her mineral resources have been of first-class consequence to the War. Take a single instance, that of the wolfram mines of Burma. Before the War the whole output was 1,700 tons, and that went to Germany. The exports now are at a rate equalling half of the pre-War production of the whole world, and they do not go to Germany, except in such a form as we should all wish. Then there is manganese ore, saltpetre, mica, shellac, jute bags, raw jute, tanning materials, wool, Army blankets, oil seeds, wheat, rice, and forage. All these things we have drawn from India, and all these India has contributed to help the Empire in its struggle. The list of commodities is a long one, and it has recently been calculated that the value of the Indian exports of direct national importance is over £3,000,000 a month, a figure which may reach or even exceed £5,000,000 during the season of

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heavy wheat shipments. The significance of these figures will be appreciated when it is stated that the total value of Indian exports to all destinations is, roughly, £12,000,000 a month and to this country £4,000,000.

The adjustment of trade to meet the necessities of the War has led to the adoption in India of elaborate resources of State control, not merely in regulating the destination of exports and in providing transport facilities, but in direct State purchase, in fixing prices, in ensuring that adequate supplies are forthcoming and in stimulating production. To meet all these needs no single course of action has sufficed. We have employed different means almost as numerous as the commodities themselves. It may, however, be stated broadly that three guiding principles have been observed. The existing agencies of trade have been utilised, the existing channels of trade have been followed wherever possible; and in regulating prices the aim has been on the one hand to meet the demands of his Majesty's Government and the Allies at reasonable rates, and on the other hand to secure a reasonable profit to the Indian producer, so that while profiting to the Indian producer, is stimulated. That is prevented producing is stimulated. That concludes my review of the general contribution of India to the War.

SPECIAL FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTION.

I come now to the special financial contribution which is a subject of the Resolution that I shall move. That India should make a financial contribution to the cost of the War has been the intention of the Government of India, whether as represented by the Government in India or by the Secretary of State, from the very early days of the War. It has also been the wish of the people of India. As long ago as September, 1914, Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis proposed in the Legislative Council, and that Council unanimously adopted, a Resolution expressing the hope, "That the people of India, in addition to the military assistance now being afforded by India to the Empire, would wish to share in the heavy financial burden now imposed by the War on the United Kingdom."

That represents the spirit of the Government of India and of the people. But it was not at that time either possible or desirable that the Indian contribution should be immediately fixed. It was not desirable, because I venture to say that, if we are candid with ourselves, none of us would have been able in those early days to calculate the cost of the War.

made might bear to sacrifices entailed upon the Empire at large. I think it was not desirable to fix the contribution then—in fact, it was not possible. The financial years 1914-15 and 1915-16 in India closed with deficits. In 1916-17 new taxation had to be imposed to produce a revenue of £3,600,000 sterling, which was estimated to give a surplus, not too large under all the circumstances of £825,000. It is not only that in those years there were deficits. In 1914-15 there were heavy withdrawals from the savings banks which severely depleted the balances of the Government of India, and India had to borrow £7,000,000 from the Gold Standard Reserve in 1914-15, and create in addition £7,000,000 of other temporary debt. Let me add that the exchange position—I am not going into a disquisition upon Indian exchange—was at that time adverse to remittances to this country, and attempts to make large remittances would only have added to our difficulties in that respect.

In the circumstances, what were the first steps that India could take to ease the financial situation of the Treasury at home? Remember, in normal years India is an habitual borrower on our market for capital expenditure of vital importance to her. The only regret of every British statesman dealing with India is that he cannot get more. The first thing we had to do was to cease borrowing, so as not to compete with the British Government in its own market when it required the whole of its resources. The second thing we had to do was to pay off as far as we could, our temporary debt, so as to set free resources which, as soon as we released them, were contributed to my right hon. friend opposite, the then Chancellor of the Exchequer. Let me say that in all these matters—my right hon. friend will bear me out, and I think it is due to the Government of India, which has been so much criticised, that I should say this—the course taken by the Government of India was the one which my right hon. friend and I agreed was the most helpful that India could take in the circumstances of the moment. Now the position has been totally changed. The exchange position is reversed. The difficulty is to get remittances from this country to India. The annual revenue has shown a most satisfactory elasticity. Owing to this, and to the new taxation imposed last year, we have paid off temporary debt to the extent of £14,000,000, and without further taxation there is in the Budget for the current year a surplus of millions. With the new Budget we have

sufficient to meet the charges of the year, and, in addition, to make good the obligation of the Government of India for the contribution of £100,000,000 voted by that Government to the general expenses of the war.

Mr. D. Mason : That is the present revenue ?

Mr. Chamberlain : The revenue which the new taxation imposed in this year's Budget. Without it, India would be quite unable to meet those charges. The House is aware, this offer having been made by the Government of India, that it was gratefully accepted by His Majesty's Government. Perhaps the House will allow me to read a passage from the letter of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, in which they express their appreciation of the contribution. They say :—

"This offer has already been gratefully accepted by His Majesty's Government, but their Lordships, as more immediately responsible for the finance of the United Kingdom, desire to take this opportunity of placing on formal record their lively appreciation of the action of the Indian Government, and of requesting the Secretary of State to convey to that Government their warmest thanks for this splendid contribution, which will be of the greatest assistance to them in the onerous task of financing the War."

Mr. Bootin : What is the date of that letter ?

Mr. Chamberlain : 3rd March. I do not think there will be much difference of opinion in the

House as to the duty of His Majesty's Government to accept such an offer so made. I have, indeed seen it suggested that we might have postponed the consideration of the acceptance of the offer, or of the making of the offer, until the close of the War, but I think such a course would hardly commend itself to the House for one moment. The Government of India was being criticised, and severely criticised, by Indian opinion in India, and with less excuse by critics in this country, for not taking their share. They were being abused for pursuing a selfish and insular policy, regardless of the great Imperial interests in which they were as much concerned as we were. They could not offer money before they could see their way to pay it, and at least it does not lie in the mouths of the critics who make these allegations to suggest that they were wrong to make their offer at the earliest moment it became possible, or that we were wrong to accept it. Just consider what a difference there is between that gift tendered now as the free will contribution of the people of India to the successful prosecution of a War in which their interests are as vitally concerned as ours, and the payment by them after the War of some sum to us in relief of burdens which we had already assumed. It would take half the grace out of the gift and destroy the spirit in which it was offered.

UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

Mr. Chamberlain on the Indian Cotton Duties.

The following is the full text of Mr. Austen Chamberlain's speech in the House of Commons on March 14th, on the Debate on the Indian Cotton Duties :—

I regret that one feature of the Indian financial programme necessitated by the assumption of this obligation is the subject of strife in this country. I do not wish to traverse again in detail the ground which I attempted to cover when I met that very representative and important deputation from Lancashire two days ago, but I do beg the House to take a large, a broad, and a sympathetic view of this matter. The Government is asked why they did not maintain the declaration of the late Government, to which I and my colleagues were a party, that they would prefer to leave this question to be discussed at the conclusion of the War in connection with the large fiscal problems which must then arise. If the circumstances had remained unchanged I should never have attempted to alter that decision. At that

time India was asking to raise the Cotton Duties without raising the Excise, and it was asking to receive an assurance that the Excise should be ultimately abolished. It was asking all this not in order that it might better aid the Empire as a whole, but in order that it might balance its own Budget. Under those circumstances we asked them to postpone the question, as we knew it might give rise to controversy here. The circumstances now are wholly different. They have not proposed to raise the Customs Duties on cotton in order to meet the normal charges of India. They have asked for permission to do that as one of the means, and one means only, of raising the charges on the contribution which they make to the War. You may accept an offer of this kind or you may decline it if you like, but you cannot haggle over it. You cannot, when it is offered to you, say, "I will take it upon my conditions, but not upon yours." You cannot say, "I will take so much of it, but I will not take the rest, because I do not like the way in which you have put it."

No, there is a broad choice to be made. Will you take the gift in the spirit in which it is offered ? Will you consent to the desire of India to be associated in the fullest measure and throughout the whole field with the sacrifices and the burdens which the rest of the Empire is bearing, or will you say to them, "We do not like the conditions of your gift, and we therefore refuse to you the right to take your place with the other great Dominions of the Crown in maintaining the honour of the Crown and in sustaining its objects ?"

I do not quite know what course the opposition which has developed to this proposal intends to take to-day. I understand that the resolution which stands in the name of the Hon. Member for Oldham (Mr. Barton) and several colleagues is to be moved as an amendment to the one which I am proposing. If that be so, and if that expresses the case which the cotton industry of this country wishes to present to the House then it is not the case which they presented to my notice the other day. The case which is embodied in this resolution is one of tenderness for the people of India, and regret that an unnecessary burden should be thrown upon them. If that means anything, it means that you are anxious lest the prices of cotton goods in India should be raised and the consumer should suffer. But the contention of the deputation which waited on me the other day was that Lancashire mills would be closed. The two contentions are not merely not the same, but they are irreconcilable. The contention of the deputation was that they would not be able to live and pay the duty, but if the prices are to be raised what have they got to complain of ? They are only going to be ruined and their mills closed if the prices are not raised and the Indian mills undersell them. I do not pretend to state exactly, or that anyone can state exactly, the limits of competition between Lancashire and India in the cotton industry. I do not doubt that exceptional cases can be found which will not follow any general rule, but I am profoundly convinced that the utmost conceivable injury which could be done to Lancashire would be nothing like that which they apprehend. I quoted to the deputation the other day the statement of an expert that only 2 per cent. of the output of Lancashire was really in competition with India. Assume that was an underestimate; double it, treble it, multiply it four times, and I appeal to Lancashire itself. Would it even then justify the apprehensions which they have expressed ? There is one great field in which Lancashire does not compete with India. At the other extremity there is another great field in which India

does not compete with Lancashire. In the middle there comes an area not capable of exact definition where competition arises. Sixty per cent. of the yarns woven in India are 20's, and there is no real competition in regard to them ; 10 per cent. of the yarns are 30's, and that portion is mostly produced by hand-looms, and have never been subject to any Excise at all. There remains 30 per cent. between the 20's and 30's, which is the outside limit of possible competition. I believe that that limit, as I said to the deputation the other day, and they did not contradict me, could be very much narrowed, and the actual field of acute competition is therefore very small. The fact is, there are other matters which are infinitely more important to Lancashire in the Indian trade than the exact co-relation of Excise and Customs. I speak broadly, of course. This is not the time to generalise trade statistics. There would be exceptions, and I quite expect to find my hon. friends putting to me extreme cases.

What I say, broadly speaking, is true, that the real differentiation between the Customs and Excise in the trade is 4 per cent. but the variations in price between American cotton and Indian cottons are frequently much more than the 4 per cent. which is involved in this difference between Customs and Excise. There are two other items which were only briefly touched upon by the deputation on which I should like to say a word or two to-day. A great many questions have been raised regarding the Factory Acts. Of course there are limitations of a similar character but not at all the same in force in India as in England. But before the enforcement of proper factory legislation in India we have a duty which we must discharge. I do not for one moment say that we have reached the last word of factory legislation either in India or in this country. But do not let us mix up two entirely distinct subjects, the relationship of the Cotton Duties in Lancashire and the factory laws which ought to prevail in India. I would recall to the House a deputation received by Lord Morley, who recognised as fully as anyone the obligation which rests on the Government of India for the protection of the weak and helpless. He told the deputation that he was glad there was no such question in this competition between Lancashire and India, because if there were, Lancashire would be out of court. Let us discuss that question at another time on its own merits. Do not let us put ourselves out of court for urging further factory legislation for India by associating ourselves with a Lancashire grievance whether it be real or merely apprehended.

One item I would ask the House to bear in mind. The House must not and will not suppose that the Government of India in this matter are exposing one British trade to exceptional disability. On the contrary, even when this has been done, the cotton trade of Lancashire is treated more favourably in India than any other British industry. Sir Henry Fowler, when he originally reimposed the Cotton Duties, exempted from Excise those products which were wholly consumed by the very poor. Was Lancashire satisfied with that exemption? Were those who then represented the views expressed in the Amendment to be moved to-day satisfied? No. They agitated until that exemption was abolished, and the Excise was applied to the poorest cloths as well as the finer. But it was for the cotton industry alone that any Excise was imposed. The duties on other British products had been raised 7½ per cent. last year and no voice was raised, as far as I know, inside or outside this widespread character and gravity of the House to say that I and my right hon. friend were in a plot to break the party truce or carry out some nefarious and dark plan. All that we are doing to-day is in some partial degree to assimilate the treatment of Lancashire with the treatment of other manufactured goods which enter India. When Hon. Members argue that when his Majesty's Government sanction the imposition of the increased Customs Duty they are bound to raise the Excise at the same time, I tell them with all solemnity and gravity that they are asking for that which neither this Government nor any Government will do, for you would so affront Indian opinion, and your action would be so bitterly and deeply resented, that you would not carry with you that general consent of the Government, that general good will of the people, which is necessary to you under any form of government.

Mr. Dillon: Except in Ireland.

Mr. Chamberlain: And not less necessary when you are dealing with a Government so circumstanced as is the British Government in India. I would beg the House to be under no misapprehension as to the feeling in India on this matter. I can quote passage after passage from every Indian member of the Legislative Council protesting against these proposals. You may think them wrong or mistaken, but even then you cannot neglect their feelings. They speak of this differentiation from the policy, as it was then as a course, which righteousness and justice demand. I could multiply the quotations but, to my mind more striking than the unanimity of

sentiment among the representatives of Indian opinion is the unanimity of sentiment among the British, where you might have expected divergence of view. I read to the deputation the other day—and, with the permission of the House, I will read it at somewhat greater length now—a passage from a Memorandum addressed to Lord Hardinge on this subject:

The strength of the political aspect of this question cannot be denied. It was potent before the War, and it is doubly potent now. The problem is fast developing into one outside the special interest of any particular political party in England and is becoming one of the solidarity of India and England. Considerations of Imperial policy, no less than a sense of appreciation of the services rendered by India during the War make it imperative that we should convince the Indian people that their interests are our interests, and that we govern India for the benefit of the people and without any underlying selfish motives. Why, then, refuse a concession that will be extremely popular amongst all classes: that involves nothing affecting in any way the stability of our rule; that will abolish a purely adventitious piece of injustice, and that will probably, in the long run, be found to affect Lancashire interests little, if at all.

I think there is hardly an Englishman in India not directly concerned in the Lancashire trade—and let me say, since I mention that particular class, that I need not except by any means all of them, for I know that many of them think with India on the subject—there is hardly an Englishman in India not directly prejudiced by his financial interests, who does not share the view expressed by the Viceroy. Many Members of this House will remember Lord Willingdon, now the Governor of Bombay, who sat in this House as a Liberal Member before he went to India. He expressed to Lord Hardinge his views, and he said:

As to the economic question, I entirely agree about the Excise Duty; India can no longer be exploited for the benefit of political parties at home. This view may appear to come strangely from one who was a party man not many years ago, but perhaps it comes with all the more force on that account, seeing that, after knowing more of the subject, I am clear as to the iniquity of the present tax.

The Governor of Bengal, another gentleman whom we knew and honoured in this House, Lord Carmichael, said:

I have heard this duty discussed by people of all sorts. I have never heard anyone try to defend it, though I have heard people who—or whose friends—profit by it, say, that they hope the Government won't give up supporting it.

In this matter the course we have hitherto pursued, and from which this change relieves us, sets us right with Indian opinion. I am told that I am breaking the truce which has lasted for twenty years. That is not the Indian opinion. All that time it has been an open and a running sore. (An Hon. Member: "So has Ireland!") It

has offered a ready weapon to every illwisher of our rule; it has been the theme of every seditious writer; not only that, it rankles as an injustice and an indignity in the mind of every loyal Indian who cares about these things. (An Hon. Member: "A good Home Rule speech!") I make my appeal to Lancashire to rise superior to their fears. Let them be confident in their strength, in their skill, in their enterprise, in the advantages of climate which protect them so largely. But I say one thing more. Is not the good will of that which is and must be their greatest market, is not the good will of the people of that market, worth something more to them than a paltry 4 per cent?

Mr. J. Mac Veagh: You come over and sit on these benches!

Mr. Chamberlain: I am obliged to the hon. member for his appreciation. It is the first time I have ever had in public such a cordial appreciation. I make my appeal to Lancashire. I recognise the difficulties, I recognise the apprehensions which prevail in Lancashire. I recognise the difficulties that Lancashire apprehends. I want to make an appeal, also to my right hon. friend (Mr. Asquith). I have had the honour to serve with him. I know his loyalty to colleagues. I know the equanimity and the magnanimity with which he confronted always good fortune and evil fortune, and I know whatever mistakes he and we who were his colleagues may have made, how he tried to serve his country in this great crisis of its history. I appeal to him with some confidence. He knows that I and my Unionist colleagues never sought to embarrass his Government for a moment by pressing unduly or inopportunistly any subjects which had divided parties in the past or any question the urgent settlement of which was not immediately required for the purposes of the War.

Mr. Asquith: Hear, hear!

Mr. Chamberlain: He knows that I should not have raised the storm that has burst about my ears to serve a party purpose. Anybody who thinks about it for a moment will know that, if I had wanted to raise Tariff Reform questions, this is not the method which I should have chosen. He will absolve me from any desire to steal a march in regard to subjects which have divided us in the past. But the right hon. gentleman does not meet with this question for the first time in his life. He met it in 1895. I met it then for the first time. The right hon. gentleman has a better right to look back upon his record on that occasion with pleasure and satisfaction than I have upon my own. The right hon. gentleman described what took place in a speech

which I have no doubt he remembers. It is a double pleasure to me to read it. In a speech at Cambridge on the 20th March, 1895, the right hon. gentleman said:

First and foremost I will take the case of the Debate the other day in the House of Commons on the Indian import duties. What are those duties? The Government of India has a large and growing expenditure to meet. It has a poor population with a limited power of sustaining taxation. Casting about for some source of revenue to equalise its income with its expenditure, the Government of India resolved to impose a duty on all foreign goods taken into the country. The claim was put forward to absolve a district and an industry in England from those duties. Upon that principle I should like to ask Englishmen, who have conquered India, who have held India by force, what possible justification can be alleged for an exemption in favour of a particular class of English produce? Such a claim amounts to this—and it is nothing unless it amounts to this—that in the government of India we are to look not exclusively, not even primarily, to the interests of the Indian people, but that we are to subordinate these interests to the conditions of those who command votes in this country, I say that to concede such a doctrine as this is to strike at the very roots of the system on which you can justify the maintenance of our rule in India. Then my right hon. friend went on to ask "what happened?"

He described the course of the Unionist party on that occasion in terms of strong and fierce denunciation. I will not read the whole of it, but he said:—

One or two of their leaders, to their credit at least, Mr. Goschen and Mr. Courtney, broke loose and took the side of the Empire. As to the rank and file, the great mass of them, and still more as to the Leaders, history will record that upon this, the most crucial and critical occasion, they voted against the Government and subordinated the interests of India to the exigencies of party, or took refuge in obscure places.

I was one of those who took refuge in my obscurity. I was a very young member, a very inexperienced member, and I was a Whip—not a position in which one finds the freest scope for the exercise of his own judgment. I was not very proud of the course I took then. Frankly, I have been ashamed of it ever since. Is that scene going to be repeated here to-day? I cannot believe it, and I appeal confidently to my right hon. friend not merely to abstain from a vote which will be misconstrued throughout India, which will be resented throughout India, I appeal to him, acting in the spirit of great Imperial patriotism to cast his vote with the whole weight of his influence into the redress of a grievance which rankles in India now, which separates Indian sentiment from our sentiment, which leaves our Government, rightly or wrongly, under the aspersion that where some English section or influence clashes with the interest and aspirations of the people of India, we are ready to sacrifice India to save our electoral fortune.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

April 23. General Falkenhausen appointed Governor General of Belgium.
Allied success in the Champagne sector.

April 24. At the Empire Parliamentary Dinner in the House of Commons Mr. Chamberlain and the Maharaja of Bikanir spoke on the political future of India.

April 25. At the Empire Press Luncheon to-day, Sir James Meston referred to India's services to the War and to the Empire.

April 26. At the luncheon given by Mr. McLeod of the London Chamber of Commerce, Sir S. P. Sinha and Mr. Chamberlain spoke on the industrial problem in India.

April 27. Mr. Lloyd George's great speech at the Guildhall, London.

April 28. The Punjab Educational Conference closed its sittings to-day after passing several important resolutions for a progressive educational policy.

April 29. * Fighting in Roex.
Turkish defeat in Samarra.
Anti-Pacifist movement in Russia.
United States' sympathy for Irish Home Rulers.

April 30. Regrettable loss of Lieutenant the Hon. Frederic Thesiger, eldest son of their Excellencies, the Viceroy and Lady Chemsford.

May 1. Mr. Balfour and President Wilson had a lengthy Conference.

May 2. It is announced that a Reception Committee has been formed at Calcutta in connection with the ensuing Congress in the city.

May 3. The members of the Imperial War Conference presented an address to H. M. the King at Windsor. His Majesty made a suitable reply.

May 4. Lord Curzon's Speech on the Imperial Conference and defence of monarchy as the symbol of Imperial Unity.

May 5. A collision occurred in Petrograd between the supporters of Government and the Pacifists. Enthusiasm for the Provisional Government prevails.

May 6. Air-raid in the north-east of London. Sir Douglas Haig's *communiqué* gives encouraging prospects of further triumphs.

May 7. An anarchist outrage in the Armenian Street, Calcutta.

May 8. The Allied offensive in the West.
Reconstitution of the Admiralty.
British delegates' return from the Paris Conference.

May 9. Madras Provincial Conference opened its session to-day at Cuddalore with Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, C.I.E., in the chair.

May 10. Successful British occupations.
Severe fight for Bullecourt.
Zeebrugge bombarded.

May 11. Heavy fighting in the Carso region.
Allied air-activity over enemy lines.

May 12. The 17th Bombay Provincial Conference commenced to-day at Nasik with the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri in the chair.

May 13. The British occupation of Roex.
Activity in the Italian front.
German threat to neutral ships.

May 14. Ministerial changes in the Russian Cabinet.
Count Von Bethmann Hollweg's bait to Russia in the Reichstag.

May 15. The Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates has issued an appeal to the army urging a determined offensive.

May 16. In the House Commons Mr. Bonar Law stated that a Blue Book containing the proceedings of the Imperial Conference would shortly be published.

May 17. Lord Carmichael took his seat in the House of Lords to-day.
The first annual Conference of the Indian Home Rule League was held this afternoon at Nasik, Mr. Joseph Baptista, Bar-at-Law, presiding.

May 18. The Madras Government invites an expression of views on the recommendations of the Public Services Commission from representative men and organizations in the Presidency.

May 19. Sir Robert Borden announces the need for the introduction of Compulsion in Canada. Sir Robert Borden also made a statement in the House of Commons regarding the Imperial Cabinet Conference and Indian Emigration to Canada.

May 20. The reconstituted Provisional Government in Petrograd has issued a Proclamation rejecting the idea of a separate peace.

THE WORLD OF BOOKS

[ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION.]

The Punjab, North-West Frontier Province and Kashmir. By Sir James Douie, M.A., K.C.S.I., University Press, Cambridge.

Sir Thomas Holland, the General Editor of the "Provincial Geographies of India" has very appropriately assigned the task of writing this treatise to one who has lived and worked in these provinces for over thirty-five years. The Punjab and generally the north-west gates of India must always have a peculiar interest for Englishmen as well as Indians in as much as it is across these plains that the great invasions of the past have been launched. In some respects, as the author shrewdly points out this part of India closely resembles Austria-Hungary, notably in the variety of the population and the diversity of their languages. The thumb-nail sketches of the author, more often illumined by recollections, give a fascinating account of the physiography, the people and their administration, with a deftness and accuracy that are indeed remarkable. Alike in physical features and in the traditions of its people, the Punjab has been always a romantic province and the author's picturesque accounts coupled with innumerable illustrations make the book charmingly interesting.

The Transformation of Sikhism or how the Sikhs became a Political Power. By Gokul Ohand Narang. Lahore. Rs. 2.

The author mentions in the preface that he studied every important book or manuscript dealing with Sikh history that he could find in the Bodleian, the India Office and other Libraries in England and has made Sikhism the subject of his life-long study. His main object is not to write a treatise on Sikh religion nor to deal exhaustively with Sikh history, but mainly to point out the various stages through which the Sikhs passed until they attained to sovereign power in the Punjab and to show prominently the various spiritual and other forces which have moulded the Sikh nation. He begins by pointing out the ideals and efforts of Nanak, the founder of Sikhism, and goes on through the various stages of the organisation of the Sikhs into a community, their formation into a theocracy and their being driven by persecution to rebellion in self-defence. Guru Govind it was that made national vigour and the worship of the sword the basic factors of their religion. His acts, viz., the destruction of caste prejudice and the introduction of a theocratic and at the same time democratic organisation are shown here to be the real basis of the later full bloom of their national life. Their history in the

eighteenth century, their capture of Lahore, their attainment to the dignity of a sovereign power about 1760, and their later supremacy from the Jumna to the Jhelum, and the administration of the Misls, as the units of their confederacy were termed, are very clearly sketched here. In the appendices attached to this treatise the author tells us about (1) the compilation, the literary and political merits of the Sikh scriptures (2) an examination of the widely prevalent belief that Sikhism is a mixture of Hindu and Islamic elements and (3) the distinguishing features of Sikhism from the social and the doctrinal points of view and the prominence given in it to soldierly habits and qualifications. The book surveys the subject from an impartial and unprejudiced point of view.

The Indo-Aryan Races. A study of the origin of Indo-Aryan People and Institutions. By Ram Prasad Chanda, B.A., Honorary Secretary, Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi.

This is a very interesting study of the origin of the Aryan and non-Aryan peoples of India by Mr. Ram Prasad Chanda, of the Varendra Research society. The study refers to the opinions of the latest English scholars like Risley, Moulton, Ridgeway, Spooner and others, and in some cases takes an independent stand on cogent reasons. The author upholds the theory of early Aryan immigration of one branch of Vedic Aryans from Mesopotamia, based on recent discoveries in Boghas-knei and elsewhere. "Colour or race differences, real and fancied, together with hereditary functions, gave birth to the caste system." The chapters on Vaishnavism, and Saktism fully explain the Aryan and non-Aryan elements that have entered into these widely spread and popular cults and deserve careful reading. Chapter V discusses the origin of the modern Bengali race, and Chapter VI treats of the Iranian influence in India and the controversies that have arisen on this topic. While the author accepts the early influence of the Magi in forming the races of the Vedic Brahman, he controverts the theories as to more recent invasions of the Magians and their settlements in large numbers in Magadha. The author's conclusion is that in the religion of the Mauryan period we do not discern any element that is peculiarly Persian or Magian. The arguments of Dr. Spooner on this matter are set out and criticised in detail. The volume is well got up by the Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta.

Hindu Holidays and Ceremonials. By Rai Bahadur Gupte, Thacker Spink & Co., Calcutta.

This book is an interesting compilation of the traditional stories and folklore extant in the various parts of India, connected with the religious ceremonies and celebrations of the Hindus. All the Hindu holidays and ceremonials, their origin, the observances and ritual connected with them etc., are arranged in alphabetical order and explained very clearly. Incidentally we get to know of very many mouth-to-mouth stories and zenana ceremonials, which are rapidly disappearing in many homes with the advance of Western culture, but which, when diligently and rationally interpreted, might and do yield interesting material for the comparison of the manners, customs and beliefs of the different parts of India, in the different stages of their development. In many instances, folklore stories and songs record possibly 'in addition to natural phenomena, a few historical facts intermixed with supernatural fiction.' The reading of folklore stories is always a fascinating study: and in India especially, ancestor worship, nature worship etc., which are based on fantastic allegory, and quaint primeval custom, some holidays being based on changes of season, etc.—make it still more interesting. A number of good plates about the Sun-God, and various other gods and mythical symbols are given at the end of the book.

The Indian Demands. With an Introduction by Mr. G. A. Natesan: G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras: Price Re. One only. To Subscribers of the *Indian Review*, As. 12.

The book opens with an introduction by Mr. Natesan who points out with numerous citations from historical documents that "our demands are neither new nor extravagant," that the ideal of self-government for India has always been the legitimate aspiration of the Indian people and that this has frequently been recognized by responsible British statesmen at Home and in India. This is followed by the text of the now famous Memorandum of the Nineteen on which a symposium of views from representative men is furnished. Part II opens with the Congress and Moslem League Scheme of Self-Government and is followed by extracts from notable utterances on the subject both in the Congress and in the League. There are again nine appendices in all dealing with various aspects of Indian politics including "Indians in the Public Services," "The Educated classes and the Masses," "India and the War" etc., etc.

BOOKS RELATING TO INDIA.

SIR MONIER MONIER WILLIAMS. By Henry Morris; **EVANGELISTS HAND-BOOK.** By S. S. Subbayya; **HAND-BOOK FOR WORKERS.** By Rev. H. A. Popley. The Christian Literature Society, Madras.

MANUAL OF AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATION IN DENMARK AND HINTS FOR ITS ADOPTION IN INDIA. By Rai Saheb Pandit Chandrika Prasada. Ajmer.

BUDDHISM AND THE GOSPEL OF BUDDHISM. By Ananda K. Coomaraswamy D. Sc., George G. Harrap and Company, London.

RAILWAYS IN INDIA: ADMINISTRATION REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1915-16. Vols. I & II. Government Central Press, Simla, Re. 1-8 each.

BLACK BOARD DRAWING AND CHALK DRILL. III PARTS. By T. Aravamutha Aiyangar, Teacher, Sessional School, Tiruvadamardur.

INDIAN AUTONOMY. By S. S. Setlur, Advocate, Bombay.

SHANTINIKETAN: THE BOLPUR SCHOOL OF RABINDRANATH TAGORE. By W. W. Pearson, Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London.

THE DIARY OF ANANDA RANGA PILLAI. Vol. V. Ed. By H. Dodwell, M.A., Government Press, Madras.

TRUTHS ABOUT INDIA. The East India Association, London.

SPEECHES AND WRITINGS. By T. K. Krishna Menon B.A., Ernakulam.

LIFE OF ARAVINDA GHOSE. By R. Palit, 260, Panchanantola Road, Howrah.

RABINDRANATH AND HIS POETRY. By K. Vaikunta Rao. The Theistic Endeavour Society, Madras.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

THIS IS THE END. By Stella Benson, Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London.

SHAKESPEARE'S ENGLAND. An account of the life and manners of his age. 2 Vols. Clarendon Press, Oxford. Price 25/s net.

STARLIGHT. Seven addresses given for love of the Star. By C. W. Leadbeater. Theosophical Publishing House, Madras.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

Indians in Fiji.

Our countrymen in Fiji have become a factor, and a very large and important factor of the population, and it simply remains with us to place ourselves in our right position in the Colony. To achieve that end, the first step in the right direction will be the establishment of schools. And as we have representation in the Legislative Council, so it devolves on that hon. member to place before his brother legislators the importance of the State to assist in the education of us Indians; such schools to be free, secular and compulsory. When we say free, we mean that there be no per capita tax on the scholar. Another matter of education. That benefit has hitherto been mostly for the male. It is equally necessary for the female, not only education as far as being able to read and write, but the education that tends to make their future life more happy and attractive, the education of the moral senses. This is a matter that has been considerably overlooked, and we are aware that in a great measure a vast amount of the trouble that has arisen is owing to no marriage laws. It is due to the Government to adopt more stringent measures for the protection of the Indian women and their offspring, and not have them traded off as so much cattle. Once the woman feels her position secure, so soon will she have more respect for man, but as conditions prevail at present, there is no warranty of safety, either for man, woman, or child, and it is a duty that is owing to every child from the State, namely, protection. *Indian Settler.*

Passport Regulations for Indians.

The following is an extract from a resolution of the Government of India in the Home Department (Political), dated Delhi, December, 1914:—

Every native of India who contemplates proceeding out of India to foreign countries is strongly urged before leaving to furnish himself with an authoritative certificate of identity, signed by the head of the district (in a Presidency town, and in the town of Rangoon, the Commissioner of Police) in the case of residents of British India, and by the Political Officer in the case of residents of Native States. In the case of a student the certificate should be signed by the head of his last school or college and counter-signed by the District Officer (in a Presidency town, and in the town of Rangoon, the Commissioner of Police) or Political Officer as the case may be.

Appeals for assistance by destitute Indians who desire repatriation and by students who, owing to embarrassed circumstances, are unable to complete their course of education cannot be dealt with satisfactorily unless the parties are in a position to produce evidence of identity. The possession of a certificate of identity will be specially useful to young men of good family as it may enable the Secretary of State to obtain for them social and other attentions.

Those who are desirous, however, of travelling in countries where a passport will be necessary are advised to furnish themselves with such a document also before leaving India in lieu of or in addition to a certificate of identity. It should be remembered that no person is entitled to a passport as of right on the ground that he is a British subject and the production before authorities outside India of a certificate of identity unless supplemented by documentary evidence of respectability is not sufficient to ensure that a passport will be granted.

Indians in Canada.

A Deputation from the Canada India League, composed of J. E. Dobbs and Dr. L. A. Davis, visited Ottawa and laid before the Hon. Dr. Roche, Minister of Interior, a petition asking that all reasonable regulations that will facilitate the restoration of family life to East Indians now domiciled in Canada be immediately placed in operation. It was also asked that, as technically, tourists, merchants and students from East India are permitted to enter the Dominion, the obstacles that have confronted them when attempting to avail themselves of this technical privilege be removed; that the Dominion Government exert influence on the Government of British Columbia to have that Government grant equal suffrage to East Indians resident in the province, and that East Indians be allowed to enjoy at least the more favourable privileges extended to Japanese citizens. The Minister promised to give the petition his careful consideration.

An Indian Journal in Fiji.

We heartily welcome the *Indian Settler*, the first Indian journal published in Fiji. It contains notes in three languages, English, Hindi and Urdu. The monthly is started with the express purpose of serving as a medium for the advocacy of the Indian cause in Fiji. And considering the number of Indians in Fiji which is somewhere near 60,000, we must admit that it has only supplied a crying want. It is published at Suva, Fiji, and is priced at one shilling.

Patiala's help in the War.

In addition to the Imperial Service troops sent by H. H. the Maharaja to the various theatres of war, and which have been regularly reinforced, and have been maintained at an annual cost of some Rs. 7,20,000, the Patiala Durbar has now supplied some 200 mule and wagon drivers to be maintained at His Highness the Maharajah's personal cost and has raised three new corps, one camel corps consisting of 452 officers, non-commissioned officers and men and 1,068 camels, at an initial cost of about Rs. 2 lakhs and an annual charge of over Rs. 3,78,000; also two mule corps, each consisting of 389 officers, non-commissioned officers and men, at an initial cost of Rs. 50,000 and an annual cost of Rs. 1,50,000.

Caste Problems in Baroda.

A Bill to deal with caste customs is before the Legislative Council of the Baroda Durbar, with the object of removing the obstacles in the way of the physical, moral and material good of the people brought on by certain customs and manners of the caste system prevalent in the State. The Bill entitles any member of a caste to obtain a declaration that a particular custom or restriction shall not be binding on any member of the caste, and the court is empowered to grant the declaration if the custom or practice is opposed to public morals or unnecessarily restricts inter-marriage among the caste, or is harmful to society, provided that at least one-fourth of the total number of adult members of that particular caste disapproves of it. It is said there are three thousand castes in Gujarat alone with strict prohibitions regarding inter-marriage and inter-dining.

Mysore Forest Industries.

We understand that the Mysore Government have appointed a special officer to enquire into and develop the economic possibilities of the State with orders to investigate the commercial aspects of the State forests and to develop forest industries and forest revenue. The Durbar has already made investigations into half a dozen or more proposals for the development of forest industries, including the questions of wood distillation, the manufacture of paper pulp, and paper, pencils, matches, the utilisation of tanning materials and the improvement of leather industries, and the utilisation of other raw materials from forests, especially those useful for the manufacture of soaps, oil, reissues, dyes, etc.

The Sangli State.

The State of Sangli lies in the Southern Maratha country, and forms part of the historic possessions of the Patwardhans who were, in the words of the first Duke of Wellington, "staunch allies of the British Government," and "the support of the system of order that existed in the Company's frontier" over a century ago; the Chief of Sangli is a member of this family of the Patwardhans. The book, chiefly based, according to the author, on the old authentic records as well as the published correspondence of the Duke of Wellington, Sir Mountstuart Elphinstone, Sir Thomas Munro and others, makes very interesting reading, especially those passages which describe the glorious deeds in the field of battle of this notable Maratha tribe. The object with which the author has presented it to the public, namely the hope that its perusal will re-awaken interest in the history of the Marathas, should be amply attained:—*Times of India*.

Endowment for Sanskrit in Mysore.

The Mysore Government have accepted an endowment from Lady Kaveri Rai Krishnamurthi of Rs. 25,000, out of which Rs. 20,000 will be set apart for the advancement of Sanskrit in the Mysore University in such manner as the University Council may, with the formal assent of the donor, determine.

Education in Kapurthala.

It is well known that His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala has placed the Department of Education in the hands of one of the Princes, Maharaj Kumar Captain Amarjit Singh, B.A. One happy result of this arrangement, observes the *Tribune*, has been the deep and practical interest which that prince has been taking in the educational progress and advancement of children of the State, by giving scholarships from his private purse and in many other ways. Another instance of his interest is the institution of aquatic sports somewhat on the lines of those held in the United Kingdom. This year's sports were witnessed by the Maharaja Sahib, the Ranis, the Tikka Sahib who gave away the prizes, and the other princes. The State and the people have everything to gain from the increasing interest in education that is being taken not only by His Highness and the Director of Education but the other members of the ruling family.

Co-operation in Hyderabad.

The report on the working of the Co-operative societies in the State of Hyderabad during the year October 6, 1915—October 5, 1916 has recently been issued. The most important point in the report, observes the *Times of India*, is undoubtedly the change in the type of rural societies which the present Registrar proposes to introduce. Whereas under the late Registrar all societies were formed on the Raiffeisen system, the principles of which are unlimited liability, absence of share capital and compulsory deposits, the present Registrar would convert these societies and found all new ones on the basis of the Luzzatti system with share capital payable by instalments. The experience of His Highness' Government in such matters is at present necessarily very limited, and they can only turn for guidance in such a question to the report of the commission appointed by the Government of India to enquire into co-operation. That report does not condemn the Luzzatti system, but it does point out certain disadvantages in its operation. "His Highness' Government are not prepared, therefore, to express any definite opinion as to the respective merits of the two systems. But in view of the fact that the present Registrar is strongly in favour of the Luzzatti type and that his previous experience is chiefly drawn from societies of this kind they are prepared to give him a free hand at present to start new societies on the system he prefers."

Village Improvement in Mysore.

In the course of his address at the opening of the second session of the Mysore Representative Assembly, Dewan Sir M. Visveswarayya referred to the schemes of village improvement in the following terms:—

The village improvement scheme is making very fair progress. During my tour in the Chitaldroog District at the beginning of this month I noticed that many villages have shown commendable enthusiasm in undertaking works of permanent improvement under the guidance of local officers. Considerable attention is paid to the sanitation of the villages. The system of voluntary weekly labour is meeting with increasing favour, and schools, houses, wells, roads, chavdies, etc., are springing up rapidly. During the last five years, the number of pupils receiving instruction in that district has doubled and the District Officers hope to further raise the number by about 15 per cent. in the course of the current year. I have received numerous representations urging that

legislation may be undertaken to compel villagers either to contribute labour once a week or to pay cess instead. Wherever a few refractory people make their influence felt, the willing majority are rendered helpless and the even progress of improvement is checked. The advisability of undertaking legislation to remedy this defect has been discussed during the last two sessions of this Assembly, and the question will be brought up again during the present session. Side by side with the increase of schools for the school-going population, the Government are anxious to push on with the education of adults. A sum of about Rs. 50,000 is now spent for this purpose and the Government will have no objection to double the grant if the Deputy Commissioners of Districts will contribute to take the primary responsibility for increasing adult schools. For sometime to come it should be possible to add about 100 adult schools in each district every year.

The Maharajah of Nabha and the War Loan.

It has been announced that it is the intention of the Maharaja of Nabha to subscribe Rs. 5 lakhs to the Indian War Loan. His Highness has now raised the sum to 6½ lakhs. He has also granted a special concession to the subjects of his State in connection with the War Loan in order to induce them to participate largely in this great national duty. Under this concession interest at 6 per cent. per annum will be guaranteed on all money invested by them in 5 per cent. War Loan or 5½ per cent. War Bonds, and the difference between the Government rate of interest and the higher rate of 6 per cent. per annum will be borne by the Durbar.

The Indian Princes.

In a recent speech in England H. H. the Maharaja of Bikanir laid emphasis on the loyalty of the Indian Princes and Chiefs, and gratefully acknowledged the sympathetic attitude of the Government of India and Mr. Chamberlain. He urged the early institution of a Council or Assembly of Princes where important questions concerning Indian States and the Government of India could be decided similarly to the Legislative Councils of British India. He emphasised the idea that the Princes did not desire either to interfere in the affairs of British India, or any outside interference in their own affairs. He concluded by declaring that Lord Chelmsford's speech at Delhi and the attitude of the Government of India led the Princes to hope that the questions were receiving sympathetic consideration.

INDUSTRIAL & COMMERCIAL SECTION

Industrial Development.

At the recent Madras Provincial Conference at Cuddalore, the following resolution was passed with reference to the industrial development of the Province:—

(a) That the Department of Industries, Madras, should be reconstituted, at an early date, so as to ensure greater practical results in the attempt to resuscitate and develop old industries and to organise new and improved ones.

(b) That pioneer factories to demonstrate the commercial success of the following industries be started by the Department of Industries, in the near future, on lines other than those which have led to the present failures in some cases:—the crushing of the several oil-seeds with all the subsidiary industries allied thereto; the manufacture of glass, paper, cement, fancy leather goods, pencil, gold-thread, candle, and chemicals.

(c) That the services of competent experts and skilled workmen, in respect of the above industries, be imported from available places, within and without India, to undertake the practical demonstration of each industry.

(d) That the present provision made by the Educational Department in respect of technical, commercial and industrial education, which is far too meagre, be adequately enhanced to ensure the real progress of these all important branches of education without which there can be no real industrial advancement.

(e) That the provision for scientific equipment and training in the present courses for higher University and collegiate education be increased and that every encouragement be given to the pursuit of applied science and industrial chemistry in the post-graduate courses of study.

(f) That a Technological institute be established at a convenient place in the Presidency, with complete laboratory and workshop equipment, so as to suit the needs of the country.

(g) That a College of Commerce be established in the City of Madras at which higher commercial education in the several branches may be imparted to our young men.

(h) That special efforts be made by the Department of Industries for the revival and expansion of old cottage industries and for the organisation of new ones; in particular, every encouragement be afforded for the further expansion and popularisation of the fly-shuttle attachment in hand-loom weaving and for up-to-date

improvements in warping, sizing and beaming; also for the weaving of solid borders; and that the investigation of the possibilities of the old indigenous dyeing industry be undertaken afresh, by another agency, if necessary, in view of the failure of the attempts of the present dyeing expert.

(i) That the bureau of industrial and commercial intelligence attached to the Office of the Director of Industries be reorganised and made more efficient to serve the requirements of the industrial and commercial community of the Presidency.

India's Indigenous Industries.

To a question by the Hon. Mr. Upasani in a recent meeting of the Bombay Legislative Council whether Government would be pleased to lay on the table the report submitted by the advisory committee appointed to inquire into the condition of indigenous industries and to suggest means for establishing new ones, and what action had been taken to give effect to their recommendations and what new industries had been started in the Presidency since the war, the following reply was made on behalf of Government:—The Indigenous Industries Committee has submitted recommendations relating to the following industries:—

(1) Bamboo pulp; (2) matches; (3) sugar; (4) oil pressing; (5) glass; (6) silver and goldthread. Under (1) the recommendations dealt with an application for a specific concession, and the matter is under reference to the Government of India. Under (6) the disabilities pointed out have been removed by separate action taken by the Government of India. In the other cases the extent to which effect can be given to the recommendations will largely depend on the action taken on the report of the Indian Industrial Commission. The Bombay Advisory Committee has submitted a full report to the Indian Industrial Commission which, however, cannot be published, until it has been considered by that body. No special action is proposed to be taken with regard to the Karad Match Factory. The Committee reported that the first step needed with regard to the match industry was to ascertain whether a suitable wood was available or could be grown in suitable quantities, and they recommended that a special officer should be appointed to investigate this problem. Government are unable at present to spare an officer for the purpose.

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War and Madras Trade.

The Government of Madras has issued a press *communiqué* on the economic effects of the War on Madras in connection with a question asked in the Legislative Council at the meeting held on February 6. The information is based on the tonnage of vessels which entered and cleared from the port of Madras for each quarter since July 1913, and the total value of exports and imports of foreign trade which passed through the ports of the Presidency during the same period. There has, of course, been a great decline in the amount of tonnage available in Madras due to the requisitioning of vessels for transport of men and stores. At the beginning of the war, cessation of trade with enemy countries caused a reduction in the volume of trade, and afterwards, difficulties in regard to tonnage and reduced power of consumption in France and Belgium affected certain branches of trade considerably. On the other hand the demand for articles for war purposes, has produced a marked recovery in exports which in 1915, were little less than, and in 1916, actually exceeded those of 1914. Statistics are appended to the *communiqué* to show the variation for each quarter since July 1913 in the most important articles of commerce affected by the war.—*The Times of India*.

Bombay Piece-Goods Merchants.

Presiding over the annual general meeting of the Bombay Native Piece-goods Merchants Association, the Hon'ble Mr. Manmohandas Ramji appealed to the members to subscribe liberally to the War Loan. Referring to the events of the year, he said that the principal one was the termination of their contract with the liners. Their points of dispute with them were the surcharge on freight and suspension of contract due to the war. With regard to the first the arbitrators decided against the liners, which had returned the surcharge, and the second was still to be referred to arbitration. The piece-goods trade had to suffer to a large extent, owing to the shortage of tonnage consequent on the war, while Japan had trebled her trade in piece-goods during the past three years. This was due to Japan's splendid mercantile marine. Now the Tata Iron Works made shipbuilding in India possible, and the Chairman asked them to consider the matter seriously.

Labour in Indian Factories.

Mr. Lewis Haslam asked the Secretary of State for India whether he would make representations to the Government of India setting forth the desirability of shortening the hours of work in Indian factories so that children of nine years of age should not be permitted by law to work six hours a day and women longer hours than were permitted in the United Kingdom; could he state if investigations had been made recently into the conditions under which women and children worked in factories in India; whether they were physically better able to bear the strain of long hours than in the United Kingdom, or why such longer hours were permitted in India, and, in that connection, would he bear in mind that shortening the hours of work within reasonable limits had not led here generally to decreased production; and would he state whether the laws relating to the hours of work in factories in India emanated from more than one authority, and were such laws the same throughout India.

Mr. Chamberlain: The present Indian Factory Act of 1911 was preceded by full enquiry by a Commission into the conditions of factory labour in India, and into the health and physique of the operatives. The Commission reported that the general physical condition of the female operatives was uniformly excellent, and attributed this to the fact that, being for the most part on the piece work system, they made their own hours, and that the branches of work on which they were employed involved no great strain, and were performed under favourable hygienic conditions. The Commission reported less favourably of the children, and recommended a reduction of hours and other safeguards for this class of labour. The Factory Act of 1911 gave effect to the Commission's recommendations.

The Commission found it difficult to make an accurate comparison between the hours of labour in factories in the United Kingdom and in Indian factories owing to the less strenuous conditions of work prevailing in the latter. The Indian Factory Act is of general application throughout British India. The observance of its provisions is supervised in each province by a staff of inspectors appointed by the local government. On the information before me I see no sufficient reason for acting on the hon. member's suggestion. But I am alive to the importance of the subject, and shall continue to give it careful attention.

AGRICULTURAL SECTION

Pine-Apple Fibre.

The leaves of the pine-apple, says the *Bulletin of the Imperial Institute*, furnish a fibre of fine quality and great strength, suitable for textile purposes; but the time and labour involved in extracting the fibre have hitherto restricted its use to a few countries and prevented it from becoming one of the important fibres of commerce. The fibre is produced in fairly large quantities on the island of Hainan, South China, particularly on the east side of the island; also on the Liu-Chow Peninsula on the mainland opposite. It is also produced on a smaller scale in Formosa and in Hawaii and the Philippine Islands. The fibre produced in the Philippines is made into fine fabrics known locally as pina cloth. . . . The methods of preparing the fibre vary slightly in the different countries mentioned, but all involve hand labour of a tedious and laborious kind.

The Farmer's income in the U. S. A.

It would appear that the earnings of farm families in the United States do not materially exceed the earnings of one adult farm labourer at the rate of \$30 a month and board. According to an American estimate, this does not speak of large wealth and does not seem to offer brilliant opportunities for young men seeking a short road to affluence; nevertheless, it is probably true that the farming population of the United States, consisting as it does of more than 30 million people, has a large average income per family than any other equally homogeneous group of individuals of anything like the same size anywhere in the world:—*The Wealth of India*.

Agricultural Clubs.

The boy's and girls' agricultural clubs in the United States of America have been, for several years, as the result of an organization, constantly extended, developed and perfected, a means of propaganda which most effectively inculcates the love of agriculture in the rural population, counteracts the attractions of towns, improves the farmer's methods of cultivating the soil and breeding and at the same time teaches boys and girls—at an age when they usually think only of play to recognise the economic value of their individual efforts. The efficacy of this form of rural organization is proved by its excellent results and is such that the Federal Government is convinced of its moral, civic and economic importance, and amplifies its work in every possible way.

Conference on Agricultural Education.

The following gentlemen have been invited to take part in the Conference on Agricultural Education which it is proposed to hold at Simla on Monday the 18th June and over which the Hon'ble Sir Claude Hill, K. C. S. I. will preside:—The Hon. Mr. R. A. Mant, Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Revenue and Agriculture; Mr. S. Mackenna, Agricultural Adviser to the Government of India; the Hon'ble Mr. T. G. Slyeme; Mr. M. Leako, Principal, Agricultural College, Cawnpore; the Hon'ble Mr. C. A. H. Townsend, Director of Agriculture, Punjab; Sir G. M. Chitnavis, Nagpore; Mr. D. R. Sethi, Deputy Director of Agriculture, Bihar and Orissa; Dr. H. H. Mann, Principal, Agricultural College, Poona; Mr. R. N. Wood, Principal Agricultural College, Coimbatore; the Hon'ble Mr. H. Sharp, Educational Commissioner, Government of India; Mr. C. W. Waddington; Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, Madras; the Hon'ble Mr. Rawa; Sir Rampal Singh of Korri, Sudanti; the Hon'ble Sir Pattani of Bhavnagar; Rai Bahadur Lala Ganga Ram of Lahore; the Hon'ble Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu, Calcutta; and Mr. S. Higginbotham, Allahabad.

A Committee on Empire Settlement.

The Colonial Secretary has appointed a strong Committee, with Lord Tennyson as chairman, and Mr. E. Harding, of the Colonial Office, as secretary, to consider and report on the measures to be taken for settling within the Empire ex-soldiers who may desire to emigrate after the war. The problem of the settlement of soldiers both in England and in the Dominions is occupying the attention of many persons at home. Says the *British Empire Review*:—"There is every reason to anticipate that of the many men who will desire to go on the land, if favourable conditions are offered, a considerable portion will prefer to seek their fortunes overseas. But it is hardly likely that the number will be so great that the population of Great Britain would be seriously affected, as some seem to apprehend, and it would be most regrettable if any competition were to arise. The constitution of one central authority, to inform and assist ex-soldiers desiring to emigrate, is most desirable, and one of the duties of the Committee now appointed is to make recommendations as to the steps which should be taken by his Majesty's Government, in concert with the Governments of the States and Dominions, to create such a body."

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LITERARY.

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Literary.

VERNACULARS AND THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT.

Mr. K. Natesa Aiyar, M.A., L.T., in the course of an address as Chairman of the Reception Committee at the Madras Provincial Educational Conference held at Cuddalore, on May 10, made the following observations on the place which the Vernaculars should occupy in the curriculum. He said:—

There are three distinct questions in this connection, which should not be confused with one another. The first is the recognition of a study of the Vernacular Literature—its best treasures, its noblest specimens—as forming an essential and integral portion of the mental discipline to be gone through by every one who aspires to a University degree, and an honoured place as one of the cultured and the enlightened of the land; that is in other words, the according to the most important Vernacular authors, of a place in the collegiate curriculum, which is absolutely equal to the English authors; and therefore, of course, compulsory. No man, in the Tamil land, for instance, who has not made a direct and first hand acquaintance with some at least of the works recognised as classics in the Tamil Literature, is to be regarded as having had a liberal education. A serious and appreciative, almost, a reverent study of the best, that has been thought and felt, and musically and impressively expressed by the most gifted men of the race, ought to be compulsory, along with a study of the masterpieces of English thought and wisdom—the indispensableness of which, for our existence and progress as a member of the community of modern nations, is already acknowledged and acted upon, thanks to Macaulay and other generous long-seeing statesmen of an elder generation of English Rulers of our land. To ask for this is certainly not asking for too much, or for anything extravagant or erratic. To make room for this is very easy. We have only to do what the Mysore University have resolved to do, to drop the History of English Language in the B. A. curriculum. I honestly believe that this discipline would make the inner life of our young men, richer, purer and more harmonious, and impart them a sweeter manner, a more companionable spirit, a more gentlemanly breeding, a readier sympathy with all that makes for the happiness and progress of their humbler fellowmen. The movement of the national life will be more rapid and active, and the preservation of the best elements of our racial character, which is so necessary for revolution into something really original and distinctive, will be ensured.

MR. GOSSE'S VISIT TO RHEIMS.

Mr. Edmund Gosse was invited by M. Briand to visit Rheims on the second anniversary of the burning of the Cathedral, and contributes a moving account of his impressions to the "Fortnightly Review." At the first sight from a distance, he says, his first impression was one of grateful surprise; the familiar outline was not changed; it was still there, the monument of

monuments, the wonder of Christendom. But when he came near, he found that what was living is now a corpse:—

We recover our powers of calm observation, and as we gaze up at the vast facade towering above us we try to define the change in the general character of its appearance. Of this I can give no more exact idea than by saying that a cobweb seems to have been drawn over the whole of it. There it is before us, colossal and superb, but we rub our eyes. What we ask ourselves, can be the cause of this dimness, this immaterial look for the cathedral is "pinnacled" indeed, but, as Shelley would say, "in the immense inane." After some moments of reflection the cause of this cobwebbed effect flashes across the mind. In its pristine state the sculptured detail of the great west front, with its traceries and its pierced galleries, its tiers on tiers of triumphant saints, and angels, was sharply drawn everywhere, with a profusion of lines all pure and clear. Now, no salient part has been actually removed, but the sculptured detail has been chipped and calcined, broken and stained so that also the exquisite harmony of the lines is suppressed, veiled, made inexact and ineffective. It cannot be too distinctly explained, I think, to those who have not seen the cathedral of Rheims that it is not precisely a ruin, but it is like some delicate object of art that rough children have been playing with. It retains its shape and substance, but it is dirtied and chipped and degraded.

JOURNALISM.

Writing in the first number of the *Mysore Social Review*, C. R. N. points out:—

As one contemplates the huge number of 'Magazines,' 'Reviews,' 'Weeklies,' 'Dailies,' 'Bulletins,' 'Heralds,' and 'what not' that issue forth daily from the press, one is tempted to ask "What would Browning's 'grammarian' have said, had he lived now?" "Even to the crumbs I'd fain eat up the feast!" If the 'grammarian' were to appear now he would have to begin with the crumbs and perhaps never go up to the feast. Such is the vastness of periodical literature, such the tremendous possibilities lying before it. No doubt it has its ugly side. But it is a precocious child of modern civilisation. The child is full of spirit and energy, and may consequently have occasional falls and misadventures. But then, it is so bright, so smiling, and so promising! Let us, therefore, forget its defects and hail its birth with joy and wish the best for its future.

Educational.

EDUCATIONAL REFORMS.

Lord Chelmsford in his Budget speech stated that as a result of the heavy financial responsibilities placed upon India there must be arrested progress in education. The same remark has been made in the Provincial Legislative Councils also. As *The Times* points out :—

‘Education is a spiritual activity; we claim to be fighting that justice and liberty, which are things of the spirit, may prevail. Let us prove to the world and to ourselves that our claim is true by opening the realms of the spirit to all our citizens who can enter them. It is true that there is a more practical reason for educational reform, for no student of our social institutions would now deny that education is “the best policy.” No nation can afford to be ignorant: but our correspondent’s reminder that “without education rich men are poor” is true in a double sense. Ignorance and poverty go hand in hand; and in the eternal struggle which will persist after any earthly peace has been signed, good will not triumph over evil till ignorance and poverty are in open defeat.’

THE OLD MATRICS.

A correspondent writes to us :—

According to Rule 141 of the old bye-laws of the Madras University, those candidates who possessed term certificates of having completed the F. A. course, and those who had passed the Matriculation Examination not less than four years previously to the F. A. Examination were both eligible to appear for the F. A. Examination. Thus these two sets of candidates were accorded equal treatment for reasons which are well known to the University.

Now it is understood that the privilege of appearing for the Intermediate Examination is only granted to the term certificate holders mentioned above. It was thought that this concession will also be granted to the old Matriculates as a matter of course. But by some misfortune or other their case has been ignored. It is, therefore, very earnestly requested that the privileges be, in justice, extended to the other set of candidates also i.e., to those who have passed the Matriculation Examination not less than four years previously to the last F. A. Examination. As this case seems to be a clearly strong and just one, it is considered not necessary to trouble the authorities with any further arguments.

THE MADRAS TUTORIAL SYSTEM.

The Madras Government Order, introducing at length a tutorial system in this Presidency, runs as follows :—Each student of a college will be assigned to a member of the staff who will be regarded as his tutor. The tutor should, where possible, be the professor or assistant professor of the principal subject of the student’s course. He will be expected to see each individual student under his tutelage periodically, so as to have an opportunity of discussing with him matters affecting his general welfare and the progress of his studies. He should also arrange a time on some fixed day in each week at which students assigned to him will be at liberty to consult him on any point on which they desire advice. The information and insight thus acquired will be of great assistance to the principals of colleges, who by regular consultations with the tutors will be enabled to acquire a personal knowledge of the progress, activities, and needs of individual students which would otherwise be impossible.

DEGREE IN SANITARY SCIENCE.

Some time ago the Government of Madras came up with a proposal that the Degree of Bachelor of Sanitary Science should be considered as a sufficient qualification for appointment as first class health officers. The scheme was backed by Captains Miller and Russell of the Madras Medical College. Hitherto candidates for the first class health officers were required to possess D. P. H. Degree of the United Kingdom. The matter came up before the Government of India and as Sir Sankaran Nair knew the curricula of the Madras University, the Government of India gave necessary sanction recognizing the Madras Degree as a sufficient educational qualification. The decision was accordingly communicated to the Madras Government and presumably similar degrees of the Calcutta and Bombay Universities will be equally recognised :—*The Hindu*.

COLLEGE FOR POOR MUSLIMS.

An appeal, signed by Syed Hussain Bilgrami, Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim and half a dozen other well-known Mahomedan gentlemen, has been issued on behalf of a proposed College for poor Mahomedans to be situated at Dehra Dun. A sum of Rs. 51 lakhs is asked for to inaugurate the College. H. H. the Begum of Bhopal is patroness of the scheme, and in her honour the new institution will be styled the “Sultania” College.

Legal.

LAWYERS AT THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

How large a part lawyers take in the government of the Empire is signally shown at the Imperial Conference. All the Dominions, says the “Law Journal,” with the single exception of New Zealand, will be represented by lawyers; Australia by Mr. W. M. Hughes and Sir W. H. Irvine; Canada by Sir Robert Borden; New Foundland by Sir Edward Morris; South Africa by General Smuts; and India by Sir S. P. Sinha. Of the fourteen Colonial and Indian statesmen who will attend the Conference, six, are therefore, men practised in law. The Conference, is, of course, presided over by Mr. Lloyd George, an unexampled demonstration of the great part now played by the lawyer in politics.

MR. TILAK AND SIR VALENTINE CHIROL

Mr. B. G. Tilak has addressed the following petition to H. E. the Governor of Bombay :—

May it please your Excellency,—I, the undersigned, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, of Narayan Peth, Poona City, beg leave to approach Your Excellency with the following prayer, with the hope that Your Excellency’s Government will be pleased to enquire into the matter and take such steps as may be found necessary. I have filed a civil suit in the High Court of London, King’s Bench Division, against Sir Valentine Chirol and another for libellous attack against me in a book entitled “Indian Unrest.” A Commission to examine witnesses in India on behalf of the defendants is shortly to be issued, and the defendants will have to keep ready their witnesses in Bombay. I now learn from a reliable source that some Police authorities, ordinary or C. I. D. in Bombay, Poona, Nasik and possibly in other places, are interfering and intermeddling in the affair, by calling certain persons, who have previously given evidence in the Nasik trial and other cases, and asking them whether and what evidence they would, if summoned by Sir Valentine Chirol, give in the case instituted by me against him. If this is true, it seems to me to be unwarrantable interference in a private case, an interference which is sure to prejudice me as plaintiff in that case. I beg, therefore, to invite the prompt and immediate attention of Your Excellency’s Government to this matter, and request Your Excellency to stop Government officials from working in the way stated above etc.

RAILWAY COMPANIES’ RIGHTS.

The question as to whether a railway has the right to construct a railway crossing over a public road has at last been decided. In June, 1912, the Bombay Municipal Corporation instituted a suit against the G. I. P. Railway Company, asking for a declaration that the Company were not entitled to take or retain possession of that part of a street in Bombay upon which a crossing had been constructed without the permission of the Corporation and that the Company might be ordered to remove the rails and make good the street. The judge who heard the case decided that Section 7 of the Indian Railways Act did not authorise the Railway Company to construct the crossing without the permission of the Corporation, and the Bombay Municipality’s claim was therefore allowed. Against this decision the G. I. P. Railway lodged an appeal in the High Court, Bombay, the result of which was that the former decree was reversed. The Bombay Municipal Corporation then appealed to the Privy Council, and the case was heard before the Lords of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, who decided that the action of the High Court, Bombay, was right and the Corporation’s appeal was accordingly dismissed with costs.

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS IN NORWAY.

The *Morning Post* correspondent at Christiania, writing on the 21st March, says :—The Minister of Justice recently introduced in the Storting a Bill to inflict severe penalties on persons publicly criticising a foreign Government, Minister, or country in a manner calculated to disturb friendly relations with the Power in question. The Bill, which meets with the unanimous opposition of the Press and the University authorities, was discussed at an extraordinary general meeting of representatives of all the newspapers in the country. The Minister of Justice was present, and defended the measure. The meeting unanimously passed a resolution of protest, warning the National Assembly that the proposed new law would destroy constitutional freedom of opinion and place the Press in a false position towards foreign countries, in which it would be subjected to the pressure of foreign influences. Further, it repudiated the idea that the Norwegian Press, during the war, had been wanting in discretion, and pointed to the fact that the proposal had been unanimously condemned by the newspapers.

Medical.

THE EFFECTS OF FASTING.

When nourishment is withheld, observes a writer in a contemporary, the body is forced to subsist on its own tissues. The fat first is appropriated, then the muscles and other structures. The emaciation and loss of strength are so rapid that life has rarely been maintained longer than ten days, when neither food nor drink was taken. If however, an abundance of water is drunk, the wasting is greatly retarded and life can be supported for a much longer time, provided that the body be kept at complete rest. Thus restricted, fasting is often made a valuable adjunct to other measures in the treatment of disease.

Restriction of diet is often valuable also as a means of preventing illness. Most persons not employed in manual labour eat more than is requisite for their support. Over-eating seldom yields an increase of nutrition. The excess of food, on the contrary, imposes a burden upon the liver, kidneys and other organs whose office it is to free the blood of effete matter. Then this burden becomes excessive, illness is induced. Headache, loss of appetite, lassitude and all the other symptoms commonly assembled under the term "biliousness" are the usual manifestations of it. The accumulation of poisons is further favoured by neglect of drink, when too little water is taken into the system to maintain the secretions and carry off the waste. This brings on gout, neuralgia or rheumatism and in cases of excessive animal matter is also productive of typhoid.

In the less severe cases relief is promptly secured by abstaining from meat for a few days, hastening the removal of the toxic matter by the drinking of as much pure water as the stomach will tolerate, or by means of a laxative mineral water. Muscular exercise and bathing are also advantageous for prevention.

THE HENDERSON OPHTHALMIA SCHEME.

Many children suffer during the first few months after birth, from neonatorum, and through this disease, it is computed, loss of sight is brought about in early infancy in the case of 30 to 40 per cent. of the blind. For the treatment of children suffering from this disease a fund has been raised by Mr. C. G. Henderson, lately Assistant Collector in the District of Surat. The fund amounts to Rs. 3,000,

Rs. 2,000 having been contributed by the trustee of the estate of the late Mr. N. M. Wadia. Some time ago, through the efforts of Mr. Henderson, a scheme was started in four small towns in the Surat District, which aimed at having all children suffering from infantile ophthalmia treated at once. A similar scheme, says the *Social Service Quarterly*, has been inaugurated recently for the city of Surat. A sub-assistant surgeon whose sole duty will be to attend to eye-cases has been appointed. Arrangements have been made by which the midwives who attend some 93 per cent. of the confinements in the city will report all cases of eye trouble as soon as they are detected. Particulars about the cases will be submitted by them to the Municipal Office. A fee of one rupee will be given for each notification, and four prizes, one of ten rupees, and three of five rupees each will be given to the Dais who do the best work during the year. A Committee has been appointed to administer the scheme, and out of "the Henderson Ophthalmia Fund" the sum of Rs. 1,000 has been handed to them by Mr. Henderson.

INDIGENOUS MEDICINE SYSTEMS.

The indigenous systems of medicine in India have latterly fallen on evil times, observes the *Bombay Chronicle*. The disorganisation, inseparable from a period of transition, could not have failed to operate adversely in any case on both the Ayurvedic and the Unani systems. Moreover, the keen competition of Allopathy, with all the impetus of unceasing European advance and experiment behind it, proved in the early stages to be a factor of discouragement rather than otherwise. Yet nothing could be more certain than that neither the Ayurvedic nor the Unani treatment deserves to disappear from the country. Both the systems have long traditions behind them, and an undeniable record of efficacy. But it is equally true that they have not kept pace with the general advance of the healing art throughout the civilized world during the last fifty years and more. They have rested on their laurels to the point of stagnation, and specially in surgery they have been content with almost mediæval notions. What was needed was a large movement to modernise both the theory and practice of the two systems—bringing them into line with the ideas and requirements of up-to-date scientific research. And it is along these lines, we note with satisfaction, that efforts are being made to secure the revival of both the Ayurvedic and the Unani systems.

Science.

MOTOR MACHINE GUNS.

The Government of India have approved of a war establishment for a motor machine-gun battery in India which will be divided into three sections each consisting of two guns. The fighting personnel is to comprise a major or captain, three subalterns, one battery sergeant-major, three sergeants, three fitters and fifty-four rank and file, while the transport will consist of eight motor-cars and twenty-seven motor-cycles. Six motor-cycles with side-cars for guns and, two motor-cars are to be included in each section and each "A" motor cycle with side-car will carry a gun, two men and 1,250 rounds of small arm ammunition. "B" cycles will carry two men and 3,000 rounds and "C" cycles a sergeant or corporal, one man and 1,600 rounds. The six motor-cars attached to the sections will carry a driver, a spare man and 5,000 rounds in each case and one car in each section will have a mechanic in addition. One of the two remaining motor-cars will be utilised as a workshop and the other for telephonic and office purposes.—*Times of India*.

HEALTH REPORT OF BOMBAY.

The new quarterly health report of the city of Bombay shows that this is the healthiest season experienced since the first plague outbreak in 1896. Cholera has been quite absent, and plague, smallpox and fevers have all exacted an unusually small toll of life. The figures are notable, because it is believed that the population of the town has never been so large. The number of the extraordinary population is estimated at one lakh, the greater portion of whom have been brought here through some cause or other connected with the war. The surrounding districts are not enjoying a healthy season. The matter is one for much satisfaction on the part of the Health Department and the Municipality. One bad feature is the serious increase in the number of deaths from phthisis. A new step just taken by the Municipality for the prevention of disease is the deportation of beggars from the city. It is estimated that there are now about 2,000 mofussil beggars here. The Police, by arrangement with the Municipality and under Government authority, are collecting these people at the rate of about 100 a day and despatching them back to their villages. This was first tried with success during the great influx of beggars to the city after the famine of 1900.

A NEW TELESCOPE.

On Little Saanich Mountain, Victoria, British Columbia, is being mounted a new seventy-two inch reflecting telescope, which ranks as one of the finest ever built. Victoria was selected by the Canadian Government as the site for this instrument owing to the equable character of its climate, variations of temperature being exceedingly inimical to extremely delicate mechanism. Several features in its construction arouse interest. All the delicate mechanism has been enclosed in dust-tight cases, and for the most part it moves in oil. The moving parts of the instrument weigh forty-five tons, but the mass is so delicately balanced, and the bearings so finely finished, as to require but a weight of five pounds to set it in motion. Seven electric motors have been installed for its operation, and with these the instrument can be easily and quickly brought to bear upon any part of the heavens. The mirror has been made from a block of glass seventy-three and a half inches in diameter and thirteen and a half inches thick, and weighing over two tons in the unpolished state. It was cast in Belgium, and fortunately was shipped from Antwerp five days before the outbreak of war. The central section of the tube is eight feet in diameter, six feet in length, and scales seven tons. The whole has been so designed as to enable the driving-clock to revolve the immense weight with such accuracy and uniformity as to allow the narrow aperture in the eyepiece to be kept exactly upon the star under observation. Rapidly responsive movement of the instrument is assured by delicate electric control. The telescope is being housed in a building sixty-six feet in diameter, built of steel throughout, and sheathed with a double wall of galvanised steel. The space between the walls ensures perfect circulation of air, so that the temperature within the building is kept precisely the same as the shade temperature outside.—*Chamber's Journal*.

RESEARCH GRANT FOR CALCUTTA PROFESSOR.

A telegram from Washington to the American Consulate-General in Calcutta announces that Pro. Rasik Lal Datta, D.Sc. of the Presidency College has been given a research grant of 119 dollars by the Department of State Washington, U. S. A. from a special fund for the purpose of his researches on halogenation. It is interesting to note that besides its value to chemical industry halogenation is said to be a great help in modern warfare in producing asphyxiating gas.

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Personal.

NEW INDIAN MEMBER OF THE INDIA COUNCIL.

The appointment of Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan, Bar-at-Law, of Aligarh, as a member of the India Council in succession to Mirza Abbas Ali Beg, says the *New Era*, should give general satisfaction throughout the country. The Sahibzada Sahib is a public man of long standing and repute. He is one of the most prominent figures connected with the Moslem educational movement with its centre at Aligarh. As an influential Trustee of the Aligarh College and, more particularly, as the Joint Secretary of the Moslem Educational Conference, he has devoted valuable thought, labour and time to providing facilities for the growth and expansion of Moslem education. Education has been the main subject of his personal devotion and efforts, but he is now to enter an entirely new sphere of work, which would make a constant and heavy demand on his judgment and his patriotism. We hope he has kept himself in complete touch with the currents of political thought and opinion in his community and country and will do all that he can to help forward India's steady advance along lines of constitutional freedom and power.

LIEUT. THE HON. FREDERIC THESIGER.

Great and widespread sympathy is felt in India with their Excellencies, the Viceroy and Lady Chelmsford, in the loss of their eldest son, Lieut. the Hon'ble Frederic Thesiger, R.F.A. Reports received show that Lieut. Thesiger was the forward observing officer to the guns during the action on April 30th. He had left his station during heavy fire to speak to the infantry brigadier, whose troops he was supporting and in returning to his post was hit by a rifle bullet. He succumbed to his injuries on the following day and was buried in the military cemetery at Baghdad on 2nd May, the service being conducted by the Bishop of Nagpur. His Corps Commander states that throughout the 30th of April Lieut. Thesiger was conspicuous for good work under heavy fire and had twice silenced hostile batteries shelling his battery and that during the fighting of the past five months he had shown conspicuous gallantry and devotion to duty. General Sir Stanley Maude, in telegraphing his sympathy, has expressed his deep personal sorrow at the loss of such a gallant and capable officer, whose death will be sincerely regretted throughout the army in Mesopotamia.

LORD CARMICHAEL "SUSPECTED."

The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* writes:—Here is an amusing story which, we are assured by a very reliable party, is not a fiction. The manner in which Lord Carmichael mixed with all classes of educated Bengalis led the Simla gods to suspect that he was, though unconsciously, associating himself with some men with anarchical tendencies. So they posted a Civilian detective in Calcutta to watch over him in secret. The detective was a constant visitor to the Government House, and the shrewd Governor at once discovered his purpose. To confound the detective and enjoy a fun at his expense, His Excellency conceived the following plan. One day when he saw him comfortably seated in the Government House, Lord Carmichael sent for a Bengali gentleman whom he knew perfectly well, but who was a police suspect. When the gentleman arrived, the Governor and he were closeted together for a long time. The detective was simply aghast at the incident. He, however, came to know that His Excellency had divined his mission, and was only playing a joke on him. In a short time, the detective went back to Simla, and what report he submitted is, of course, a sealed book to the public. Lord Carmichael now and then jocularly remarked that he himself was in the black books of the police, and might be arrested and interned any day.

RAJAH DALJIT SINGH.

The *Bengalee* says:—The post-war reforms have recently received sufficient consideration in the Punjab, and so far progressive opinions have been expressed by the leading associations though the details of their memoranda have not been published. We understand, on the authority of a well-informed Lahore correspondent, that Rajah Daljit Singh has submitted one, we do not know whether, to the Secretary of State or to the Government of India. The Rajah, who is a member of the Secretary of State's Council, should ordinarily be concerned with the affairs of the India Council. But at any rate his views about these reforms would be interesting, if not agreeable, to the vast majority of his countrymen. The Rajah's progress in public life has been rather rapid. Since the *Komagata Maru* enquiry, he quickly came into prominence, was appointed to the Secretary of State's Council, received the title of Rajah, while his senior colleague, Mirza Abbas Ali Beg, whose views are too well-known to need any special mention, has been left in the cold. It is yet to be seen who inspired the newly-created Rajah with the memorandum idea.

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Political.

POST WAR REFORMS.

The Hon. Khan Bahadur Nawab Ali Chaudhuri has published a note on Post-War Reforms from which the following extracts may be read with interest:—

I understand that the Memorandum over the signatures of Nineteen of my Non-Official Colleagues of the Imperial Legislative Council regarding Post-War Reforms submitted to the Government, last September, at Simla is at present engaging their attention. It might be remembered that I was one of those who refused to sign this document. I believed that it was not an opportune time to press on the attention of the Government of India and the Home Government problems of great import and consequence, when the Government was most seriously engaged in the prosecution of the War. Not only would it be undesirable, I felt, to divert the attention of the Government from the most urgent and serious purpose on hand, but I feared that during such a crisis Government could not devote to the problems of reconstruction that amount of calm and dispassionate consideration which they deserved. There were other considerations as well. Certain of the more important proposals did not seem to me of any practical value. Moreover, I did not find any adequate safeguards for the interests of the Muslim community. These were in the main my reasons for withholding my assent from the Memorandum.

But as the Government are, in spite of the existing state of War, reported to have been considering the proposals, I feel that I should not remain quiet, lest the interests of the country and of my community might from my point of view irretrievably suffer. I have, therefore, ventured to set below my views on the subject.

To begin with I think it necessary to point out in what suggestions I agree with my colleagues. So far as their request with regard to the dignity and status of Indians in other parts of the Empire in such matters as emigration and indentured labour are concerned, I am entirely one with them. It is not justifiable, nor is it a credit to the freedom-loving instincts of the British nation and to their traditions, to allow a particular section of His Majesty's subjects to domineer over and treat another section almost

as though the latter were inferior beings and in no sense citizens of the British Empire. The treatment of Indians in the Self-Governing Colonies and other parts of the Empire is a matter for strong disapproval; and the sooner, things are entirely rectified, the better will it be for India and the Empire. In this and in the proposals Nos. (7), (8), (9), (11), (12), and (13) I am in full accord with the signatories of the Memorandum.

To explain myself I shall take proposals Nos. (2), (4), and (5), together. No. (2) urges that there should be a substantial majority of elected representatives in the Legislative Councils. No. (5) says that the Imperial Legislative Councils should have power to legislate on all matters and discuss and pass resolutions relating to all matters of Indian administration, the Provincial Councils having similar power with regard to provincial administration. Only in military affairs or foreign relations, declaration of war, the making of peace, and entering into treaties other than commercial would the Government be allowed independence. No. (4) asks that budgets should be passed in the shape of money bills. Reading these three proposals together, the position of the Government of India, to confine myself to it for illustration, would be somewhat this. The Government of India would be reduced to complete dependence on the Legislative Council in which the Government and the nominated members would be in a distinct minority. Every action of Government other than those of the kind mentioned above will have either to be suggested by the Legislature or approved by it. There is no other alternative. The veto of the Governor-General could at best have a merely negative effect. If the Government wishes to have anything done and the Legislature refuse to give its assent to it, the Governor-General has no power to do anything in the matter. Take, for example, the Budget which is to be passed in the shape of money bills. Suppose the Legislature rejects it. The Governor-General has no power to intervene. There is no third party to decide. There could hardly be a Referendum in India. The Government is not bound to resign, nor if it could, is it clear who would undertake the Executive functions. Alternative financial proposals or estimates put forward by the Legislative Council may fail to satisfy the Executive, and the Governor-General may, therefore, refuse to accept them. The result would be a state of deadlock in the administration of the country—a complete breakdown of the administrative machinery.

General.

LEEDS' GIFT TO INDIA.

His Excellency the Viceroy has received a telegram from the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for India stating that Lord Islington received at Leeds, on the 21st April an aeroplane presented to India by the Leeds Incorporated Chamber of Commerce under the auspices of the Imperial Air Fleet Committee. The aeroplane has been handed over to the War Office for use in the war, and if lost it will be replaced by the War Office by another to be sent out to India at the end of the war.

At a luncheon given by the Leeds Chamber of Commerce, in honour of the city's gift of a battle-plane to India, which will be used immediately on the Western front, Lord Desborough, President of the Imperial Air League, thanked the city for the gift. He paid a glowing tribute to the part played by India in the war, despite German intrigues. Lord Desborough deprecated mischievous and unfounded criticisms of British Air Service in France which was doing splendidly.

Lord Islington said that the gift would be received in India with gratitude far beyond its intrinsic value. Recent losses in our air service were heavy, but our splendid successes were largely due to the efficiency of the air service.

Sir David Henderson eulogised the personnel of the Flying Corps, who had to take very serious risks and suffer very serious losses in order to enable others to succeed. They had never been found wanting and had never hesitated. They would go on facing losses and doing their work as long as the war lasted.

MADRAS PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE.

The twenty-third sessions of the Madras Provincial Conference held its sittings at Cuddalore on the 9th, 10th and 11th May, with Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao C.I.E., in the chair. Mr. V. Srinivasachariar B.A., B.L., Chairman of the Reception Committee, in the course of his welcome address, referred to the heading topics of the day such as Post-War Reforms, the Press Act the question of emigration, military training, the Public Services Commission, Education and Local Self-Government and concluded with an enumeration of the particular needs of the District of South Arcot.

Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, C.I.E., pointed out in his presidential address that we have arrived at a crisis when the whole question will have to be

thoroughly gone into and settled once for all. "Just as after the Mutiny the British nation took away the Government from the hands of the Company, so now, they will have to replace the bureaucracy by popular institutions and entrust the administration to the people themselves under the suzerainty of the British nation." Mr. Madhava Rao then pointed out how very successful the Legislative Councils have been in all the three States in which he had served. He urged that the introduction of popular representative Government in British India would be quite successful. He also laid stress on the adoption of the vernaculars in the conduct of the various council proceedings. And lastly he laid stress on the one need for India which must precede and transcend all other needs—Self-Government for India.

The Conference also passed various resolutions relating to Self-Government, fiscal autonomy, the Public Services Commission Report, education, the Press Act, the Defence Force, Emigration, Re-Settlement of South Arcot, and many other subjects of interest. The resolution on Self-Government supports the scheme adopted at Lucknow both by the Congress and the Muslim League and urges that the Memorandum of the nineteen non-official members of the Viceroyal Council "represents the minimum of what is urgently needed in the interests of the country."

GENERAL SMUTS ON THE INDIAN TROOPS.

Speaking in reply to a toast proposed at a luncheon given in the House of Commons last month, General Smuts, in the course of a stirring address, spoke as follows:—

As regards the Empire of India, I cannot speak, but I can say, as one who has commanded thousands of Indian troops in one of our campaigns, that I never wish to command more loyal, braver and better troops. (Cheers.) The Indian troops who are engaged in breaking up the Turkish Empire in Mesopotamia, are making a contribution to the War which should never be forgotten.

BURKE ON ENGLISH CHARACTER.

Burke said that two things had gone to the making of the English character—"the spirit of religion and the spirit of a gentleman."

May these two national virtues never be replaced by a belated copy of German efficiency touched with American smartness, writes Mr. Arthur A. Baumann in the *Contemporary Review*.

THE INDIAN REVIEW

A MONTHLY PERIODICAL DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST.

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THE SPEECH AND THE INTERNMENTS

BY MR. G. A. NATESAN.

It is clear we are on evil times. Our cherished ambitions and our fondest hopes are attempted to be foiled. The yearning of the Indian people for a century and more to be in their country what other people are in theirs is evidently not to be realised without grave risks, serious disappointments and difficulties. The assurances of the change in the angle of vision since the outbreak of the war and the sympathetic pronouncements on India's political future made by several responsible British statesmen and Colonial Ministers would seem to have fallen on deaf ears so far as administrators in India are concerned: and one might go further and say, seem to be completely ignored by the bureaucracy in India which seeks to hold the reins tight. His Honour Sir Michael O'Dwyer's expressions of surprise at the Punjab Legislative Council against the thought of "the sudden upheaval, the startling transference of political authority into ignorant and inexperienced hands," the circular issued some time ago by Lord Willingdon's Government, and, above all, the extraordinary speech delivered by Lord Pentland at the Madras Legislative Council—all these are indications that the authorities in India are unable to contemplate with equanimity the proposals adumbrated in the Memorandum of the Nineteen and duly ratified by the Scheme of Reforms adopted at the last session of the Congress and the Moslem League. During of the Congress and the Moslem League. During a hundred years and more of British rule in this country, it has been affirmed over and over again, and quite voluntarily, by various Royal Proclamations, the utterances of British statesmen and famous Anglo-Indian administrators that the mission of Great Britain in India is to enable the people to enjoy the boon of Self-Government and govern themselves like all other parts of the British Empire. And yet, curiously enough, on the 24th of May—the Empire Day—the Empire which, in the words of Mr. Asquith "knows no distinction of race or class, where all alike are subjects of the King Emperor and are joint and equal custodians of common

interests and fortunes,"—the Empire "which is engaged in a mortal combat with despotism, to vindicate the principle of Self-Government, not merely for itself but also for mankind"—comes like a bolt from the blue, the astonishing declaration by Lord Pentland "that all thoughts of early grant of responsible Self-Government should be entirely put out of mind."

We have been further assured by His Lordship that "throughout the whole British Empire, the utmost efforts and the best brains are focussed upon the immediate tasks of the war and it is futile to expect men in higher office or leaders of public opinion anywhere to concentrate their attention at such a time upon the subject of Indian Government." While Lord Pentland is unable to foresee what reforms will be proposed at the close of the war, he is certain that "they will fall far short of the proposals of the leaders" and "that the educated classes are being led to expect that which will not come and in some cases that which they know will not come." Being in mortal dread of "extravagant aims," His Lordship advises educated India not to "ignore warnings" and "court disappointment and humiliation." He wound up his speech with threats of repression which has since taken shape in the orders issued for the internment of Mrs. Besant, Mr. B. P. Wadia and Mr. G. S. Arundale.

We have read and re-read the extraordinary speech delivered by Lord Pentland and the *communiqué* issued by him later on, and being fully aware of all that has been said and written in explanation of it, we cannot help saying that it is an ill-conceived and unwise speech and that it has, as was expected, caused quite a storm throughout the country and launched men of all classes and creeds and even of different shades of political opinion into an agitation which it was presumably the desire of His Excellency and his government to avoid. Thousands and thousands of miles away from India, the millions of the subjects of Britain and her Allies now get dinned into their ears

what Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Balfour applaud and endorse in the sentiments of President Wilson, "that the unity and peace of mankind can only rest upon democracy and upon the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own Government." Sir Robert Borden declares that the creed in which the British Empire should be reared is, "perfect autonomy, Self-Government, and the responsibility of ministers to their own electorate." General Smuts proclaims, "what we want is the maximum of freedom and liberty, the maximum of self-development for the young nations of the Empire." In England, on the 24th of May, the Empire day, the glories of the British Empire are sung, the Empire whose freedom is said to be broadening slowly down from precedent to precedent. In India, on the other hand, the very same day, we are peremptorily told by the responsible head of a provincial Government that "all thoughts of the early grant of responsible Self-Government should be put entirely out of mind." In England, on the 15th of June, hundreds of political prisoners who rebelled against the State are released and here in India a noble Irish lady who has spent the best part of her life in the cause of India and two of her brave associates are deprived of their liberty. It would be difficult to conceive of anything more surely calculated to interfere with the cause of "progress as well as order" which Lord Pentland and his Government were anxious to maintain and promote. Indeed, we go further and say that a graver disservice to the Empire was never done. The similarity of expression and thought, in the language employed by Sir Michael O'Dwyer and H. E. Lord Pentland makes it clear that what these pro-consuls said is also the opinion of higher authorities. It is imperative, therefore, that an earnest and persistent agitation should be started in India and in England to obtain not only a reversal of the highly retrograde policy but also a speedy and authoritative declaration in regard to India's demand for Self-Government within the Empire as sketched out in the scheme of the Congress and the Moslem League. In the telling words of the Lord Bishop of Madras:—

"If it is wrong for Germany to attempt to impose her *kultur* upon unwilling nations, it is equally wrong for England to attempt to impose her government and civilisation upon India against the will of the Indian peoples." Great Britain "cannot fight for one set of principles in Europe and apply another set of principles in India." It won't do at this time of the day to advise the

Indian people to keep quiet and contented, and bid them worship the "gods" that have given them a rule much more efficient than any Indian rule can be. A good government does not always mean a popular government, and Englishmen, who try to think differently for India, must remember the famous dictum of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman that "good government is no substitute for self-government." What India aspires to is, what President Lincoln described as "government of the people, for the people and by the people."

In his *Problem of the Commonwealth*, Mr. Lionel Curtis boasts that "the task of preparing for freedom the races which cannot as yet govern themselves is the supreme duty of those who can. It is the spiritual end for which the Commonwealth exists, and material order is nothing except a means to it." The authorities in this country will evidently not undertake this high spiritual task, and H. E. Lord Pentland in his *communiqué* is only prepared to state that "against Self-Government within the British Empire as the political ideal for India or against constitutional and educative efforts for that ideal, they have offered no opposition." Mark the words "no opposition;" but what about support? It is obvious that the people themselves have to undertake the task despite threats and internments. Mr. Lloyd George said the other day: "There are times in history when this world spins so leisurely along its destined course that it seems for centuries to be at a standstill. There are also times when it rushes along at a giddy pace, covering the track of centuries in a year. These are such times." Evidently the authorities in India do not keep themselves in touch with the growing aspirations of the people. Lord Pentland in trying to carry out his policy—perhaps the policy laid down for him from above—is bound to fail because he is trying to fight against the time-spirit. In the words of the *Times of India*, with a full sense of responsibility we say "that the Government of India and the services in Provinces are not in full harmony with the times. Mere contentment with the routine of administration in that state of calm contentment which is induced by refrigeration on hilltops will not meet the situation which we have to face to-day." It is interesting to recall in this connection the description given of the Anglo-Indian frame of mind by Sir Auckland Colvin, himself a member of the Civil Service and a typical bureaucrat:—

The English mind in India has been tempted to stand still, arrested by the contemplation of the fruits of its

efforts in former times and by the symmetry of the shrine, the pride of its own creation in which it lingers to offer incense to its past successful labour.

Many of the members of the Civil Service make it a grievance when they are sharply criticised, failing to realise that the days of the rule of the benevolent and unquestioned autocrat are over; the present state of things cannot continue any longer without causing grave injury to the interests of the people and of the Government itself. The nineteen non-official members of the Viceroy's Council state but the bare fact when they observe that, "the people or their representatives are practically as little associated with the real Government of their country as they were before the Minto-Morley reforms."

It would be idle to expect Congressmen and Moslem Leaguers to rest content hereafter with any scheme of reforms which falls "short of the power of regulating the policy, disposing of the finances and controlling the Executive." The addition of a third Indian Member to the India Council, the introduction of a few more Indian Members into the Executive Councils of the Imperial and Provincial Governments, the throwing open of a few more of the higher appointments to Indians—these will fail, utterly fail to satisfy the aims and aspirations of the people. We feel we correctly represent the mind of the country when we say that even if the bulk or all the present appointments now held by Europeans were to be handed over to Indians, there will still be discontent and agitation in the country. What is demanded, what is insisted on, is a change, a thorough and a radical change in the machinery of the existing system of Government wherein the will of the people may prevail and not that of the bureaucrat, be he English or Indian. The situation has been well described by his Lordship the Bishop of Madras:—

The danger of the present situation consists largely in the fact that, with notable exceptions, Englishmen in India are not only opposed to the feelings and sentiments of educated Indians, but also to the inevitable tendency of their work and policy. We need to realise that we cannot now base the Government of India upon any other foundation than that of the will of the Indian people, that we are here as servants of the Indian people, and not as their masters, that a foreign bureaucracy can only be regarded as a temporary form of Government, and that our ultimate aim and object must be to enable India to become a Self-Governing part of the British Empire, and to develop her civilization upon her own lines.

India is anxious for responsible Self-Government and would leave no stone unturned to attain it by all constitutional means. The authorities who seek to suppress the movement and its

leaders and active workers will be taking upon themselves a very grave responsibility and will only help to accelerate the speed of the movement which they seek to repress. A tangible proof of this is the volume of agitation that has been caused throughout the country by the internment of Mrs. Besant and Messrs. B. P. Wadia and G. S. Arundale. It would be difficult to single out another measure of Government which has evoked such an outburst of popular indignation and alarm. The application of the Defence of India Act, a measure designed "for the purpose of securing the public safety and the Defence of British India" and "powers primarily required in the military interests of the country" in the case of such constitutional and law-abiding citizens as Mrs. Besant and Messrs. Wadia and Arundale is certainly an abuse of authority and nothing less than that. The non-official members of the Viceroy's Council who were induced to give their sanction "to this dangerous addition" to the repressive laws that have been enacted during the last few years may well complain of breach of faith on the part of the authorities who have made such use of it. In winding up his speech on the Defence of India Bill, in the Imperial Legislative Council, on the 18th March 1915, the Hon. Mr. Surendranath Banerjea made the prophetic observation: "I hope and trust that it will not be a weapon in the hands of the enemies of Indian advancement for the purpose of blasting those prospects and frustrating those hopes which have been roused in our hearts by the loyal devotion of our countrymen consecrated by their blood on the battlefields of Europe." We say, and we say it with immense sorrow that in the minds of millions of our countrymen who to-day mourn for the internments the feeling uppermost, rightly or wrongly, will be that the punishment meted out to this venerable woman in her old age is a punishment meted out for advocating the cause of Self-Government for India. That the British power so well established in this country with its High Courts, its Penal Code, its Criminal Procedure Code, and let us not forget the Press Act, should have resorted to the arbitrary step of internments must be held to be proof of its utter lack of statesmanship, its inability to bring home to Mrs. Besant and her followers the charges levelled against them and the inherent weakness of the case against them. To apply the provisions of the Defence of India Act to a lady who in her old age was employing her brilliant pen and her powerful eloquence to the cause of the Allies,

condemning Germans and German barbarism in unmeasured terms, who was devoting day after day in the past few months columns after columns in her paper *New India* and addressing meetings for recruiting young Indians to the Indian Defence Force, and who was actively engaged in making the Indian War Loan a success, who was systematically denouncing anarchism and political crimes of all forms and who always insisted on the redress of bad laws by lawful means only, to apply to her and her willing fellow-workers the provisions of a war measure is nothing but an attempt at travestying the legislation itself. It will be long before the country forgets the glaring injustice of such a procedure as this. In all her troubles and difficulties and in all the fights which she has waged for liberty, her methods have been clean, loyal, honourable and above all constitutional. If she had transgressed the limits of law she ought, in common fairness, to have been arraigned before a competent tribunal and tried in the usual course. For, even the meanest citizen who commits the heinous crime of murder is placed on trial, afforded an opportunity to defend himself, and the Government engage for him counsel if he cannot engage one for himself, and then only awarded his desert. But Mrs. Besant has not been given the elementary rights of a citizen and she is a British citizen, and the Government has at once assumed the roll of the prosecutor, witness and judge. The whole procedure is unjust and least expected from a strong Government like that of the British in India.

Mrs. Besant's only fault—but men and women in other parts of the world and many even in this country would refuse to regard it as a fault—was her English method of writing and speaking, her strong denunciation of injustice and autocracy in whatever shape and form they manifested themselves. If she has condemned and condemned strongly, the doings of high officials, let it be remembered in all fairness, she did it impartially with Europeans and Indians alike. Officials in India who enjoy all power, who dispose of all patronage, who have such a firm grip of everything worth having, who have been accustomed to demand for years unquestioned obedience to authority, who have insisted on people talking in their presence with bated breath and awe, may have a grievance that their authority is being questioned and their ancient title to be worshipped as Gods is being undermined. The fact is as Mr. Bernard Houghton, retired, of the Indian Civil Service, has well observed:—

Most bureaucrats seem to require from the people

they govern a sort of reverent respect—reverence for their supreme wisdom, respect for the admirable manner in which they conduct the affairs of the nation. They are shocked at the display of any feelings incongruous with this attitude. A nation, in their estimation, is best conceived of as a number of schoolboys working and playing happily under the supervision of benevolent and very wise school masters.

Few men give up voluntarily powers which they have long wielded. 'No men in the world are impartial judges when their interests are concerned.' No bureaucracy will voluntarily abdicate powers, however irksome to the common people, which conduce to the convenience of officials, or which strengthen their grip upon the country.

The pathetic statement in the famous Farewell that Mrs. Besant addressed to her "Brothers and Sisters" can never fail to touch the Indian heart. Mark her memorable words:

What is my crime, that after a long life of work for others, publicly and privately, I am to be dropped into the modern equivalent of the Middle Age oubliette—internment? My real crime is that I have awakened the National self-respect, which was asleep, and have made thousands of educated men feel that to be content with being 'a subject race' is a dishonour.

Since the days of Burke, of Bright, of Fawcett, and of Bradlaugh, almost every English friend of India who has pleaded for her cause has been the subject of contempt and ridicule at the hands of Anglo-Indian administrators here and of their representatives at home. The present writer can never forget the obloquy and calumny which till lately was heaped on the head of Sir William Wedderburn, that true friend of India—that living embodiment of all that is noble, lovely and attractive in human character. We recall to our mind the day and it looks as if only yesterday when a retired Civilian who was for sometime in charge of a local Anglo-Indian paper would not allow the present writer to mention the very name of Sir William Wedderburn. Another civilian who has fortunately for India been denied his promotion to higher offices and now retired, refused to continue his contributions to the *Indian Review*—because its pages are "sullied" according to him, "adored" and made more valuable according to the Editor,—by the contributions appearing under the names of two distinguished Indian civilians, Sir William Wedderburn and the late Sir Henry Cotton. We mention all this and we do so with sincere sorrow, because popularity with the Indian people and the advocacy of their cause by Englishmen and women have invariably meant to them the opposition, the hatred and the enmity of officials and Anglo-Indians as a class. It is a wonder to us that there should be any Englishman who is still unable to under-

stand the meaning of the unparalleled outburst of indignation against the internment of Mrs. Besant. The innumerable meetings of protest in almost all parts of the country, the magnificent response for funds started for her maintenance, the alacrity with which many people who had hitherto kept aloof from the Home Rule League have got themselves admitted as its members, the readiness with which men of all shades of opinion, and even journalists and publicists who have had differences with her have banded themselves together to protest against the fettering of her liberty of speech and writing, the liberty she has loved from the beginning of her life, the liberty for which she has fought and suffered and is to-day suffering—all these are nothing but tributes to her manifold services to the cause of our country. If for nothing else she belongs to the small band of noble Englishmen and women who live and labour for India and its people; she has done not for India and its people; she has done not for Indians of all religions and creeds appreciate and honour the tenets of their faith; she has with her brilliant pen, her soul-stirring eloquence, her indomitable energy, her singular courage and earnestness been advocating Home Rule or Self-Government for India within the Empire: and

even those who were not in favour of a separate organisation like the Home Rule League will not hesitate to own and that publicly, that her agitation has given an unexpected and extraordinary momentum to the cause of Self-Government for which the Congress and the Moslem League have been agitating for years. The Indian who will not recognise all this and gloats over her internment must be a miserable specimen of humanity indeed, and the Englishman who questions the *bona fides* of the sympathies of Indians with Mrs. Besant must certainly lack the essential qualities of the race for which it has ever been famous. The Government no doubt has succeeded for the time in hushing the voice that has often lifted itself on behalf of liberty and suffering humanity; but it has committed a serious mistake, nay a political blunder in thinking that the example of her life, her self-sacrifice and the enthusiasm which she inspired into the cause of Home Rule has been wasted on an ungrateful people. We can only say that those who believe, that with the internment of Mrs. Besant and her two loving associates, the cause for which she fought so long, so nobly, so bravely and so heroically, would perish, have seriously misread the situation and the temper of the country.

INDIA'S MILITARY POTENTIALITIES

AN INFORMAL TALK WITH GENERAL SIR JAMES WILLCOCKS.

BY MR. SAINT NIHAL SINGH.

AT the beginning of April, I happened to meet General Sir James Willcocks, who headed the Indian contingent in France during the most critical period of the war. Without beating about the bush, I asked him:

"With what hopes did you set out from India in the autumn of 1914 to command the Indian Corps on the Continent?"

"I never thought, at the time," said the General, "that the Indians would fight as well as they did."

I was not prepared for this remark from one who had spent over thirty years in India, in intimate touch with the Indian Army, and who had fought with the Indian soldiers in fourteen campaigns in Asia and Africa. I, therefore, could not repress an exclamation of surprise.

"I knew," Sir James began slowly, "how valiantly your countrymen could fight. But none

of them had had the experience of being opposed by a European foe, whatever their fore-fathers might have done. I, therefore, was not quite sure of what might happen when units of the Indian Army were thrown against the German offensive. I was not so much afraid of the consequence of their being subjected to a fire unlike any they had previously faced, as of the Indians confronting Europeans in battle."

After a brief pause, the General continued: "It did not take my soldiers long to show me that there was not the slightest cause for apprehension. Indeed, the very first action in which Indians were engaged in France sent a thrill of pride running through me, and from that time forward I knew that anyone under my command would fight bravely."

The General's eye gleamed and lit up his face, which is remarkably young and full of colour for

a man of sixty. He asked me if I had ever heard of this fight that assured him that the men who had come out with him would not return to India without writing their names large on the scroll of fame.

"Only a soldier can properly estimate the worth of those Indians who fought in the first action in which any Indians were engaged in Europe. They were thousands of miles from home and in a strange land among strange people whose language and customs they did not understand. They had no experience of trench warfare nor of high explosives. They had just disembarked from a long and, to them, a trying sea-voyage. And these men were called upon to stand shoulder to shoulder with an army that had turned the Germans back on their heels, and was proud of that accomplishment, even though still hard pressed. With these Frenchmen and Britons, who knew that they were fighting for their hearths and homes, and who had seen fighting from the very beginning of the hostilities, these newcomers of another race and another civilisation were made to take a stand against the enemy, who, thwarted in his attempt to reach Paris, was desperately trying to capture Calais. These were the circumstances in which the first batch of my men saw action. They did not throw up their hands and surrender. They stuck to their guns such as they were. At that time our forces were short of ammunition, short of machine guns, short of everything. They did not even have hand grenades. But neither the German fire nor shortage of ammunition frightened our men. Even when their British officers had been killed, they went on fighting. The Germans, I am sure, would have been no more surprised than we were. It was glorious!"

Sir James' narrative electrified me. I felt proud to belong to a race of men that could earn the plaudits of this veteran of numerous campaigns.

"I had another surprise waiting for me," the General continued. "One of the regiments that was with me was the 47th Sikhs. It was a new regiment that had been organised but a few years ago, and had had no actual experience of fighting. I was naturally anxious to see how they would acquit themselves when they would come face to face with the Germans. As soon as they went into action, anxiety yielded place to pride and enthusiasm. No veteran regiment in the Indian Army fought more gallantly than did these Sikhs of the 47th. They were splendid! Just splendid!"

The General paused only a moment, then continued: "I have not yet told you the chief reason why I was anxious that the 47th Sikhs should distinguish themselves. I have told you that they were a comparatively new regiment. I felt that if they fought well, they would justify the raising of new Indian troops for service in France and other theatres of war. That is exactly what they did. They proved that Indians who had never seen action before could comfort the Germans and give a good account of themselves."

Here was a good chance to inquire what Sir James thought of the military effort India had put forth during the war, and of the arrangements that were being made to increase India's contribution in men. But I felt that such questions might disturb his train of thought, and he may not tell me any more about the work of our soldiers in France. Since there is no one who can speak with greater authority on the Indian achievement in the western theatre of war than Sir James Willcocks, I let him talk.

"Another great surprise that awaited us in France," said the General, "was the stiff fight that the Garhwalis put up. A few years ago, their very existence as fighters was unknown. But during the present war, no class of Indians has, in my opinion, fought more gallantly than the Garhwalis. They have already carried off two Victoria Crosses and many other distinctions. The story of the fight at Neuve Chapelle will live for ever in history."

The General asked me if I remembered that an Indian officer, Rama Jodha Jang of Nepal, got his Military Cross for his gallant conduct at Neuve Chapelle. Of course I did.

"That man," mused the General, "showed what Indians properly trained could do in the way of leading men in action. He was a man of education. He had got his military training in the Imperial Cadet Corps. He had entered the Army as a Second Lieutenant, and had not risen from the ranks. He was serving with a double company, as an Englishman would have been. And he justified the faith that had been put in him. No Englishman could have led his company with greater dash or skill."

The last remark at once suggested to me the question of commissions for Indians. But I felt that if I put it to General Willcocks, he may never return to the subject that we were discussing. I, therefore, sat quietly and he rewarded my patience by saying: "I had another pleasant surprise in France. We had brought some Bhutias from the other side of the Gurkha

country. We had put them on *dooly* (ambulance) work. They coolly went about their business in moments of the greatest danger. They collected the wounded soldiers from ground exposed to bullets and shrapnel. They rendered first aid to these men with touching tenderness. Their devotion to duty and their fearlessness made a deep impression upon my mind."

"What class of Indians," I asked, "impressed you the most in France?"

"That is a difficult question to answer," he replied. "They all have fought so gallantly. The lists of awards made for gallantry in the field would show how Gurkhas, Garhwalis, Dogras, Marathas, Sikhs, Pathans, and the others distinguished themselves in France. I could tell you story after story of their heroism. But there is not time for recounting your countrymen's deeds of dash and daring on French and Flemish soil. But I would ask you to remember that the Indian Corps fought in France at a time when trench warfare was in its infancy. At that time the trenches were not drained and had not been provided with wooden floors. Water often stood waist-deep in them and frequently ice and snow. The men in the trenches became so stiff with cold that they, at times, had to be pulled out by main force. They kept on firing at the enemy when they could scarcely move their fingers. These conditions tried even Europeans used to the climate, and it is a wonder that men born in and used to tropical climate were not overcome by them. Their suffering in the early months of the war were terrible. They stuck it out, however, until the British Army had increased from a mere nothing to millions of officers and men, and they could be well spared from France and Flanders to fight under more congenial skies."

Another point that Sir James Willcocks emphasised was that the Indian regiments went into the fight with but twelve British officers—he spoke of officers holding the King's Commission. Often the casualties among the officers were very heavy, and sometimes they were all casualties. But the men went on fighting—and fighting gallantly—under their Indian officers.

"The question of language," the General remarked, "caused great trouble. Wastage of officers was made good from the Indian army reserve list, but they frequently could not properly carry on their duties because they did not know the language of the men they commanded. What good is a British officer in a Gurkha regiment," he asked, "who does not know Gurkhal, when the Gurkhas do not understand

any other language? But in spite of all disadvantages, the Indian contingent that I commanded on the Continent during 1914-15 fought like heroes. It is no exaggeration to say that the Divisions from India that I had the honour to head saved the situation at the time. When we arrived, the Germans had been failed in their attempt to take Paris, but they had not been beaten. The ranks of the French and of the British had been thinned, and they were opposing heavy odds. Every soldier and every gun that India sent to the firing line rendered yeoman service to the Allied cause. I have no hesitation in saying that the safety of Calais is in no small measure due to the effective work done by my men and the arms that they brought with them."

"The work of the Indians on the Continent is not done," I reminded Sir James.

"No, indeed, it is not," he replied. "I expect great things from the Indian cavalry once they get a chance."

Since it was futile to enquire if he thought that the "chance" had come, or was about to come, I asked the General if he had studied the scheme of the defence force that was being raised in India, and if so, what he considered were its possibilities.

"It is a good scheme," he answered. "Every man that can be freed from home service ought to be sent to the front to shorten the war. But such steps ought to have been taken thirty months ago. If something of this kind had been done in the early months of the war, India would have been able to make a much greater contribution in men than she has done."

That remark sounded to me as if the General was not satisfied with what has been done. I, therefore, took the opportunity to remind him that whatever the shortcomings, Indians were not responsible for them. Our leaders have been urging upon the Government, ever since the outbreak of hostilities, and even before the war began, for that matter, the necessity of organising the military resources of India. But the authorities stuck to their old policy. They chose to enlist hundreds of thousands where they could have recruited millions.

I did not, of course, expect General Sir James Willcocks to associate himself with these remarks. But he very readily assured me that no one—least of all he—blamed Indians. On the contrary, Indian loyalty during the war left nothing to be desired. He was, himself, surprised that greater use had not been made of India's man-power

than had been hitherto done. Thereupon I asked :—

"Now, General, if you were to be sent out to India, how many men could you raise for fighting in this war?"

This was a straight question—the sort of query that eminent authorities on any subject hate to answer. Sir James hesitated to commit himself to any figure. But I persisted, and I finally succeeded in making him concur with me that there is hardly a limit to the numbers that India could raise.

"Where would you find the men?" I asked.

"They are to be found all over India," he answered.

"In Bengal?" I queried.

My question seemed to make him feel that I entertained the prejudice against Bengalis that some Sikhs have. I quickly assured him that I was not so narrow-minded as that, and that, on the contrary, I held the Bengalis in the highest esteem. He thereupon answered :

"I could secure a certain number of recruits in Bengal. I visited Dacca, not long before I left India, and was much struck by the physique of many of the men. Besides, many Bengalis have gained distinction during this war for the splendid medical relief work they have done. The work of several Bengalis came under my notice, and I greatly admired their devotion to duty.

I was on the point of asking a question when he remarked : "You would be surprised if you knew in what corners of India splendid fighting material is to be found. I could, for instance, go even to Assam—not a very favourable recruiting ground, as you know—and find good fighters. I think highly of the Jhervas of the Garo Hills."

It was clear that this great General, who is deservedly famous for his knowledge of India and the Indian people, did not blindly adhere to the arbitrary labelling of the bulk of the Indian population as non-military. I did not quite expect to find him unorthodox in this respect, and my surprise increased when he told me :

"There are many clans in different parts of India especially in your part of India (the Punjab) that are not classed as 'martial,' and yet they could supply large numbers of recruits for the Army. Besides, when you say that a certain class is not a fighting class, you depress its spirit, and take any fighting qualities out of it that it may have. If we made it our business to develop any fighting quality that Indians may have, we can raise one of the largest Armies in

the world, that would give a good account of itself anywhere."

"Could you find soldiers from among the educated classes?" I asked.

"Certainly. A great many. Something has already been done in this direction."

"How would you office the new Indian armies?" I enquired.

"I am in favour of gradually giving Commissions to Indians after a very thorough training," he replied. "But I do not wish to see the Indian battalions wholly officered by Indians. I have no doubt that in course of time Indians would be able to hold high rank, but as matters stand to-day, I would retain the British in posts of direction."

"Mind you," he cautioned me, "I consider that Indians of education who have had the requisite military training—similar to that given to young Englishmen—should be given Commissions. Most of the 'Native Commissioned Officers' are not educated men, and their initiative has no chance to develop. It is, therefore, better to take young men like the Indian Lieutenant who distinguished himself at Neuve Chapelle, and give them the training of an officer and admit them into the Army straight-away as 2nd Lieutenants. That would give them the chance to prove their capacity, and they would be far more acceptable to the Sepoy and Sowar than if 'Native Commissioned Officers' were to be given the King's Commission."

INDUMATI'S DEATH.*

BY

PROF. P. SESHADRI, M.A.

Imperial Aja, born of Raghu's race

Was keeping with his spouse a holiday :

The lovers played in sun-kissed garden ways,

And shaded bowers in bloom : the fountain

Blew gently on their cheeks and on the air spray

There rose the sound of music, soft and sweet,
From birds ; the Queen, she seemed surpassing fair

That day ; with admiration, at her feet
Aja reclined in love and pride—when lo !

A wreath of flowers descended from the sky
And plunged him in a world of bitter woe :

The garland smote her neck—he saw her die.
Does Fortune envy mortal happiness,
And ever love to see us in distress ?

* From Kalidasa's *Raghuvamsha*.



GEN. SIR JAMES WILLCOCKS

Reorganization of Indian Provinces

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BY MR. B. PATTABHISITARAMAYYA, B.A., M.B. & C.M.

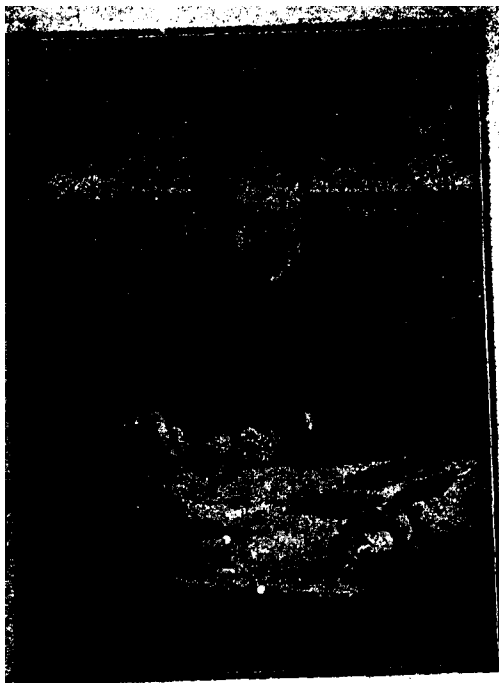
THE history of Indian administration under British rule reveals a steady growth in the number of provinces in the country due alike to the gradual expansion of British territory and the need of its rearrangement for administrative purposes. The growth has, therefore, been chronological and was not based on any logical, linguistic or ethnic considerations. Warren Hastings' Regulation Provinces of Bombay, Bengal and Madras have now grown into 15 provinces differing from one another in area, population and importance, and in language, manners and customs. It would be not a little amusing now to recall what was in 1839 a common topic of conversation in the London East India circles, that the Madras Province was to be abolished and apportioned between Bengal and Bombay and that the seat of Supreme Government was to be transferred to the Bombay Presidency. In the present arrangement of provinces, the Mahrattas are divided between Bombay, the Central Provinces and the Nizam's Dominions; the Telugus between the Central Provinces, Nizam's Dominions, Mysore State and Madras Presidency; the Canarese between Madras Presidency, Mysore State and Bombay; the Uriyas between Madras and Behar Provinces and till recently, Central Provinces. Such an arrangement clearly indicates that the grouping was haphazard and that neither ideals of administrative efficiency nor those of national upbuilding have ever operated in its determination. The Lord Bishop of Madras says, "We, English people, are by temperament suspicious of ideals. We naturally fix our attention on present facts and deal with them as best we can; our whole interest is in the *status quo*; we live and work for the present and do not look forward to the future. Sufficient unto the day is the good and the evil thereof."

Nevertheless there have arisen individual administrators, from time to time, who have had the perspicacity to discover the error in the existing territorial divisions and sketched a correct plan of distribution. Sir John Strachey pointed out that "the political limits of the provinces have little connection with any physical characteristics." Sir Thomas Holderness, observes that "with the exception of Burma, no province represents a natural unit; that is to say, the provinces do not stand for differences of race or language or geographical distribution. They are purely administrative divisions of territory." Sir Bamp-

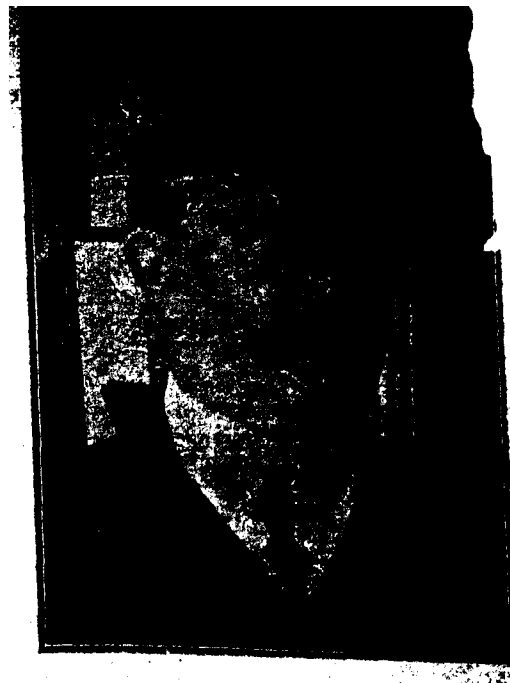
fyld Fuller wrote, "It would have been well for the country, had its divisions into provinces for purposes of government followed the lines marked by race and language, so as to reinforce the sympathy which arises from similarity, by feelings of pride in the local government. The existing administrative divisions are so heterogeneous as to have a directly contrary effect." In these observations the writers have made but a near approach to the popular standpoint of the present day, which was for the first time expressed in a constructive suggestion made by Mr. Tilak before the Decentralization Commission. Sir George Chesney held in 1898 that Orissa and Sir Francis Younghusband that Sindh should be made separate provinces.

The object of such a reorganisation would, in the first place, be to develop that sub-national spirit, which, in a properly constituted province, as pointed out by Sir Thomas Holderness, is not far removed from the beginning of national life. Our experiences in nation-building are somewhat unique and have few precedents to help us in our struggles. The upbuilding of the Indian nation is only possible on a plan of federation in which each provincial factor shall occupy a sub-national position. Unto this end, the Provinces should be homogeneous and be devoid of elements that make for jealousy of feeling, or inequality of progress so that various subordinate centres of self-consciousness may come into existence, around which national life groups itself into distinct unities. A clear stretch of contiguous territory, a common language and literature, common traditions and deep down a strong similarity of temper and character—these constitute the full and just title of the different language-bound communities to be out-lined each into a single unity and accorded all those accessories of communal and political institutions which illustrate and feed that unity. In the recognition of such a unity, there is no fragmentation of the higher idea of Indian Nationalism. The spirit, indeed, may never be divided, for it concentrates in equal fulness into every fragment.

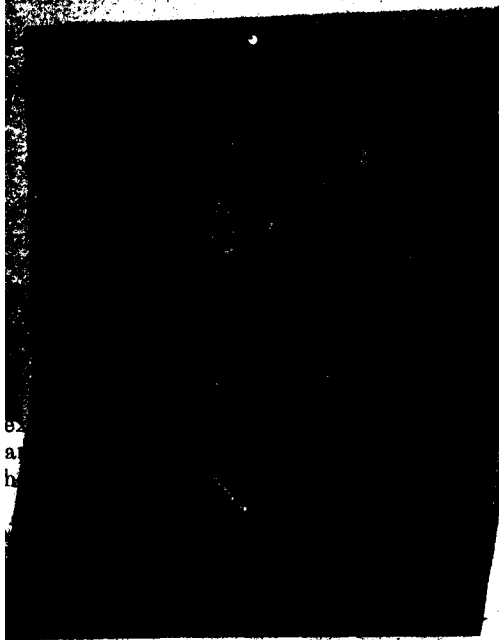
That such factors have not been created, must be regarded as the first evil resulting from the existing conglomeration of peoples and provinces. That includes a host of minor evils, drawbacks and disadvantages. The different vernaculars have been neglected; the indigenous sciences have been forgotten. English language



PRINCE GEORGE LVOFF
Russia's new Premier.



PROFESSOR PAUL N. MILIUKOFF
The new Foreign Minister of Russia.



MICHAEL RODZIANKO
Premier of Russia.



GRAND DUKE MICHAEL ALEXANDROVITCH
Regent of Russia.

has come to be regarded as the one means of enlightenment and as a necessary symbol of authority and power. A chasm has, therefore, come into existence between the class of English-educated people and the much larger class who are the repositories of ancient learning. Pride in local government has not been developed in its fullest measure. Local patriotism which, in proper relationship to the larger national consciousness, ought to be "the only safe and sure incentive to right political execution," has not been duly fostered.

It must be confessed too that in certain areas, instead of encouraging a generous spirit of co-operation, the promiscuous yoking of communities has had the effect of developing prejudices towards one another and in that measure, of weakening the forces of national consolidation. Again, the present arrangement has manifestly resulted in impairing efficiency of administration by entrusting the rule of the province alike to foreigners and Indians who had to learn more than one language in the same province. The location too, of the seat of authority and the centre of influence in one part of the province as against another, has resulted in markedly diminishing the influence of one community and even denying them certain opportunities for self-development.

Some of the evils, notably those which have made administration cumbersome and inefficient, have been recognised by the authorities. The British administrator, however, does not pause to consider schemes of constructive reorganization put forward by the nation-builder. Such events, as the Partition of Bengal, the addition of Assam to East Bengal at one time, and the coupling of Orissa with Behar are instances which prove the absence of true political insight in him in working out changes of real moment and magnitude. On 3rd December 1902 Lord Curzon's Government boastfully wrote:—"The question of territorial and administrative redistribution in India is, indeed, in our judgment, one of the most urgent and vital of the many problems for which we are at present endeavouring to find a solution." For the first time, however, a right solution was attempted by the Government of Lord Hardinge when they reunited the five Bengali speaking divisions into one province and integrated the Hindi speaking population of Behar and Chota Nagpur into another. But Orissa was tacked on to Behar, only because the Government of the day had not the required imagination to take on hand a comprehensive scheme of reform affecting the whole country.

The fault did not lie with Government alone. Popular ideals had not taken shape, and no constructive plan of Indian Nationality or of Indian Self-Government had been evolved till the need for this emphasis upon the place and function of language was recognised as of paramount importance. Even the foremost men of the country advocated a reunion of Bengal as a remedy of the thrice-cursed Partition; and beneath all the furious protests against this enforced dismemberment, one looks in vain for any large-eyed policy of territorial reorganization. Likewise Behar's plea for separation was more for its advancement in education and influence than for integration as a part of a comprehensive scheme. More in tune, indeed, with the idealism of the present day was the public opinion that faintly expressed itself when the Berars were desired to be added to the Maharashtra though a larger scheme of reorganization was not put forward. The Andhra movement, however, is the first organised effort working as a true reflex of the larger national movement.

Lord Hardinge's despatch (25-8-1911) laid down that a settlement of boundaries, in order to be satisfactory and conclusive should (1) provide convenient administrative units. These are at once furnished by contiguous tracts of country where the people speak a common language. That is why Lord Hardinge has begun the annulment of the Partition with a decision to "reunite the five Bengali-speaking divisions and form them into a presidency to be administered by a Governor-in-Council." Again, in paragraph 19, he proceeds to say "We are satisfied that it is in the highest degree desirable, to give the Hindi speaking people, now included within the Province of Bengal, a separate administration. These people have hitherto been unequally yoked with the Bengalees and have never, therefore, had a fair opportunity for development."

"The settlement should (2) satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people." During the last few years, a new consciousness has dawned upon the people that opportunities for self development, scope for civic discipline, chances for the cultivation of one's own language and literature, and above all, possibilities of provincial autonomy could exist only when each language-area has a scheme of administration wholly unto itself. Recognising this Lord Hardinge writes in paragraph 19, as follows: "There has, moreover, been a very marked awakening in Behar in recent years and a strong belief has grown up among the Beharees that Behar will never develop

until it is disassociated from Bengal." And Lord Hardinge recognises the place of another factor when he writes in paragraph 12, "no doubt, sentiment has played a considerable part in the opposition offered by the Bengalees and in saying this, we, by no means underrate the importance which would be attached to sentiment, even if it be exaggerated." Sentiment, after all, is not a factor to be slighted, for it implies "the readiness to react against the despotism of fact." It implies not "the vulgar satisfaction of sense" but a "ready susceptibility to the stimulus of emotion and excitement."

3. "The settlement should be clearly based upon broad grounds of political and administrative expediency." If political expediency demands a change, it shall be affected, though it may not be wholly in conformity with the first conditions. What Lord Hardinge's Government intended by it is made clear from paragraph 12:—"As matters now stand, the Bengalees can never exercise in either province that influence to which they consider themselves entitled by reason of their numbers, wealth and culture. This is a substantial grievance which will be felt all the more keenly in the course of time as the representative character of the Legislative Councils increases and with it the influence which these assemblies exercise upon the conduct of public affairs. There is, therefore, only too much reason to believe that this bitterness of feeling will become more and more acute," and from another sentence in which it is said that "that belief among the Beharees (that Behar will never develop until it is dissociated from Bengal) will, unless a remedy be found, give rise to agitation in the near future and the present is an admirable opportunity to carry out, on our own initiative, a thoroughly sound and much deserved change." A comprehensive scheme of reform is now advocated to bring about similar changes all over.

The table below shows existing conditions:—

	Provinces.	Number of Districts.	Area in square miles.	Population.
1	Ajmere-Merwara	12	2,711	591,395
2	Andamans and Nicobars	1	3,113	26,459
3	Assam	6	52,959	6,713,635
4	Beluchistan	6	45,804	414,412
5	Bengal	28	78,412	45,183,077
6	Behar, Chota Nagpur and Orissa	21	83,205	34,490,084

7	Bombay	26	123,064	19,672,642
8	Burma	41	236,738	12,115,217
9	Central Provinces and Berar	22	100,345	13,916,308
10	Coorg	1	1,582	174,976
11	Madras	24	141,726	41,405,404
12	North West Frontier Province (Districts and administered territories)	5	16,466	2,196,933
13	The Punjab	29	97,209	19,974,956
14	United Provinces	48	107,164	47,182,044
15	Delhi has been made an enclave	...	557	391,828

(For Reorganisation of provinces on the basis of languages see table on page 382.)

The advantages of such a rearrangement are obvious. The removal of the evils already outlined brings in its train results of great value to the progress of the country. "The ideal of provincial autonomy would have the surest chance of fulfilment only in homogeneous provinces. In them alone does solidarity of feeling and pride in Local Government develop, and the people thereof having a common language and literature, and inspired by common traditions, are best able to examine their civic laws and social institutions from a common standpoint and judge of their common need for reform and legislation. Indeed "the creation of a common standard of civilisation in certain matters," as Professor Morgan puts it "and of a certain measure of national sentiment may be necessary before local autonomy is either desirable or possible." If all governments are agencies for enforcing the will of the majority on the minority, the different provincial governments enjoying a full measure of autonomy, administrative and legislative, can enact laws to the complete satisfaction of a particular province not by enforcing the will of one language-community upon another, but by ascertaining the bulk of opinion from among a homogeneous population marked by similarity in sympathies and sentiment. Lord Hardinge's scheme of Provincial autonomy should bring into existence separate, stable, self-contained and self-reliant States in which no one community could retard another in its progress. It is thus that in the words of "Action Front": "All the (sub) nationalities in India would be simultaneously started on the road to self-development and ultimate self-government. Those which advance rapidly would be given greater facilities and would necessarily be more independent than those that lagged. No greater facilities could be given to the peoples of India than the fostering of local patriotism (by the construction of a new map of India on an ethnological and linguistic basis) and the conse-

quent friendly inter-racial competition for civilised progress and ultimate autonomy."

The organisation of Indian provinces on natural and linguistic lines forms but the first step in the achievement of that provincial unity which is essential to the perfect flowering of Indian nationalism. For the singleness of political administration would prove of no farther significance, if it did not avail itself of those vital forces which sustain and develop communal life among a people. And any government to be fruitful of these benefits for which all governments exist, must, in the daily business of administration, relate itself intimately to the life and habits of the people whom it seeks to govern. Administration is really no more mechanical than education, depending for its success in a very vital measure on the inner psychology of relations between the governing and the governed. One great defect of British administration in India appears to be the lack of correspondence between the minds of the English rulers and of the Indian people, between the demand for organisation and the impulse to respond. Thus though essentially democratic in temper, the British scheme of government has lain on its Indian subject races with the weight of an arbitrary beauracry, while, on the other hand, it has found its task of administration peculiarly hard and unsatisfactory even with a people who have been for ages accustomed to democratic forms and institutions of self-government.

One important reason for such small measure of success is doubtless the fact that the daily administration is carried on in a language not understood by the people. The increasing employment of English educated Indian interpreters has never proved any real palliative to the evil of government in a foreign language. For, where the fountain of authority is foreign in *personnel*, the more faithfully and efficiently the task of interpretation is discharged, the more completely does the administration retain its impress of an alien character. So that government by the English educated Indian has often-times proved itself as un-Indian in tone and temper as that by European officers uninformed of the ways of Indian life. Things seem to have been somewhat better, if not radically different, in the days when European administrators learnt the language of the land and were more intimately in touch with the habits and characteristics of the people.

But with the universal acceptance of English as the language of administration has come into being a body of English officials with set notions

of how to govern India, and a great army of English educated Indians, who function only as passive media for the transference of ideas from the really governing to the vast mass of the governed. These Indian officials, without any power of initiative, have had only the result of putting further away from the vision of the rulers the real people of the land, so shutting off that natural exchange of influences which ought to exist between the governing and the governed. The few Indians in the higher ranks of service has have absolutely no influence in altering the tone and temper of the administration. While Indian opinion in the Legislative Councils has perhaps helped to moderate the rigour of English ideas but has failed in its essential purpose, because it did not clearly enough realise or interpret the needs of Indian life. The truth of this may be illustrated by the poor success of the local bodies as such, by the unpopularity of the Police and the relative failure of the Courts of Justice.

Instances may be endlessly multiplied to prove how ill European institutions have fared with the people of the land, how they have provoked, not sympathetic response, but suspicion and distrust and how, as a consequence, some of the new usages and institutions, meant for their good, have in course of time turned into instruments of oppression. The rulers have readily set it down to the innate ignorance and superstition of the Indian mind. Strange accusation to be laid at the door of a people who, through their social organisation, successfully regulated the very motive springs of individual action, through their panchayats solved their own disputes, through their servants maintained perfect security to person and property and through their various institutions revealed the highest capacity to deal with the most complicated problems of national life!

Where, then, would the solution to such a seemingly contradictory problem lie? Most probably in the fact that government through an alien language has given a general air of alienness to the administration itself, so that every usage or institution of that administration, however harmless or beneficent in itself to the people, was, so to speak, morally rejected under an instinctive apprehension of its unsuitableness to the Indian life or where persistently enforced, was silently submitted to as part of the inevitable indemnity of conquest. If this explanation be right, the one and only remedy must be in the complete adoption of the vernacular as the language of administration in the land, in the necessary modification of the *personnel* of government at least to

the limit of the District administration in accordance therewith. But this does not mean that, in the sphere of the highest government, the use of English would not prove essential both in the interests of the uniform evolution of national administration in the land and for the dominance of the finer tradition of the British Raj. But allowing for the inevitable supremacy of both language and *personnel* in the highest sphere of executive government, the fountain sources of legislation and administration must be laid entirely in the realm of the vernacular, rendering possible the freest and fullest discussion of all vital problems of public interest, and their publication as deep and wide as would be necessary to reach the millions toiling in the Indian villages.

Such dominance of the vernacular in administration is bound to make it infinitely easier, more satisfactory and more efficient by enlisting on the side of good government the whole force of popular will where it is substantially in agreement with the will of the executive, by facilitating a full and clear understanding by the people of the purpose and value of the various reforms to be introduced, and by ensuring natural and substantial justice, effecting incalculable saving in time and money, and ultimately simplifying law and procedure in harmony with the social instincts of an essentially agricultural race. Thus in many known and unknown ways the introduction of this reform would make the British Government the nearest approach to a truly national institution springing from the heart of the people and deriving its strength, not from an objective fountain of power, but from the moral and emotional relation of its fundamental unity with the highest interests of national life.

Then, again, there is the general proposition which has found the acceptance of all classes of thinkers that the children of a race would be best educated in and through their own mother tongue, but the full significance of the fact would be realised only when in a rightly constituted province the full vigour of national life expresses itself in a rich and varied glorification of the vernacular. The evil of forcing an alien language has only served to dry up, at their sources the very fountain-springs of national power. A century of European education has left the Indian mind richer by a new language but seriously impoverished on the side of initiative and originality. The very extent of apparent success which has attended this tremendous educational experiment, may really be accounted as the measure of its failure from the point of view of the evolution of a true national culture.

And if it be true that the individuality of a people's culture is their greatest treasure in the eye of humanity, which nothing may weaken or destroy, then surely our primary duty would lie in the restoration to each vernacular that dominance which English now holds. For, if a culture is to be constantly replenished and kept alive as growing entity, the language which is its vehicle must be accepted as the one medium of self-expression.

Provinces so reorganised become at once distinctive and potent states, federated together to constitute the mighty Indian Nationality of the near future. As separate, self-governing states, acknowledging a suzerain power over themselves, they prepare the vast continent for that ultimate autonomy which has been acknowledged as our ideal. While good government is no substitute for self government, it must be admitted that, in the last analysis, self-government in any country is itself only a means to good-government and if that be so, it is of paramount importance that a self-governing India should comprise components enjoying the best facilities for liberal, sympathetic and popular government. The demand for self-government safe-guarded and exalted by the high ideal underlying the scheme of reorganisation would not be exposed to the cavil that it emanates from the self-seeking classes for, on the plan on which it is designed, it develops a policy beaten out into harmony with the needs of the nation and serves primarily and for ever, the requirements of the millions that toil and labour. Again, provinces thus organised and strengthened would enjoy legitimate opportunities for independent self-development and foster distinctive tributary cultures whose commingling enriches the central stream of national life; and, while there is no antagonism between the consciousness of a separate sub-nationality and that national pride and patriotism not more ardent indeed but larger in its scope, modern thought and experience agree in the conclusion that that nationalism would surely be counted highest which is compounded of the finest contrasts within the unity of one culture type. From whatever view-point the problem of India's future may be examined, the conclusion is irresistible that, for a solution to be final and satisfactory, the statesmen in India should display great imagination and courage and carve out natural and self-contained provinces, each sustained by a thought of internal unity and enjoying a simple system of self government, and all held together and uplifted by a common ambition to realise the individual soul in a life, larger and diviner than its own.

Reorganisation of provinces on the basis of language would alter the map of India as follows:—

Provinces.	Language.	Number of Dists.	Area in square miles.	Population.	Relative size in relation to Belgium. (11,300 sq. miles.)
1 Ajmere-Merwara	...	2	2,711	501,395	
2 Andamans and Nicobars	Local dia- lects of Rajasthani and Hindi.	...	...	...	
3 Assam	...	12	3,143 52,959	26,459 6,713,635	
4 Beluchistan	Bengali 46 per cent. Assamese 22 per cent. Hindi and Uriya.	6	45,804 78,412	414,412 45,483,077	
5 Bengal	...	28	...	...	
6 i Orissa including (ii) Uriya tracts of Ganjam and Vizagapatam in Madras Presidency).	Bengali. ...	...	...	...	
7 i Behar, Chota Nagpur (excluding Orissa) ii Hindi speaking area of Central Provinces.	Uriya. ...	...	i Orissa. 13,770 ii the rest 10,000 i 70,000 ii 40,000	6½ millions 30 millions 7½ millions	2 times. 10 times.
8 i Berars ii Marhatta speaking area of Central Provinces and iii of Bombay.	...	...	110,000 i Berars. 17,718 Bombay. ii 37,192 the rest iii 20,982	37½ millions 3 millions 6 millions 4½ millions	
9 Gujarathi speaking area of Bombay	Gujarathi.	6	75,892	13½ millions	7 times.
10 Sindh	Sindhi.	6	13,710	3½ millions	1½ times.
11 Coorg	...	1	47,066	3,513,435	4 times.
12 Andhra Province (Telugu speaking area in Madras Presidency)	Telugu	11	1,582	174,976	
13 Dravida Province (Tamil speaking area in Madras Presidency)	Tamil	10	50,000	15 millions	4½ times.
14 Malabar Province	Malayali.	1	5,794	3,015,119	1 of Belgium.
15 Kannaḍa do (Bombay and Madras)	...	7	29,015	6,265,919	2½ times.
16 North-West Frontier Province	Kanarese.	5	16,466	2,196,933	
17 The Punjab	...	29	97,209	9,974,956	
18 United Provinces	...	48	107,164	47,182,044	
19 Delhi (Eclaire)	...	1	557	391,828	

Some Philosophical Sytems of South India

BY MR. G. R. JOSYER, B A., HONS.

Is there a science of life? Is there a philosophy of the Universe? Is there method in mundane existence? Is there an order of nature pervading animate and inanimate life? Is our visible world the result of a cause? Does it cause another result? Is there a Heaven? Is there a third place? Is there salvation? Is there a God?

The many demands that appear above are not all identical, but there seems to be a science of life, and perhaps a philosophy of the Universe. Things inanimate are always stationary. Water flows always from a higher to a lower level. Man is dark and blooming in early manhood, and gradually passes on to grey hair and wrinkles and weakness as old age comes up. Live things have all an ordered youth, vigour of manhood, age and decay, in their course on earth. The sun rises in the morning amidst bright colours, and rises slowly into scorching white, and slowly down again into sunset and glorious hues. The seasons bring out their fruit and rain, warmth and cold, clouds and clear blue, with a settled alternation. There seems to be method in the madness of life. There seems to be reason, and some amount of rhyme, in the harmony of existence.

The philosophy of the Universe investigates the nature of this harmony. The Science of Life lays down the laws which could bring about this harmony. The Universe being one, Truth always being one, the Philosophy of the Universe has to be one, while the Science of Life may vary between one society and another according to their temperament and environment, enabling them to reach the same goal though from different directions. The sciences of life—known as religions—may thus be many, whilst the philosophy of existence must be one. Religion is a manual of conduct for members of a particular society, and like etiquette, may differ from the religious customs of another. Brutal life and inanimate nature may not have a religion like men, but they must subserve a philosophy of the universe. Philosophy is the postulate which religion must acknowledge before it proceeds to work out its problems or prove its social theorems.

It is the fashion of people, no doubt, to speak of systems of philosophy, confusing them some-

times with systems of religion; or at other times, thinking that it is a right of each nation to have its own system of philosophy, concurrent with that of another neighbouring nation, or divergent from that of every other nation in the world. There have in fact been many systems of philosophy current among humanity. Kant and Spencer, Hume and Descartes, Gautama and Vyasa, Kanada and Sankara, have set up so many systems of their own. But the truths of philosophy, it must be remembered, are not like the truths of politics. They are more than international, they are universal, while the truths of politics are only national. These last depend on the individual taste and civilization of each nation, the number of social orders which compose it, the masterfulness of prince or populace, in the cross-currents of its national existence. But the truths of philosophy, they certainly could not be subservient to the whims of individuals or nations? They are solemn and sovereign truths, always one and always unquestionable. They are omnipotent, and they must be eternal. If there is a God who created the Universe of Christ and Ramanuja, surely He must have created Kant's Germany and Hume's England. He could not be Jove one day, Brahma on another, and the Father in Heaven on another still. If there is a king for one subject in a State, he is king for all? If one citizen has to pay taxes and go through enforced military service, surely every citizen has to do the same things?

It must be admitted now, however, that there are many views current about the nature of the Universe. It is a hard task to decide which of them is true, and which of them otherwise. Sankara says the world is a mirage. Hume says that God is a phantasy. Some men of modern times say that one needn't bother about the superhuman, so long as one is sure of what is in one and what is round about one. They are John Morley and Leslie Stephen, and their lot. They could not all be true. One has to pick and choose among them. So, which of them? But our present purpose is not to make such choice. We examine some systems of Indian philosophy. By some, we have in mind Advaitism, Visisth-advaitism, and the system of Madhwa.

We begin with Advaitism: not because it is the best of the three, but because it has gained

recognition among western savants as representative of Indian Vedanta, and because of its explosive, and most thoroughly controvertible character. The doctrines of this Advaitism are based on the Vedic trisyllable "Tat-tvam-Asi." That word indicates the identity of the Brahman and the Jeeva, the latter being not a part nor an emanation, but fully, wholly, eternally, the Brahman's very self. Brahman becomes subject to a certain "Avidya"—which is not an entity separate from it—and gives rise to the numerous Samsaric souls, which are each immersed in a set of "Upadhis" or limitations. Avidya is a grand state of supreme ignorance, from which there is an awakening only through knowledge philosophical. That knowledge is to be looked for as a part of Revelation, treasured in the Gnana-kanda of the Veda. There are two sciences of Brahman; the higher, leading directly on to salvation; the lower, content with the idolised worshipping of Brahman, and producing Karma-Samridhi, or Abhyudaya, or Karmamukti, as the case may be. Brahman is absolutely without attributes, form, difference, or limitation: but becomes the lower Brahman, when Avidya imposes on it, for the purposes of worship, the limitations whose technical name is Upadhis. This imposition on Brahman is only an illusion, like a crystal appearing itself red, when it merely reflects a red colour. The essence of Brahman is through and through pure thought-intelligence,—or Chaitanya,—like the salt-taste imparted to water, when a lump of salt is dissolved in it. The lower Brahman is divisible into three sorts; the pantheistic or the world-soul; the psychological or the individual soul; and the theistic or the personal God. The saving Grace, or the inspiration of salvation, comes only through the will of the personal God. Metaphysically there is no Universe, and no personal God either. In the empirical view, the world is a creation of Brahman, and the individual soul clothed in Upadhis goes through a series of transmigrations necessitated by its own Karma. Para-Vidya or supreme knowledge in Theology goes along with Paramarthavastha in cosmology: in the same way Aparā-Vidya or lower knowledge in theology pairs off with the Vyavaharavastha of cosmology, giving us a conception of the empirical point of view of metaphysics. Thereby is formed a system of religion for those who are not able to raise themselves to the higher point of view. In this system then, metaphysically we have the identity of the soul with Brahman, but no origin or support or dissolution of the world: empirically, on the contrary, we have a world crea-

tion but no identity of Brahman and the soul. World-creation is only a periodic alternate expansion of the world from Brahman, and its reabsorption into Him, not once, but countless times repeated through endless eons. Creation, then, is co-ordinate with Brahman and without a beginning and owing to the influence of Karma, endless and eternal. Procreation is the entrance of the child with the food taken by the father, remaining in his body as a guest, its passage into the mother's body with the seed, and from the blood, the development of the gross body through the agency of the subtle. Death is the separation of the soul, with its organs and subtle body, from the gross body. Metaphysically there is no world. The whole expansion of names and forms, and the collected plurality of phenomena are from the standpoint of the highest reality, generated, set up, and imposed on the soul by Ignorance. When this Ignorance arises, innate in us, we do not learn: it is simply illustrated for us by the oft repeated description of the man with diseased eyes who sees two moons, where there is in reality only one. Wicked souls go to the seven hells and Yama or to a "third place." Active, sacerdotal souls go by Pitriyana to the moon where their works are rewarded. The student of lower knowledge, the pious worshipper of the personal God, go, by the Devayana, to the lower Brahman. Higher knowledge, the absolute knowledge of the Absolute, brings release, and cuts the shackles of samsara. The question of the possibility of this release from individual existence starts with the pessimistic idea that all individual existence is a misery. The release comes not from works. It comes neither from moral purification. It comes from mere knowledge, not of what will be, but of what is. Such knowledge can come only from the Grace of God in the case of the lower wisdom; and in the case of the higher, the Absolute Being is beyond the scope of it. Certain means for recognising by religious practice, and they are the study of the Veda, and four other requirements, defined as, discrimination between the eternal and the non-eternal, renunciation of the hope of reward, attainment of peacefulness and restraint of renunciation and patience and of concentration and faith, and above all, desire for release. Add to these, works and meditation. The wise soul, resigning name and form, as streams flow into the ocean and vanish, losing name and form, passes into the heavenly and supreme spirit. This in the main is Advaitism. These are the chief among the doctrines promulgated a thousand years ago by Sankara. The philosophical system

which they embody is known in the language of the West as Idealism. But whatever its popularity here, and whatever its recognition among the learned ones of Europe, we shall yet venture to examine the weight and integrity of its contents. First and foremost, like some rare abnormal human offsprings, it is two systems physically glued to each other, and inseparable. It has two aspects comprised in it, the phenomenal and the noumenal, the two not co-operating with each other but controverting one another. As we said before, on the noumenal side we have the identity of the soul with Brahman, but no origin, support, and dissolution of the world: on the phenomenal side, on the other hand, we have a world-creation but no identity of Brahman with the soul. We are inclined to ask here whether it adds to the dignity of a philosophical system to proclaim its doubts of itself, and give two uncertain explanations of the problem of existence. If Sankara set forth the absoluteness of Brahman and the falseness of the universe, and if he could consistently prove his conclusions in that line, nobody would step forth to quarrel with him. This is in most respects a bad world, and we are not anxious to hold up its verity, and believe that it is eternal. If the noumenal was the belief of Sankara, he ought to have steadfastly clung to it, and not sought to soil his hands with the phenomenal. Or if he felt that he ought to show courtesy to the phenomenal, he might have done so, and be content with it. Epicure based his system entirely on the phenomenal. The atheist and the materialist built a system completely discarding the noumenal, and their systems are accepted by men for what they are worth. Undergraduates in Universities are not allowed to give two answers to their questions. So are philosophers.

Then, passing on to some of the individual doctrines, it is curious how Sankara derived his idea of the falseness of the world. Nothing on earth could help us in the belief that this plaything-like world of ours, with its hard miseries and subtle happiness, with its beauty and deformity, its friendship and enmity, its ease and discomfort, is a mere blank, with not a vestige of substantiality about it. But still Sankara says it is a mere nothing, a cheating illusion. This is the premise of the Sankarite philosophy. To support this case, the metaphysical barrister summons forth a false witness in the garb of the doctrine of Maya. There is nothing in the world so supple and flexible as the nature of this Maya. It is not a faculty of Brahman, for Sankara's

Brahman disdains to be connected with any faculty. It is not an entity, because nothing is an entity besides Brahman. This is not a nothing because it gives rise to something known to us as the world, and something can't come out of nothing. What is this then? Sankara must answer. But he doesn't. It appears to us that this Maya is a piece of extraordinary extravagant marvel which a philosopher's ingenuity has tried and failed to concoct. Sankara's Brahman is not less of a wonder than this eel-like inexplicable thing he calls maya. That Brahman is a negation of all attributes. It is not possible to affirm anything about it. It is not a force. It is not an abstraction. It is not a concrete material. It is a solitary existence with nothing besides it, except that other thing maya. If it is solitary, may we ask its purpose, and Sankara's purpose in creating it? Perhaps it is the Adam of Sankara's eve, Maya. The last great point in the system is the theory of Salvation. This salvation is not a kind of action but identical with a piece of knowledge; the knowledge that the individual soul in essence is the same as the supreme. This knowledge is to be got from revelation as found in a section of the Vedas. Again this knowledge comes not from Vedic learning, not from intellectual capacity, not from scientific learning, but merely from the grace of Brahman. If the Vedas too are part of a false phenomenal world, how are they to be counted as a piece of Divine revelation? And if the knowledge of God must only come from heaven by grace, how is it said that the Vedas can impart that knowledge? And if the universe is after all not an entity, why should we seek to get out of it?

These three, the doctrines of Maya, and Brahman and Moksha are the Sankarite trio, looking much like exemplifications of intellectual legerdemain, not like sober philosophical doctrines bent on explaining the riddle of the Universe. All honour to a philosopher who tries to find out the truth of God's creation and enable his fellowmen to go through the thorny paths of life with more ease and greater happiness. But there is no use adding a fresh tangle to the already tangled web of life. The Universe, we find, is a puzzle, and our Advaitic metaphysician has presented us with another puzzle—a theoretical puzzle—by way of solution to the former practical one. The Universe is admittedly a Gordian knot, and our metaphysical Alexanders have no right to cut it open, nor add another knot to it, but to loosen it with a deft hand, and show it to us so

codes in some of the native States of India. The essence of philosophy, ought to be, we think, universality, and that universality these systems eminently lack. They do not take into cognizance also that man is a communal being, that he has intercourse with a myriad of his own race, and that he is surrounded by a whole world of animate and inanimate creations. We in this world are so full of the domestic sentiment, the sentiment between the aged and the young, the sentiment for the past, the sentiment towards the beautiful and the talented, the social, political, and sexual sentiment, some of these not less fervid than any sentiment, towards God, and potent to drive a strong man to despair or raise him to the altitudes of angelic rapture. There are further, political principles, codes of law, moral precepts, the mechanical and mercantile activities of manhood; which all deserve a passing glance at the hands of a philosopher, and if philosophy does not give countenance to these things we doubt whether that word need further be continued in our dictionary. We shall now take a view of one more system of metaphysics.

It is a thing which has recently come to us, like the Vedas, like most great things, from nobody knows where. It is a thing which for systematic exposition, for sober philosophical investigation, for the extreme comprehensiveness of its scheme, has no parallel. It is a thing which has come to us like the nurse-ling of sages, hidden so long in the obscurity of the wilderness, transmitted to the world lately through a medium, blind, old, uneducated; yet a medium somewhat similar to those who were harbingers of great changes in the world's history, the shepherdess who brought forth the prophet of Nazareth, the cowherd who nursed the Divine son of the Gopas, the grand and illustrious spokesman of the Geeta. It is a thing which tries to bring heaven and earth together in philosophical unison, and exposes a universal unity which the metaphysical mind hungers for. It is a clever system. Somebody says that if a thing is worth being told in ten thousand words it must be able to be told in one word. The author of *Pranavavada* is even with that speaker. Like a magician who knows that he has the advantage of his hearers, he tells us that the truths of metaphysics could be symbolised in the one syllable *Om*. This serves two purposes. It facilitates the working out of metaphysical problems, like the formulae of the algebraical science, and it satisfies the fascination which India seems to have for symbols. Sister Nivedita, in her reflections on Hindu life, speaks

of this: "But everywhere we read a habit of thought to which all things are symbolic: The air upon the doorstep full of dim boding and suggestiveness as to the incomings and outgoings which the day shall witness; and the morning opening and setting wide the door are acts held to be no way safe unless done by one who will brood in doing it upon the divine security and benediction of her beloved." Again, there is no syllable so sacred in Aryan speech, and commanding so much consideration from the Aryan multitudes as the mystic syllable. It is the first and last syllable of the Vedas. It is held as sanctifying homes, and it is whispered in Brahmin ears as capable of sanctifying souls. The system is denominated, therefore, "*Pranavavada*." We shall try to note here a few of its teachings.

"Everything in the manifested cosmos is traceable to three ultimate, inseparable aspects of one Godhead,—that Brahman with attributes, who is symbolised in all the Scriptures by the famous syllable known as "*Pranava*," made up of the three letters A. U. M.; which represent respectively the Atma or the self-aspect, the Anatma, or the Prakriti or the material aspect, and their inherently existing inter-relation, or the sakti aspect of Brahman, which as the attributeless Absolute or the Nirguna Brahman, transcends all thought and speech. Parabrahman is not absolutely unknowable; but knowable by what all the highest scriptural authorities lay down as the "*Neti, Neti*," process, or the process known in the secular geometrical language as the process of elimination; that is, the process of negating every conceivable attributes with respect to it, human mind and speech being incapable of making any positive assertions regarding this one reality. Whilst it is beyond man's power thus to have any positive and direct knowledge of that reality, yet it is within him to know first-hand that which is its *Pratishtha* or image in manifestation, namely Atma or supreme self ever present in every heart. It is only through such first-hand knowledge of the Self that the peace which passeth the understanding is attainable."

"The Absolute then is made up of four primal elements, analogous to the four letters which go to make up the syllable known as *Pranava*. Of these letters A. U. and M. alone are palpable, the fourth or E. being latent in the rest. The coalescence of the last with the rest—according to some archaic rules of Sanskrit grammarians—which results in the full syllable, illustrates the

conjunction and disjunction of the primal constituents of the Absolute. And as the *Om* represents the Absolute in its transcendence so Gayatri and the rest typify the Samsara, the infinite Cosmos and the World systems issuing from and ultimately resting on the Absolute."

"The ultimate varities, as has already been said, are the self, the not-self, and the relation between the two. This trinity in the Absolute, manifests itself in the world process, which is but the reflection of the Absolute in the limited: to instance: birth, life and death; Sattva, Rajas and Tamas; past, present and future; Prakriti, Jivatma and Paramatma."

"The incontestable conclusion that the coalesced *Om*, which is the symbol of Brahman, is denial of the many,—as other than the one, or separate or apart from it—and an assertion of the fact that all certainly is, but that the great Unperishing includes all different things and abolishes all differences. The purpose of *Pranavavada* is to explain the world process, the laws governing it, the order prevailing in it, and last the necessity of every factor of it—all this as contained in, and evolving out of the Absolute, symbolised by the three lettered syllable *Om*."

"Samsara is the manifestation of the trinity which constitutes the one, so that we may say that the world-process in its totality is Brahman; and the endless combinations or permutations of the three factors make the many ways or laws of this manifestation which is Samsara. These ways have to be studied before one understands the real significance of Brahman. And they have to be studied in the world process itself, by observation of it all around us. There is no greater teacher than the world process itself, and its study is genuine *Tapas* and *Yoga*, austerity and self-development. To know all in its endless detail is impossible for limited beings. What is possible is a general idea of the whole and of its unity. Such knowledge is the source of that deliberate and true altruism which arises in the soul which has attained *Nivritti* or Universalism."

"It is only when the individual realises that the illusoriness of the separateness of many souls from one another—that illusion is the soul basis of the distinctions of sin and merit—that it becomes capable of desireless action, work without attachment, and duty for duty's sake. So it becomes a participant in *Mukti*, or the true deliverance of the soul, which is deliverance from selfish desire, and so from all possibility of suffering."

"He that has realised this underlying unity of the diverse world, transcends and transmutes

selfishness and unselfishness into duty, elations of health, and depressions of disease into the steady equability of perfect life, regularity and irregularity into living and flexible routine, deprivations and gifts into the Justice that is ever adjusting the balance of all things by means of punishments and rewards."

"Action is the fruit of Cognition and Desire. This Action, the modifications or operations of consciousness which appear as doings, actions, or movements, should be regarded as equivalent to the whole of samsara, or the World-process. They three,—action desire and cognition—together with a fourth,—their summation or Unity,—make the four noble truths of Brahman. And as right action is possible only after right knowledge, and right desire, the mastery of the Veda, or the knowledge connected with Brahman is the first step in life. The four Vedas are the four noble truths mentioned; the Rig Veda being devoted to cognition, the Yajus to action, Sama to desire, the seed and unity of these being treated in Atharva."

"All and each is dependant on and supported by all and each. Hence it is said: "By the knowledge of a single atom may knowledge of Brahman be obtained." Each atom is Brahman, because cognition, desire, and action are present everywhere and in each atom. To see, hear, and fully know one atom is therefore to know Brahman. But by such knowledge alone the transcendental state of Brahman is not wholly attained, for Brahman is the infinity and totality of all things, and for the full realisation of it, which we mean by *moksha*, all three, knowledge, desire and action are necessary. Hence the fourfold *Ashramas*, which means that "wherein people rest, or on which they are rested. Acquisition of knowledge fills up *Brahmcharya*, its practice follows in *Grahashtya*, certainty in *Vanaprastha*, and realisation in *Sannyasa*. Of these *Brahmacharya* is realised by means of the Rig, *Grahashtya* by means of the Yajus, *Vanaprastha* by means of the Sama, and *Sannyasa* of the Atharva. This is the correspondence of the *asramas* and the Vedas."

The world process works by means of hierarchies of rulers, endlessly graded as subordinates and overlords, all classified by functions under cognition, desire, action, and summation, and dealing with definite cycles and extents of space and time. Mahavishnu is the ruler of our samsara, and corresponds in it to the totality of Brahman. He first ideates all the laws, methods, means, and ends of its procession, and then commences actual work, instructing the Trimurtis, who in turn

instruct their subordinates in the matter. Gayatri is the word "which embodies the proper time and season of the avadharana, or ideation, and represents the knowledge that such and such a fact arises from such and such a principle, or seed, or source, and that such and such is the appropriate method of bringing it about, and for such and such a reason. A Mahavakya embodies the thought of Mahavishnu as to each principle method or law of the world-system." Hence it is said that "Gayatri is the mother of the vedas, Mahavakya the father, and Om, the root of all, the grand-father of the Vedas, in which the trinity dwells, and from which succession flows forth."

The matter of the four Vedas is defined.

The causes of the origin and destruction of all things; the proper place of each in the world-process; the spacial and temporal extents of all cycles; the growth of individuals out of species and Genera; the gradual multiplication of objects by sub-divisions, or embodiment of archetypes and types into concrete individuals; the growth of the heterogeneous out of the homogeneous, or the constant unification of many-seeming things; briefly, the whole of "becoming" wherein the Self appears to undergo transformations of all kinds, to become changed into its very opposite, and then to return to its own primal form, to follow the path of pursuit now and now of renunciation—the whole of this is described in the Rig Veda. And the element of cognition is particularly traced and described in all its ramifications, and through all desires and actions.

The Yajur Veda is concerned with action. All the laws and methods of all actions whatsoever from the origin to the dissolution of a world; the working of causes; the connection of cause and effect, and of actor and cause; the relations of actor, cause, effect and motive, with all of which every action is always conjoined; and the necessity of all these; these make the contents of the Yajur.

Sama Veda deals with the Sakti aspect of Brahman which, viewed as the Mother of the universe, has at all times elicited from sages and bhaktas hymns of the rarest beauty, expressive of their rapturous devotion, and which makes the collection of the thousand names of Devi known as Lalita Sahasranama begin with the gracious hymn, "Sree Mata". Desire is the energy which is everywhere. It is this which brings together cognition and action. All the "becoming" of things, the operation of time, space and motion, become possible only by means of Sakti.

The method of chanting hymns is taught in Sama, and such ringing or chanting arises only out of the Bhakti, or devotion. A hymn is a description of the deeds and the lifework of the ideal, and deeds are dependant on the desire and power of that ideal. Every hymn signifies: thou art so great and performest such wonders; teach me how I too may do them, and attain to thy estate. The rule of continuous instruction prevails everywhere in the world-process; and a hymn is intended only to elicit such instruction. Thus hymns are also means to the true knowledge, for so long as one's desires, one's needs, are not expressed to another, they cannot be fulfilled by that other.

The Atharva treats of the summation. In the summation is found at once the seeds which expand into the three, Rik, Yajur, and Sama, and the expression of their fundamental unity. In the Atharva the world process is seen as a whole, as a method, rather than as expressed in its separate characteristics. It contains the workings of all activity, the marks of all knowledge the repletion of all desire, the whole of life, the whole of Brahman, and the inmost science of the whole. To know the Atharva is to know the essence of the world-process.

Information of very high significance regarding cosmic processes is compressed in the forms which find expression in stone or metal in thousands of shrines throughout our land. Hence arises the symbology of the Trimurtis.

In the Vedas proper, the original Samhitas are taught such extremely general and comparatively abstract facts as the nature of the penultimate, especially the not-self; change; being; the nature of the absolute, necessity, the birth of Akasa and so on. In the Brahmanas, "large, gross" concrete, homogeneous, preatomic elements, Akasa, Vayu and the rest, are described generally. In the Upanishads the differentiation of atoms and their activities is treated of, in accordance with each Veda, in pursuance of the general principles enunciated there, and with special reference to cognition, action, desire and summation, in the various permutations in which they occur. The one purpose of all the Upanishads is to elucidate the fact that in all this Samasara, every atom rises steadily to the state of Mahavishnu by evolution. And as subservient to this general purpose of evolution they describe, the Upanishads also teach the Dharma, the ethical duties which are the means towards that.

Language is the mode of manifestation of consciousness in terms of sound.

We have a curious explanation of the differences in the voices of men and women. There is a difference, in the two cases, in the constitution and position of the two Kamalas or nerve anglia, situated in the region of the navel, one on the left side, and another on the right; while a peculiar combination of air, fire, and ether, exists and takes up activity in accordance with the intention of the speaker. When these ganglia are small and finely grained the voice will be low and sweet. Or if they are large and coarsely formed it will be loud and harsh. Hence the voices of children and women are soft.

And as to the six upangas or Darsanas, they all are based on only one final truth, the Logism. It is true that the conclusions each one immediately and directly expounds differ from those upheld by others; but the difference is that of supplementary parts, not of hostile arrays of things. One common Universal being underlies all; the prime object of all is to declare that man is not matter. They bespeak Brahman by six different aspects of the one thing; the six different limbs have one common heart.

The purpose of the sciences and arts too is explained. Their Genesis corresponds to the various department of the world process, and is as multifarious as they. Poetry, Rhetoric, and Music; the whole group of fine, and Industrial arts; Medicine and Handicrafts; puranas, History, and Law, and the various modern sciences; all arise according to the development of Cognition Desire, and Action.

Then the Jeevatma. It is a mixture of the portions of "I" and "This" in the Mahavakya "Ahametanna" or "I am not this." It is that wherein the Aham "sports."

Last, with hesitating steps we approach the subject of Moksha. Summarising, as it were, the learning on the subjects the author asks: "what is the fruit of all this immense mental industry, this labour and travail of thought? The thought itself is ample answer to the question. There is no fruit from the universal or transcendental stand point, (from which there is no labour either); and, from the limited or empirical point of view, or from the point of the individual soul, this knowledge, that there is no fruit is the fruit. The realisation that that soul never had any want to fill is the fulfilment of whatever inmost want is suffered from. This is the essential nature of Moksha, as must be abundantly clear to whomsoever has undergone that labour and travail of thought.

Moksha is the fruit of this whole science, and of all the sciences subsidiary to and comprehended within it, be they Metaphysical, physical, practical, or yogic. To know, feel, and show in act that "separateness is not is Moksha."

The marks of the growth of this knowledge of non-separate carporateness are thus pointed out. "Above and beyond and around all these endless details, is the infinity and eternity and motionless calm of Liberation, which from time's standpoint is always being realised, in part, by the feelings of Universal love, and in the remaining parts by corresponding thought and action. The more fully the three main appetites of the Jeeva fall away from him,—the Lokeshana, or the appetites for the world, for life amidst our fellowbeings and for recognition by them; the Vitteshana or the appetite for wealth, for enhanced bodily and material life; and the Pufreshana or the appetite for multiplication, for the perpetuation of individual life by progeny; corresponding to cognition, desire and action; so more and more fully does the consciousness of peace and of emancipation grow towards perfection, till all separateness is negated, and the self alone is seen always and everywhere, to reign supreme.

"Moksha being thus the soul's attainment to Universality, or rather the soul's realising its identity with the Universal consciousness, even after liberation, the performance of Paramartha work—or acts of duty—remains of necessity. Thus action, motion, or movement, is a transcendental fact belonging to all time, and liberation is not something separate by itself, to be left behind after eliminating all other things. It is rather an all-pervading fact, immanent, included and concealed within the process of the world, stretching everywhere, in all ways and in all time."

Thus ends our account of Pranava Vada. We have tried to inform our readers that it is without doubt a remarkable performance. Excursions into the realms of metaphysics are much like excursions into the cold region of the North Pole. They turn out disastrous. Physical sciences are like the ocean's depths. A Bose here, a Faraday there another elsewhere would drown their plummets and measure out their darkest depths. But the metaphysical science is the blue expanse of the sky. A Kant here, a Sankara there, a Descartes, a Hamilton elsewhere, might climb the hill top, and reach up their hands, but the lofty ferment is unconcerned, and as far away as ever. The clouds seem but the coat of the blue sky, and they look so near; and man makes vast preparations,

builds marvellous machines, and with a palpitating heart mounts the air. But the higher he mounts the higher the blue skies rise. So are the truths of philosophy. But one who has made the vast preparations weathered the cold and storms of mid air, and breathed a somewhat clearer atmosphere than his fellowmen, cannot be said to have done nothing. So is the author of *Pranava Vada*. We have seen the doctrines held by the current philosophies of South India. But they are like child's play beside the doctrines upheld in this new system. To see the author explaining every Universal truth, every worldly detail like a wise, old, patient preceptor is pleasant indeed. Arnold somewhere quotes some preachings of Emerson, and calls them "tonic indeed." So is a study of *Pranava Vada*. How he systematises everything, probes the hidden meaning, truths and symbols, cognises everything in Heaven or earth which philosophy should recognise! "Ratiocination," says one of the most eloquent and exact of modern writers, "is the great principle of order in thinking; it reduces chaos into harmony, it catalogues the accumulations of knowledge; it maps out for us the relations of its separate departments."

And how much ratiocination there is in this system! How every thing, moral, material, and spiritual, is reduced into its first principle; how the sacred and the secular sciences are taken up, defined and allotted their place and scope, how the scientific spirit breathes through the whole work! The way in which it takes hold of spiritual things and brings them under its metaphysical code is remarkable. The way in which it tries to comprise all secular and civic details is excellent. The Sakti aspect of Brahman which Sankara vaguely recognises as Maya, which the Dwaitins and Ramanuja simply call Lakshmi or Rama, to which a thousand altars are raised in this country, receives thorough expression in this system. The first causes of the birth of the Universe, the laws of its growth, the nature of its Government, are explained here with unparalleled clearness. And its description of Moksha, an unattached Universalism, could any thing be more philosophical than that? Christian, Heathen, Pagan, none of them seem to have conceived of Moksha in this spirit. Is not that Universalism, the trend of the modern world? Tolstoy says somewhere, we believe, that the age of patriotism is gone, that this is the age of cosmopolitanism. If that is so, *Pranavavada* has not come a day too early. The system which

indicates cosmopolitanism as the goal of the world, must rightly come before the world, when the world is thinking of cosmopolitanism as its goal. This must be a system, then, which all philosophical minds should turn their attention to, and which must attract to itself a good deal of public attention. We sincerely hope it will do so.

We might here take leave of our learned readers. But one word remains to be said. We must not omit to remark that, like all good things and like all good men, *Pranavavada* is under a little cloud and subjected to the breath of calumny. There are those who have the courage and the heart to say that it is a fabrication. Curiously enough these are people who are followers of the arch-caviller who said that the Universe was a fabrication. No wonder when the master could give the lie direct to God's Universe, the students should not mind giving it to a poor work of 25,000 stanzas. But may we ask where the fabrication centres? Is it in the date of the book? When the age of Kalidasa is settled among critics, when the age of Vikrama is settled among historians, when learned men have settled whether the Ramayana or Mahabharata is prior, when savants have located the civilization of the Aryans, we shall begin to fix the date of *Pranavavada*. Supposing that it was written yesterday, where is the harm? So long as its postulates are sound, its principles noble, its conclusions just, it deserves all veneration. Five generations ago, a boy of 17, wrote poems, and said they belonged to the middle ages. The poems were marvellous, but the scholars said they were forgeries, and the boy died of hunger. Then poets sang praises of the young poet, and myriads mourned his loss. Forgeries or not, so long as the poems are valuable, the poet deserves praise. But such is the world; ever distrustful of new things, and willing to strike a blow where it could yield a kiss. Or is it in the authorship of the book that the fabrication lies? The Vedas have not yet revealed their author. The Geeta is ascribed to Krishna. Shakespeare's plays are ascribed to Newton. An aged man brought it before the world: and aged men have taken it into their bosom. The authorship too does not count, so long as the work is what it is.



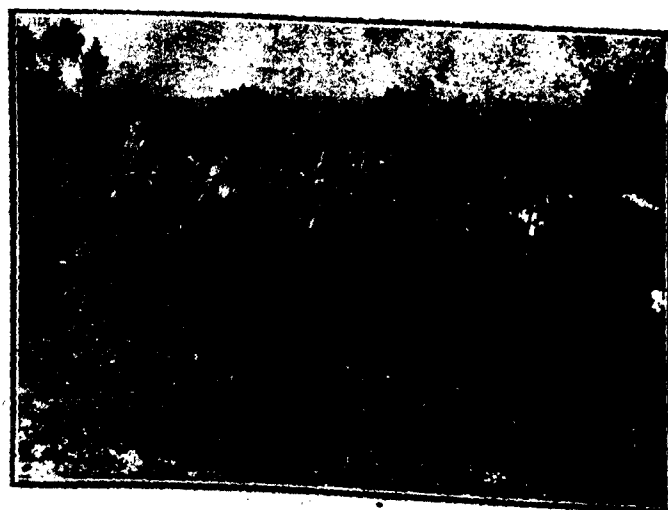
Company of 16th Sikhs under Lieut. Smyth V. C.,
marching back from the Trenches.



Indian Infantry in the trenches prepared against a gas attack.

THE INDIAN DEFENCE FORCE

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Troop of Jodhpur Lancers coming into action dismounted.



A post in the trenches held by Dogras and an Indian Cavalry Machine Gun Section.

I. SIR P. S. SIVASWAMY IYER, K.C.S.I., C.I.E..

FOR over 30 years and ever since the date of the first National Congress when the voice of India found articulate and organised expression for the first time, we have been asking the Government to concede to us the privilege of being allowed to join or form Volunteer Corps in the same manner, as Europeans and Anglo-Indians have been allowed. The exigencies of the great war in which the Empire is now involved, the gallantry and the spirit of self-sacrifice of the Indian Expeditionary Force in the different theatres of war and the steadfast loyalty and devotion of the whole country have brought about a welcome change in the attitude of the Government and have induced them to consider favourably our persistent prayer for the formation of Indian Volunteer Corps. The conditions under which the Government are prepared to allow volunteering are, however, necessarily different from those which obtained under the Indian Volunteers' Act, 1869. The restrictions in the old Act as to the local limits of service and the consequent inability of the Government to move the Volunteer Companies to those parts of the country where their services were required, were features which seriously detracted from the utility of the old volunteering system for military purposes. These defects have been glaringly brought to light during the present crisis and have led to the abandonment of the old system. In the words of His Excellency the Viceroy, volunteering under the Act of 1869 is dead and the Indian Defence Force Act (III of 1917) which has been recently passed is intended to provide an effective Territorial Force. So far as Europeans and Anglo-Indians are concerned, their total number being not unwieldy, it has been possible to apply the principle of conscription to that section of the population. But as regards the other section of the population, the vastness of their numbers and the impossibility of providing for universal training, especially during the period of the war, have led the Government to adopt the principle of voluntary enrolment. It is only those Indians who voluntarily apply for enrolment that will be admitted into the Indian Defence Force. After enrolment, however, every member of the Defence Force will be required to undergo military training for a period of three months and will be liable to be called out for military service in any place within the limits of India during the period of the war. As military efficiency is the primary

object with which the Indian Defence Force is being constituted, it will come under the same military conditions as to discipline etc., which are applicable to the regular forces. It will be useless and impossible for the Government of India to allow any volunteering hereafter on the lines of the old system created under the Act of 1869. The main reason why the Government are willing to organise Indian Units in the Defence Force is the desire to give an opportunity to Indians to serve in the defence of their country. Both His Excellency the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief have expressly referred to the widely expressed and ardently acclaimed desire of Indians to assist in the defence of their country and have expressed their confident expectation that Indians will eagerly avail themselves of the opportunities now offered of serving their country.

When the Defence Force Bill was introduced into the Viceregal Legislative Council, it was hailed with universal enthusiasm both in the Council and outside and though some of the provisions in the Bill were subjected to strong criticism during the passage of the Bill in the Council, our leaders eventually accepted the Bill as the first instalment of a long deferred concession to the demand of a generation.

That the provisions of the Act and the regulations framed thereunder are open to criticism and not very satisfactory from the Indian point of view may be readily conceded. They draw invidious distinctions between the European and the Indian sections of the Defence Force which to our unformed commonsense seem difficult to justify. But these are not matters in regard to which it will be wise for us to base our objections entirely upon laymen's notions of things and without reference to those military exigencies and considerations which have weighed with the Government of India, though we are unable to appreciate them. Some of the criticisms, however, which have been levelled against the regulations, admit of an obvious answer. The restriction of the age limit to 30 is no doubt due to the desire to secure the very best material possible. It has been stated that the reduction of the age limit in the case of the Indian section to 30 has deprived many men who were anxious to join, of the opportunity of serving the country. But if you remember that the primary object of the Defence Force during the war is to provide a thoroughly efficient auxiliary Force rather than to furnish opportuni-

ties for training to all, and if you remember the large numbers of youngmen who ought to be available even under this age limit and the facts that it will cause greater inconvenience in the shape of dislocation of business and otherwise to take away more elderly men from their families and their avocations, you will recognise that the restrictions of age are not unjustifiable. Similarly the omission to form local service companies consisting of men between 41 and 50 and of training companies consisting of boys between 16 and 18, as in the case of the European section, may perhaps be due to the difficulty now experienced in finding instructors and other facilities for dealing with the large numbers of persons of those classes who might come forward. The provision of only one training centre for the whole Presidency for the Indian Territorial Unit is also stated to be due to a similar shortage of agency and conveniences for instructions. Distinctions as to pay and status do exist between the European and the Indian sections of the Force. I hope, however, that our young men will not look upon volunteering as an opportunity for money making and that they will not be deterred by any consideration of the smallness of pay from offering their services. The question of throwing open commissions to deserving and duly qualified men is, no doubt, one to which all sections of our countrymen naturally and rightly attach the greatest importance, as it affects our status and sense of self-respect. Rightly or wrongly, the Government of India consider that this question raises large and difficult questions which cannot be dealt with, without reference to their bearings upon the regular army and which it is not possible to deal with in a hurried manner amidst the more engrossing military needs and anxieties of the war. Granting that the educated classes, of whom the Indian Defence Force will be composed, are entitled to greater consideration with regard to this question of commissions, is it possible to withhold from consideration the case of our brave soldiers of the Indian Regiments who have distinguished themselves in battle so many times in so many foreign lands under far more trying conditions than you will ever be called upon to face? If the Government desire to consider the question of commissions in the Defence Force along with the question of commissions in the regular Indian Army, and consider that it is not possible to carry out any radical reorganisation or modification of the conditions of service during the pre-occupations of the war, are we in a position to say that this attitude is without reasonable justification?

Again, I have often been asked what chances of permanent employment there are to young men who may join the Defence Force. I can understand the question of careers being raised with regard to the regular or standing army. But it is difficult to understand how in a Force which has the character of a temporary organisation only, or with regard to any Territorial Defence Force in the shape of national militia, which may hereafter be called into existence, any chances of permanent employment can be expected or offered. A Territorial Force of this kind can only be intended to pass a large number of citizens through a course of military training and send them back to their ordinary civil employments to be called up only in the event of some great emergency, as a second line Defence Force. When I hear young men speaking of the chances of permanent employment, I am sure they do not think of permanent employment as privates, but employment as officers. I have no doubt that permanent employment as a soldier on the usual pay will have no attractions for any of them and that the liberty to come back to civil occupations after undergoing the necessary period of training or service would and should be welcome to all. *Whatever drawbacks there may be in the scheme framed by the Government of India, this is not the time for dwelling upon them, nor is it right for you to refuse to enlist until a perfectly unobjectionable and attractive scheme is evolved.* The Government of India are themselves aware that their scheme is one which has been hurriedly framed and is not free from defects, but they assure us that all the subjects of our criticisms are engaging their most sympathetic consideration and they promise to deal with the whole subject in a thoroughly sympathetic spirit when they have more leisure at the end of the war. Is there any justification for questioning or rejecting the assurances and promises of the Government of India? And even as a matter of policy is it not the wisest thing on your part to accept their assurances in a whole-hearted manner and satisfy them by your conduct that they shall have no reason to regret or retract their promises and then call upon them for the fulfilment of their promises? Do not delude yourselves for a moment with the thought that you will be able to gain any concessions by sulkily keeping aloof or that the political salvation of the country will be achieved except by loyal co-operations with the Government. Have you any grounds for hesitation in responding to the call of the Government and the call of the country? What are the inconveniences and hardships which are involved in enlisting in

the Defence Force? Three months continuous training and the liability to be called out for general service. Even this general service will only be within the limits of India. It may or may not arise, and even if it does arise, the probabilities are that the burden of service will be reduced by system of reliefs, in turn. During the period of training or of service there will doubtless be an interruption of your ordinary pursuits or avocations. But are these inconveniences worth mentioning when compared with the inconveniences or hardships suffered by our gallant armies in Europe, Africa and Mesopotamia. What are they when compared with those cheerfully undergone by the members of the English Territorial Forces? Thousands of them are now serving in this country and elsewhere, thousands of miles away from their homes, and immense numbers of them have taken the field in the different theatres of war in different parts of the world. Would it not strike everybody as a strange phenomenon that, while the illiterate peasants of the Panjab and other parts of the country should be ready to give their lives in the service of the Emperor and the country, the members of the middle classes who have had the advantage of education should be timid, calculating and unwilling to sacrifice their personal convenience? On the other hand are not the Government justified by the assurances they have received from our representatives in the Viceroyal Legislative Council and from our leaders in the country in expecting that by virtue of their superior education and birth, young men of the middle classes will be all the more ready to accept the hardships that are incidental to the war and to set an example to those who have been less fortunate than themselves? As His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief told the Legislative Council, the greater the readiness with which young men will come forward and the greater the sacrifice they make, the more certain will be the sympathy which will be shown by the authorities in the treatment of those larger issues of military organisation which are bound to come up for general settlement at the end of the war. What is it that has changed the angle of vision of the British people and of the Colonists towards the people of India? Is it not due to the comradeship in arms between our Indian soldiers and those from other parts of the Empire and the gallantry and devotion of our troops? Nothing will appeal to the heart of the British nation so much as the spirit of heroism and self-sacrifice or the eager and cheerful response to the call of duty and the call of the country and the Empire. Your

leaders have been pressing the Government for greater and greater political privileges and for the declaration of Self-Government as the goal of the British administration in India. If you have any ambition to work for the attainment of that goal, and if you wish to prove your fitness to be entrusted with greater responsibilities, you must necessarily train yourselves to take part in defence of the country against internal disorder and external aggression. Are you content to remain in your present emasculated condition or do you wish to become manly and self-respecting citizens? Whether further facilities and opportunities for military training will be given to the educated classes, and whether a national militia will ever be formed, will depend on your answer to the present call. Remember that the number of recruits that the Government of India have now called from our Presidency is only one thousand, a ridiculously small number for its population of over 40,000,000. Unless you respond in hundreds to this appeal, the Presidency will incur the reproach of effeminacy which it will not be possible for generations to wipe out and the opportunity now lost will not again present itself.

I trust that the response you will make to the call of the Government and the country will be such as to gladden the hearts of all your countrymen who have greeted the opportunity now offered by the Government as the dawn of a brighter future for our Motherland.

II. HON'BLE MR. MANMOHANDAS RAMJI.

The last paragraph of the recent Government resolution regarding the Indian Defence Force makes an appeal to "leaders of public opinion in this country" "to take all possible steps forthwith to make the recruitment of these Indian units worthy of the name and aspirations of India." I myself do not claim to be a leader of public opinion, but still, as one having the fullest sympathy with the higher political aspirations of my countrymen, I think it my duty to point out certain defects, which have marred the importance of the Government scheme to a great extent, in order that no unjust blame may be laid at the doors of Indian manhood and leaders of public opinion.

It is observed in the resolution that "the leaders of Indian opinion are doubtless aware that the pay of territorial force in England was the same as that of the regular army, and that

men of position and means in the United Kingdom and even in distant parts of the Empire did not think it derogatory to join the ranks both of the territorials and of the new Army and to serve as private soldiers shoulder to shoulder with those of other classes, etc." This comparison is misleading, as if there is to be any comparison it must be between the pay and prospects of European and Anglo-Indian members of the Indian Defence Force and those of Indian members of the same. Both the Territorials and regular Army soldiers get in addition to their salaries, separation allowances, etc., for their families the expenditure of whom on liquors and luxuries became a matter of national concern. There, on the contrary, while European and Anglo-Indian members of the Defence Force will get their salaries and allowances, presumably according to the British standard, Indians will get a paltry rupees eleven. We have to take into account also of the fact that while English ladies can earn their living, Indian ladies cannot do so, and the sum of rupees eleven is too small to maintain a middle-class family. The sum of rupees eleven is considered small even for classes from which ordinary recruiting is carried on and will not naturally at all suffice for at least the middle classes which are expected to respond to the call of military duty. It is not a question of sacrifice of luxuries but that of the very maintenance of families for which the State has done so much in England and presumably for European and Anglo-Indian members of the Defence Force.

Not only does this question of maintenance of the family come in the way but there is also one factor more. Government cannot be unaware of the common saying that every British soldier carries in his knapsack a Field Marshal's baton. Is the ambition of an Indian allowed to be as free and unfettered a scope as that of a British soldier? Even with regard to granting of commissions it is remarked that "it should be obvious that, during the progress of the greatest war in history, it was not possible to reorganise or modify radically the general conditions governing the military service of the country." While England and Russia have settled some of the greatest constitutional questions during the progress of the war, it has been found impossible to arrange for such a small measure of reform like the granting of commissions!

With regard to places of training also a difference is observed between European and Anglo-Indian and Indian members of Indian Defence Force. While the former are allowed to

have their ninety drills as far as possible near their place of employment, Indians have got only a few centres, Bombay too being left out. This will necessitate a removal from their usual vocations, even though it be for three months, for Indians, which is not the case with Europeans and Anglo-Indians who are allowed to attend to their usual duties during the period of the training. It is urged that it was not possible to do otherwise. I cannot see any reason why Indians could not have been trained with Europeans and Anglo-Indians at different centres.

It was first of all announced that Indians between the ages of 18 and 41 would be eligible for the Defence Force. Unfortunately this limit was reduced to thirty when the rules were published, disappointing many who had already expressed their desire to join the Defence Force.

It appears strange that with so many war hospitals in Bombay, volunteers for the Defence Force should be asked to go to Poona for medical examination. Europeans and Anglo-Indians are all examined here. Why is a different procedure necessary for Indians?

Above all, we require a policy of trust on the part of the Government, an earnest desire to give military training to Indians. A sample of what not to do is afforded by a letter signed by one F.C.L. to the "Times of India." If Government can put down seditious writings they can very well put down such letters also which cause irritation and resentment. A policy of trust requires that Government should leave off the attitude of a critic and take a direct initiative in stimulating recruiting.

My suggestions in short are:—

- (a). Increase the age of eligibility to 41.
- (b). Arrange for training with Europeans and Anglo-Indians at different centres, not restricting it to particular centres.
- (c). Have the terms for recruitment like salaries, separation allowance, children's allowance, etc., the same for Europeans and Anglo-Indians and for Indians.
- (d). Let the gates of commissioned ranks be thrown open to Indians.

If these changes are made, there will be no lack of response. If leaders of public opinion are appealed to, it is expected that Government will receive sympathetically suggestions made to ensure the success of the new scheme.

III. GOVERNMENT OF INDIA RESOLUTION.

The following Resolution was issued in the *Gazette of India* on 19th May 1917:—

The Government of India have noted with concern the disappointing response which has been made to the opportunity afforded to the people of India for service in the Indian Defence Force, and since they have also observed in the press and elsewhere that the conditions of that service have been a good deal criticised, they deem it advisable to recapitulate briefly the circumstances in which the scheme was initiated and to explain the necessity of the conditions which at present apply to it. Owing to the prolongation of the war, and the enforcement of universal military service in England, it was thought desirable to impose some obligation of a similar nature upon every European British subject of military age in India. Under these circumstances though there was no necessity for a corresponding measure applicable to Indian subjects of His Majesty, the Governor-General-in-Council was anxious that opportunity should be afforded to Indians also to enrol themselves in the Indian Defence Force. He was aware that there had for long been a desire that volunteering should be thrown open to Indian as well as to European British subjects and was assured that if that opportunity could be afforded to them a ready and enthusiastic response would be made. Since with the passing of the Indian Defence Force Act, volunteering on the old basis practically ceased to exist, it was proposed to provide other means by which Indians could come forward and offer their services for India's defence as part of the general military organisation of the country and this proposal was accepted by the Indian Legislative Council and embodied in the Act. It should be obvious that during the progress of the greatest war in history it was not possible to reorganise or modify radically the general conditions governing the military service of the country and that any endeavour to do so might only result in deferring the day of final victory to which India, in common with the rest of His Majesty's Dominions, is so earnestly looking forward. It has, therefore, been a source of keen disappointment to the Governor-General in Council to observe from the utterances on the public platform and in the press that the conditions of service in the Defence Force which are the same as those applying to His Majesty's Indian Forces in the Regular Army, have been represented as being such as to deter volunteers from coming forward for the defence of their country. The leaders of Indian opinion are doubt-

less aware that the pay of the Territorial Force in England was the same as that of the Regular Army and that men of position and means in the United Kingdom and even in distant parts of the Empire did not think it derogatory to join the ranks both of the territorials and of the new army, and to serve as private soldiers shoulder to shoulder with those of other classes, and many of them have given their lives in such service in France and elsewhere during the present war. They asked no questions as to pay and other conditions; they put forward no pretensions of demands; their one ambition was to serve their country in her hour of need and their memories will ever be honoured by the nations in whose defence they fought.

The Governor-General in Council was assured that similar ambition prevailed in India and that it was only necessary to throw open the ranks of the Defence Force to Indians to secure a hearty response. At a time when military organisations are strained to the uttermost it was not possible to provide for the training of an indefinite number of small units all over the country on such a scale as to place a newly constituted force of this character on an efficient basis. Endeavour was, however, made to afford such facilities as were possible to those who were anxious to enrol themselves in the service of their country, and arrangements were made in the strict instance for recruiting six battalions of a thousand men each at convenient centres. It was fully anticipated that further expansion might be required as the movement developed, but it was thought that a reasonable commencement might be made on these lines, and the military authorities was satisfied that this was all that they could undertake at the outset. It is, therefore, a matter of disappointment to the Government of India to find that during the first two months after passing of the Act, only 300 men have been enrolled in place of the 6,000 for which preparations were made. It is felt that all who take an interest in the Defence Force and believe in these sentiments of patriotism which have brought it into being and who have the good name of India at heart, will be disheartened to learn that out of six months for which recruiting is open, so much time should have elapsed without any adequate response being made.

The Government of India recognize that the conditions of service in the Defence Force may be open to criticism in some respects but, as has already been stated, it was impossible to recast the existing organisation during the continued pressure of great emergency and all that could be attempted was to engraft the new force on to the

great Indian Army which was already in being. There are, doubtless, particular conditions of service in the Indian Army which may be thought to be unsuitable to men who enrol themselves in the new force, and the Government of India have no hesitation in declaring that considerations of this sort will always be taken into account and that so far as is consistent with the maintenance of the necessary standard of discipline, sympathetic treatment will be accorded to all those who come forward voluntarily to serve their country. The Government of India are also aware of the Indian aspirations with reference to commissioned ranks. It is, however, perfectly well known that this matter is separately under consideration, and is engaging the earnest and sympathetic attention of the Government. The whole frame work of the Indian Army is affected by that discussion and it must be obvious to every thinking man that the enrolment of a purely temporary force constituted on a voluntary basis owing to emergencies of a great war, would not justify the hurried determination of so important and difficult a question, in respect of which the Government of India are not the ultimate arbiters.

In conclusion the Government of India deem it expedient to draw attention once more to the words of His Excellency the Viceroy in the speech which brought to a close the last meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council: "The Act is confessedly a war measure and therefore temporary, but it will prove a most invaluable experiment. We shall have, it is no secret, for he who runs may read—to reorganise our Indian army after this war and some form of second line force will probably be required. In the Indian Defence Force raised temporarily under stress of war, there may lie the germ of such new second line. Do not ask at such a moment as this to give answers to problems which will have to be solved at a time when there is more leisure. When that time arrives, then criticise, as you will, the Government in respect of its policy. But for the moment I would assure you that all the subjects of your criticism are engaging our most sympathetic consideration, and I would ask your co-operation in making this present scheme a success, but do not let it be marred on the ground that it does not contain all you would desire."

These works were accepted in the spirit in which they were offered by the non-official members of the Council and constitute a sufficient pledge of the earnest consideration by the Government of the future needs of India. It is not claimed that the present system is perfect. It is

admittedly in the nature of a makeshift but it is the best that could be devised in the condition at the moment, and it has great possibilities. That such a scheme conceived in the general interests of Imperial defence should, in spite of its modest dimensions, prove a hopeless failure at such a time and in a country which, whatever its difficulties, is not lacking in man power, can hardly fail to create an impression throughout the Empire prejudicial to the good name of India. It is, therefore, the sincere hope of the Governor-General in Council that the leaders of public opinion in this country will realise their full responsibilities in this matter and take all possible steps forthwith to make the recruitment of these Indian units worthy of the name and aspirations of India.

IV. SOME NON-OFFICIAL VIEWS.*

THE HON. BABU BHUPENDRA NATH BASU.

... It was a great mistake not to have brought it (the Bill) in when the great war came upon us... that was the psychological time to strike: for enthusiasm, even of youth, chills with neglect and delay, and those that have studied the springs of human action, know that a rejected offer is hard to renew... the opportunity... might have been greater... if we had the assurance that our youths would be ranged under our own officers and they would rise to the full height of what is in them... if we had been assured that the experience of the Indian cadet corps was as ancient as the experience of life in pre-war days, that the area of commissioned ranks in the army had ceased to be a charmed enclosure into which we might not step and that irritating distinctions of colour and race had ceased to be;

THE HON. MR. MAZHAR-UL HAQUE.

I would have liked to see in this Bill some provisions which would ensure equality of treatment both to Europeans and Indians, and though I do not find anything here, I hope that his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and your Excellency the Government will assure us that both the units, European and Indian, will work under the terms of perfect equality, and that Indians will not feel in any way a sense of inferiority to their European brethren. I should also like that a clause be added in this Bill so that the Indian youths of good family, intelligence and education be trained and then appointed as commissioned officers.

* We are indebted to the *Leader of Allahabad* for the extracts from the speeches of non-official members in the two meetings of the Imperial Legislative Council on Feb. 21, and Feb. 28 last, in connection with the passing of the Indian Defence Force Bill.—[Ed. I.R.]

THE HON. PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA.

My lord, if I may express myself in one sentence, justice and expediency both demand that your lordship's Government, and his Majesty's Government, should once and for all obliterate all distinctions between Europeans and Indians in all matters relating to the military policy of the Empire. . . . The moment is opportune. . . . It is well to look ahead. . . . military officers cannot be raised in a day; nor can military training be imparted to the people in a moment, so as to inure them to hardihood, and to fill them with the spirit of sacrifice necessary to enable them to successfully meet those who have been trained for generations in military discipline. I submit, therefore, that it is necessary, in the best interests of the country and the Government, that it should look ahead and open commissions in the Indian army to Indians in the same way as they are open to Europeans. . . . Now my lord, I submit that the occasion demands that the Government should make up its mind to make a declaration, which I have no doubt will commend itself to it as just and proper, that Indians will be placed on a footing of equality with their European fellow-subjects in all ranks of the army which they are invited to join. . . . the Government should now, in view of the situation, both the present and that in the near future, make up its mind to give military training to Indian youths in military colleges, such as the one established in Quetta, as is given to European youths. My lord, it is an anomaly and an injustice that a college established in India for providing military training to those who want to join the Indian army should be closed against Indians.

THE HON. MR. V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

... It would certainly have made our pleasure complete if your Excellency or his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief had found it possible to include in the statement an assurance that, so far as may be possible, this Indian Defence Force would, in the near future, be commanded by officers chosen from their own countrymen. We also expect, my lord, some statement to the effect that the Indians enrolled under this Bill would be on terms of perfect equality with the British force. . . . My lord, it is worth while remembering that an experiment of this kind has greater chances of success, the more complete and less hesitating it is, the more liberal and less mistrustful it is. I hope the regulations that will be soon issued will fulfil the just expectations of my countrymen. . . .

THE HON. DR. TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU.

My lord, I do not think that any one of the previous speakers who invited your lordship's attention to the absolute necessity and desirability of equality of rank and position and opportunities in the army invited it in a spirit of bargaining. . . . My lord, we have not bargained for anything in the past, and we are not going to bargain for anything in the future. We take our stand on our birthright, and we say, as his Majesty's subjects, it is our right, our privilege that we shall be admitted to the same position as Europeans are in the army, and more particularly when we are going to be enrolled for the defence of our country, let us not smart under a sense of inferiority in any matter. . . .

THE HON. MR. MUHAMMAD ALI JINNAH.

I ought to tell the Council also in straight language and without mincing matters, that if you want young Indians, if you want educated Indians to come forward and enlist themselves in the defence of their country, one fact must not be forgotten, and that is the status and the privileges which should be given to them. . . .

THE HON. MR. KAMINI KUMAR CHANDA.

In this connection I may be permitted to invite your Excellency's attention to what is happening in the country. Of course this is not the time to ask for any favours, but I am sure that your Excellency's Government will be pleased to know that throughout the country it had been taken for granted that your Excellency is going to give us what we have been asking for several years past, that the Indian Defence Force will be a real defence of India force manned and officered by Indians, and that there will be commissioned ranks open to Indians, and there will be no irritating distinctions between Indians enrolled under this Bill and his Majesty's European British subjects as regards commissioned rank, prospects, status and training. I beg your Excellency and the Government to consider whether it would not be possible to admit a number of selected Indian candidates to the military school at Quetta. . . . My lord, I entirely associate myself with the suggestion that it should be permitted for Indians to join in the local service and that our boys between the ages of 16 and 18 may be given some military training. . . .

THE HON. NAWAB SYED ALI CHAUDHURI.

... A growing sense of uneasiness is felt throughout the country that the Indian units in the contemplated Indian Defence Force will, in no way, be different from the regular Indian army existing at present. My lord, I hope that this uneasiness is not well founded. The new kind of army will, it is my belief, carry with it new privileges. A word to that effect from your Excellency will clear the atmosphere. In order that the scheme should appear to be attractive and that the more educated sections of the people might find some incentive, it is earnestly hoped that the Indian units in the Indian Defence Force will be given equal privileges with the British units.

THE HON. RAG BAHADUR B. N. SARMA.

But I would respectfully suggest that the enactment of this measure in the form in which it has come from the select committee is likely to prove very embarrassing to the Government, is likely to create bitter discontent without the Government meaning anything at all, and therefore I pray that what may be the consequences of such a measure may be considered before the military advantages are taken into consideration. ... But what would be the effect of this? It would show the Indian subjects of his Majesty that the Government, it may be unwarily and unwittingly, have chosen to perpetuate this distinction, to create a new caste in India, and therefore self-respecting citizens may not subject themselves to a discipline which would discriminate between them and the other Indian subjects in the British Empire. A Raja's son would have to enlist himself and should enlist himself as a private—he will not in the first place be fitted for an officer's place—and supplement his pay by his private resources. I do not quarrel with that decision, but would it not be humiliating to him, would it not be degrading to him to be told that he would have to be a private on Rs. 10 or Rs. 11 a month, when a person absolutely similarly situated under him, below him in status, gets the rank of a British officer, and draws more emoluments simply because an injustice was done to him in the past?

THE HON. RAI BAHADUR BISHAN DUTT SHUKUL.

Wanted 'such changes in the Bill as will help to make it a practical success, by modifying it in a manner so as to make the military service sufficiently popular and attractive, which might induce the right class of persons to join the colours in the defence of the empire. . .'

THE HON. KHAN BAHADUR MIAN MUHAMMAD SHAFI

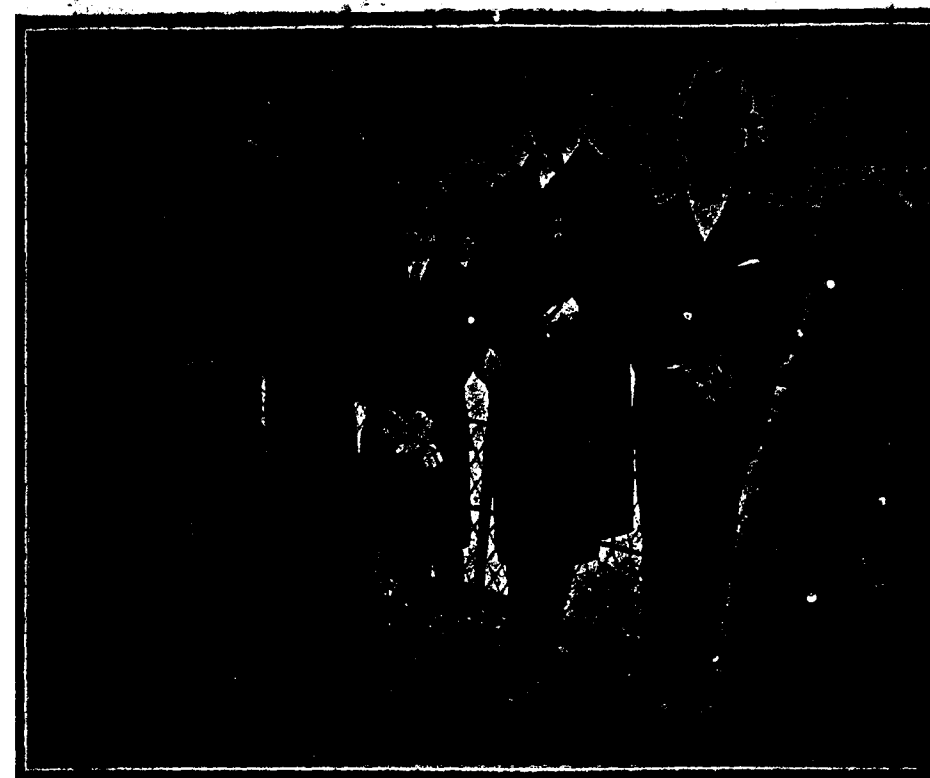
The argument that this suggestion and the suggestion cannot be embodied in the Act simply because this Act is a war measure, reminds me of those advertisements in certain medical journals with which people are very familiar, that is to say a single medicine being effective in curing a hundred and one diseases named in those advertisements. No doubt the argument that this is a war measure is perfectly cogent, is perfectly reasonable, with reference to certain matters, but it is not an argument that can cover every proposal and every suggestion that may be put forward by Hon. members. And now that the select committee have thought fit to modify that definition of a "European British subject" by enlarging the circle of persons who fall within that definition, it seems to me that the necessity of amending S. 12 of the Act, in order to satisfy the desire which my Hon. friend has in view and which I am certain all non-official members of this Council have in view has become still more cogent. . . .

THE HON. MR. K. V. RANGASWAMI AYYENGAR.

As things are, no educated Indian would like to be content for ever with the position of an ordinary sepoy. So far as it affects Indians, unless the amendment of my friend the Hon. Mr. Sarma is carried out, it will not satisfy the Indian public opinion and really be a success. The Indians in the army should be placed exactly on the same level as the Europeans. . . . When in spite of their superior education, their high sense of patriotism, their realization of the great danger very near them, and the inducement of preferential treatment and of high and trusted commissions in the army, the Englishmen have to be dragged from their homes with a Conscription Bill of this sort, sir, I beg to express my own diffidence of how this volunteering clause is going to make our position better when the masses have not got the education and patriotism to realise the danger, when they had not till now been taught to bear up the responsibilities of the state, and when they have not inducements of equal treatment and high or trusted commissions in the army. I only want that this Bill should meet with the success that it deserves, and for that I beseech the Council to accept this amendment.

THE HON. KHAN BAHADUR MIR ASAD ALI.

I trust . . . that the status and privileges for the Indian units will be the same as in the case of European British subjects in India.



KING CONSTANTINE, THE EX-KING OF GREECE AND HIS FAMILY

From left to right:—Prince Paul, King of Greece, Princess Irene, Duke of Sparta, Princess Helene and Prince Alexander.



MRS. ANNIE BESANT
Who has been interned by the Madras Government.

OF the persons whom India claims as her friends, Mrs. Annie Besant is one of the most prominent. Whether as Theosophist, Educationist or Sociologist or Politician she has been before the Indian public, speaking for them during the past quarter of a century and more. Her spirituality, her vast English experience, her educational knowledge, her organizing powers, her sturdy independence and her great earnestness of purpose,—all these and many other things, small and great,—she has placed at the altar of Mother India. The life-story* of such a personage cannot but be of the greatest interest to our countrymen who are seeing things pass under their eyes with a pace unknown in previous times. But in this brief sketch we propose giving a short and rapid survey of the remarkable lady's manifold services to India. India first attracted her attention during the regime of Lord Lytton's unpopular viceroyalty.

Her little book, *England, India, Afghanistan*, is a magnificent summary of the serious defects of British Rule in India, passing in review in graphic language the main incidents of English connection with this historic land. About the part she played at this time, her own remark is worth quoting:—

My articles in defence of an honest and liberty-loving policy in India, against the invasion of Afghanistan and other outrages, laid in many an Indian heart a foundation of affection for me; and seem to me now as a preparation for the work among Indians to which much of my time and thought to-day are given.

The next great event in her life which linked her closely to India was her joining the Theosophical Society on the 10th May 1881, and she has since been a true servant of the Brotherhood serving India in various ways. She has lectured, written and travelled on its behalf during these years. The whole world has, as a whole, been knit together by the branches, and lodges, that have been thus set up, and India as the centre of its activities has received a degree of attention by which it has profitted largely. That, in no small measure, is due to the genius of Mrs. Besant who, as its chief spokes-woman, has done the largest part of its work.

Pamphlets and printed addresses on Theosophical subjects, some of them very popular with Indians, have been published almost continuously from the time she joined the Society. Indirectly

Mrs. Besant has done a good deal of work in the field of Hindu Religion. Her studies of several of the phases of Hinduism such as *Avataras*, *Margas*, *Dharma*, etc., have had a wide circulation both in the East and in the West. Perhaps, her most popular books in India itself are *The Story of the Great War*, an excellently condensed English prose version of the Mahabharata, the great epic, which has been translated into the Telugu and Tamil languages by Indians themselves; *Ramachandra*, *the Ideal King*, a series of lectures delivered at the Central Hindu College, Benares, a highly interesting study of the life-story of one of the greatest heroes of India and a translation into simple English of the great celestial song, *Bhagavat Gita*, which has been republished by Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co., of Madras, and sold at a nominal price to place it within the reach of every man and woman in India.

VIEWS ON INDIAN NATIONALISM.

Another aspect of the literature of Mrs. Besant's making is closely connected with India's moral and material welfare and deserves prominent mention in any review of the remarkable career of Mrs. Besant. The work of the Theosophical Society from its start created a combative national spirit in India. The advent of Mrs. Besant to India and the magnificent work she has done amongst her Indian brethren had the effect of opening their eyes to the inadequacy of Western materialism, which they had begun to worship with their absolutely secular education, and made them pause awhile and see if their own ancient philosophy was not sufficient to satisfy their moral, religious and national needs. That is pioneer work, and for that Indians are beholden to Mrs. Besant and to the unwavering industry, patience and oratorical gift she has brought to bear on her self-chosen task. The mere mention of the subjects, touching the national weal at every step, on which she has spoken would take great space. Suffice it to say, then, that each of these subjects has now obtained a hold on the popular imagination that is truly marvellous.

Besides preaching the means to attain a national existence, Mrs. Besant taught Indians the way to realise it in the not distant future. The Central Hindu College owes its existence to her genius. Having taken a prominent part in the teaching of the South Kensington Classes, and having been on the School Board of London, she saw the possibilities of education as the medium of building up the Indian nation,

* *Mrs. Annie Besant: A sketch of her life and an up-to-date account of her services to India.* Second edition; Price 4 As. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

The Central Hindu College which was originally affiliated to the Allahabad University, has, as we all know, now become the nucleus of the Hindu University.

NATIONAL EDUCATION.

Mrs. Besant rightly holds that education will not be a success in India until and unless it is tackled by Indians themselves in the right spirit. She put the idea in a nutshell when she observed:—

To be really successful it must be taken up, designed, guided, and carried out, by those who are not only the lovers of their country, but also by men who understand its needs and who are well aware of its peculiarities, of its characteristics and of its traditions. To be truly useful Education must be founded on a knowledge of the past of the country as well as of its present; it must be designed in accordance with the ancient traditions and national habits, and adapted to modern necessities, to meet at every point the growing needs of an ever-increasing nation.

The brilliant success of the Central Hindu College, Benares, and the excellent results achieved by the Theosophical College at Madanapalle in the Intermediate Examination of 1917, are proof positive of her splendid work in the field of Education. It is sad to contemplate that the "Board of National Education," formed by her only a few days before her interment has been deprived of her active guidance.

AS PRESIDENT OF THE THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.

Since the time when she was first elected President of the Theosophical Society, ten years ago (in 1907), she has been several times to Europe, lecturing for Lodges of that Society, and transacting its business. She has toured in the United States, and Australia also she has visited. Under her guidance all over the world, and in India especially, the Society is progressing with rapid strides. This is not the place to enumerate the many ways in which she has served the movement at the head of which she stands. Suffice it to say that under its auspices at its Conventions and Lodge Meetings, in the name of Universal Brotherhood for which it stands, she has performed many services for India. Notable among these are the establishment of a Theosophical Educational Trust, under the aegis of which body schools and colleges in various parts of India—institutions implanting in the minds of the children Indian aspirations and Indian ideals; the negotiations which developed the Central Hindu College, an institution started by Theosophists, into the Hindu University; and the delivering in Madras and in other parts of India of a series of lectures on the vari-

ous aspects of Indian Life and Thought gathered together under the title: "For India's Uplift" and published by Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co.

THE KRISHNAMURTI CASE.

In 1910, Mrs. Besant became the guardian of two Indian boys—Brahmans—J. Krishnamurti and his brother, J. Nityanandam. She took entire charge of these children and relieved their father, at whose suggestion and request they had become her wards, of all future responsibility. This generous conduct resulted in her being entangled two years later in a tedious and disagreeable law suit. In October 1912, a suit was filed against her by the boys' father to deprive her of the custody of his sons. Mrs. Besant, in addition to all her other work, undertook to be her own counsel. She pleaded her case in the High Court, but was defeated. Thereupon she went to London and appealed to the Privy Council. There she was successful and judgment was given in her favour.

THE "COMMONWEAL" AND ITS AIMS.

During these many months of anxiety—the Privy Council case did not end until May 1914—this untiring worker had not neglected the interests of the land of her adoption. In November 1913, she took the first step towards the elaboration of a plan which was to put into her hands an instrument of enormous importance in her future work for the helping of India. She decided to publish a weekly paper. She plunged into her new scheme with characteristic energy, and six weeks of hard work saw the birth of the *Commonweal*. Although it opened its columns to discussion of all living questions relating to reform in any country, obviously its main interest centred in India and England, and their mutual relations. "One thing that lies very near to our heart," wrote Mrs. Besant in her capacity as Editor, "is to draw Great Britain and India nearer to each other, by making known in Great Britain something of Indian movements and of the men who will influence from here the destinies of the Empire."

"NEW INDIA."

The *Commonweal* was scarcely launched when Mrs. Besant's energies found a new outlet—a daily paper this time. The first issue of the *Commonweal* was brought out on January 2, 1914, and on July 14, of the same year, *The Madras Standard* appeared with, as first article on

* *For India's Uplift: A collection of speeches and writings.* By Mrs. Annie Besant. Second edition. Price Re. 1 only. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

its editorial page, a short paragraph entitled: "Ourselves," and signed by Annie Besant, its new Editor. In these few lines it was explained that Mrs. Besant had bought the paper—the oldest of the Madras Dailies—and hoped to infuse new life into it, and make it popular among the Indian reading public. "Our policy" was outlined a few days later. It was to voice the hopes and aspirations of the Indian people, their grievances and to fight their battles, that she had assumed the laborious task of conducting a daily paper; and above all, she publicly proclaimed that her new enterprise should provide both herself and others of her way of thinking with an instrument by means of which "Home Rule for India" might be brought within the realm of things not only hoped for, but expected. Her aims were expressed in plain terms in the article already referred to.

"In politics," wrote the Editor, "this paper will seek to embody the ideal of Self-Government for India along Colonial lines, remembering that the mission of every man and institution in this country is to bring about the speedy attainment of the triumph for which the Indian National Congress has steadily striven—Government by the inhabitants of India, for Indians but under the educative guidance and control of British statesmanship until Colonial autonomy is attained."

The paper was also to keep before it as one of its cherished aims the obliteration of all racial privileges and "the promotion of healthy co-operation and of the feeling of comradeship and solidarity between the various Indian peoples," and perhaps as a further indication of the way in which its Editor intended to help the wind to blow, it appeared on the day on which its policy was announced, renamed *New India*.

HOME RULE FOR INDIA.

Swaraj, Self-Government—the words repeated many a time and oft during thirty years and more in the National Congress, leapt into prominence again, when Mrs. Besant turned her attention to the claiming for India of her place in the Empire. Her influence was noticeable all over the country and nowhere more than in the Congress itself. She desired Home Rule for India, but she desired also that this great blessing should come to the Motherland through the great body of her representatives as the fruit of the hard and patient labour of her most devoted sons. According to her the time seemed ripe for an active educative propaganda in favour of Home Rule. Mrs. Besant saw in the Congress of 1915, to be held in Bombay, her opportunity of bringing this need

before the representatives of educated India. By way of preparation she began publishing a series of Home Rule Pamphlets and Leaflets, treating of subjects calculated to prepare the mind of the readers to understand the main question; she travelled North and South and West, lecturing on the same subjects; she brought out in book form her articles which had appeared in the *Commonweal*, entitled: "*How India Wrought for Freedom*," adding to them an historical introduction; at the invitation of Messrs. T. C. & E. C. Jack, she wrote for inclusion in their series of "Peoples' Books," a little work which she called *India: A Nation*. Then, in December, she went to Bombay and delivered an impassioned address, seconding the Resolution demanding Self-Government for India. This was not all. She had arranged a meeting of Congress leaders to discuss a plan for the formulation of a Home Rule League, which was to organise a Home Rule propaganda, working along lines parallel with and supplementary to the activities of the Congress. The meeting was held; but the idea of the League was dropped, as the majority of those present were of opinion that propaganda work should be done by Congress and Congress alone; and a separate League was considered unnecessary and inexpedient. But Mrs. Besant thought otherwise. Early in 1916 she started the Home Rule League in Madras, started a Home Rule organisation and arranged for a wide and effective Home Rule Propaganda.

SECURITY FROM "NEW INDIA."

New India continuously wrote about the need for Home Rule and she did not a little to infuse a new life in the political activities of the people at large and the authorities everywhere were concerned with her growing influence. Meanwhile, *New India* had been sailing an apparently untroubled course. What then was the surprise, when all of a sudden, on 26th May 1916, Rs. 2,000 were demanded as security for the paper. No specific reason was given for this unexpected change of policy on the part of the authorities, who had allowed the paper to continue on its pro-Indian way for almost two years, without asking for a single pie of guarantee of good behaviour. On receipt of the order, Mrs. Besant pointed out the injustice of the local Government's demand. She wrote in the *New India*:—

No reason is given—"Jo hukm." Our property is threatened, our business menaced with extinction. If we have done wrong, we cannot correct it, for our dictator gives us no information: "Your money or your life," is the formula. We may repeat the wrong

the day after we have paid our money, not knowing where the wrong lies, and at once our security vanishes, and another Rs. 10,000 is demanded. This is the form British justice assumes in Madras and elsewhere in India.

But there were other ways in which this apparent misfortune was made to play its part in the onward march of events leading to victory, and the country rose in sympathy and protest. Indignation meetings were held all over India; money flowed in from all sides for the *New India* Defence Fund. As was expected Mrs. Besant appealed to the Madras High Court, conducted the case herself with her usual boldness and ability, but the appeal went against her. The Press Association of India, in a meeting held at Bombay, passed a Resolution condemning the provisions of the Press Act of 1910, and its unjust application in the case of the keeper of the *New India* Printing Press, and also forwarded a Memorial to His Excellency the Viceroy for the repeal of this vexatious piece of legislation. A Deputation was also formed to wait upon His Excellency and urge upon him the necessity of his intervention in freeing the Indian Press from the trammels of excessive official control. All India was astounded at the Viceroy's reply to the Deputation, which was as ungenerous as it was unexpected.

PROHIBITION AGAINST ENTERING BOMBAY.

After the demand of security from *New India*, the Bombay Government took upon itself the task of putting a further check on her activities by prohibiting her from entering the Bombay Presidency by an order dated the 10th July 1916.

With reference to the Order, Mrs. Besant wrote in the *New India*, that she would not "knowingly disobey this order," because to do so would be the act of a maniac; on the contrary, she said, she respectfully sympathised with the fear of the Governor in Council that she might prejudice public safety, for it must be in very unstable equilibrium indeed if it could be easily disturbed.

"I wonder," she wrote, "it does not strike our rulers that they cannot stop the desire for Home Rule by showing how objectionable is Other Rule. The more they try to strike me, the more resolved does India become to win freedom from such tyranny. Lord Willingdon has been very slow; I was in the Bombay Presidency at Christmas, and was there for a couple of days in May. And this is July 10th!"

THE C. P. GOVERNMENT'S PROHIBITION.

In September 1916, the Government of the Central Provinces served a similar notice on her. Mrs. Besant wrote strongly in her paper repudiating any intention to disturb the political equani-

mity of the Province, but averred that her intention was to go to the Central Provinces to preside over the Theosophical Conference there. The action of the Central Provinces Government evoked strong criticisms from the Press and public and numerous protest meetings were held in different parts of the country. But neither the operation of the Press Act nor the Executive Orders of some of the Provincial Governments deterred Mrs. Besant from pursuing the path she had determined to follow from the very beginning.

AGITATION FOR HOME RULE.

By her forceful contributions to the Press, her inimitable and touching eloquence, by her books, her numerous brochures and pamphlets, she made the country from one end to the other ring with the cry of Home Rule for India. The attitude adopted by some of the Provincial Governments towards her served to give a fresh stimulus to the cause she was advocating. It would be but bare justice to say that the Home Rule movement inaugurated by her gave a tremendous momentum to India's claim for Self-Government which the Congress had been advocating for years. Mrs. Besant attended the various sittings of the All-India Congress Committee, and the Lucknow sessions of the Congress and the Muslim League at which the famous scheme of reforms was adopted by both the bodies. In supporting the resolution on Self-Government at the Lucknow Congress, she made an impassioned speech ever made even in the Congress.

Since then Mrs. Besant took up seriously the propaganda work of the Congress and Muslim scheme and, be it said to her credit, she addressed innumerable meetings and wrote several articles setting forth the aims and objects of the scheme with increasing vigour and earnestness. But her English method of writing and speaking and the bold and fearless manner in which she criticised the actions of the Government and its higher officials were being resented by the authorities and vague rumours were afloat that the Government of Madras were contemplating drastic measures to prevent her from pursuing her Home Rule Propaganda. Not only the Presidency of Madras but the entire country read with astonishment and indignation His Excellency Lord Pentland's speech, delivered in the Madras Council, on the 24th May 1917, which was regarded as a direct attack on Mrs. Besant and the Home Rule propaganda and also on the demands made by the nineteen non-official members of the Viceroy's Council duly ratified by the

Congress and the Muslim League in their scheme of Self-Government for India. H. E. Lord Pentland went so far as to call upon educated India to give up all thoughts of the early grant of responsible Self-Government.

His Excellency wound up his speech with the threat of repressive measures if the agitation was persisted in the manner it had gone on hitherto. But Mrs. Besant was not the person to be easily daunted by threats of repression however high may be the authority from which they proceeded. Immediately after His Excellency Lord Pentland's speech was delivered she began writing a series of articles in *New India* pointing out how the speech of the Governor was utterly reactionary in tone, and how it sought to stifle even constitutional agitation for the attainment of Self-Government or Home Rule for India by whichever term people chose to describe the yearning of the Indian people to be in their own country what other people are in their own native land. In strong and telling language she urged on all her followers and on all Congressmen and Muslim Leaguers to protest against the speech of Lord Pentland and to continue constitutional agitation, come what may. The Indian Press, with exceptions here and there, and several prominent public men of all parties, felt that a grave issue had been raised and earnest and determined efforts were made on all sides to protest against the *ipse dixit* of His Excellency that Indians should give up all thought of the grant of early responsible government which meant the subordination of the Executive to a Legislative Council with a large elective majority.

THE FAMOUS INTERVIEW WITH THE GOVERNOR.

While all this was going on Mrs. Besant was summoned by His Excellency to Ootacamund to meet the Governor but for some reason or other the arrangement was dropped and on Friday, the 15th June, the Governor proceeded direct to Madras, with a view, it was said, to speak to Mrs. Besant to suspend her political activities.

FAREWELL TO BROTHERS AND SISTERS.

But Mrs. Besant rightly apprehending that her liberty would soon be fettered, had written on the previous day one of the most soul-stirring farewells, ever addressed by a leader to her devoted followers. Here is her farewell message:—

It is better to suffer than to consent to wrong. It is better to lose liberty than to lose honour. I am old, but I believe that I shall see India win Home Rule before I die. If I have helped ever so little to the realisation of that glorious hope I am more than satisfied.

Mrs. Besant was a true prophet. Quite as she anticipated, on Saturday the 16th June 1917, an hour after her famous interview with His Excellency, the news flashed forth that Mrs. Besant, Mr. B. P. Wadia and Mr. G. S. Arundale had been interned.

The news of the internment of Mrs. Besant and also of two of her devoted followers and fellow-workers, Mr. G. S. Arundale and Mr. B. P. Wadia was received everywhere with deep disgust and indignation. Protest meetings were held all over the country and principally in all important cities like Madras, Calcutta, Bombay, Allahabad etc., in which even Indian leaders who had had sharp differences with Mrs. Besant took part. The Indian Press, with very few exceptions, joined the protest wholeheartedly. The response to Sir Subrahmanya Iyer's appeal for funds was most gratifying. Leading men who had hitherto stood aloof from the Home Rule propaganda now openly associated themselves with the movement.

On the 18th June Mrs. Besant relinquished her connection with the *New India*, the *Commonweal* and the presses under her control. And on the 21st, after three days' suspension, *New India* reappeared with the announcement that Mr. P. K. Telang of the *Young India* of Bombay had become printer, publisher and Editor, after depositing Rs. 2,000 as security.

As we write (29th June) we can only conclude by observing that those who believe that with the internment of Mrs. Besant, the cause for which she fought so long, so nobly, so bravely and so heroically would perish have seriously misread the situation and the mind of the country.

BIRTH OF A RAINBOW

BY

ALANGAT BALAKRISHNAN NAMBIAR.

Clouds heaped upon clouds,
And hung like funeral shrouds;
The spirit of joy on Earth then slept,
And sleeping dreamt a dream;
Forth from the dream there leapt
A glorious, gorgeous gleam;
Which shaped itself on high
To form a rainbow in the Sky.

THE WORLD OF BOOKS.

[ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION.]

A Mirror of the Hindu Philosophical Systems. By Nehemiah Nilakantha Sastri Goreh. Translated from the original Hindi by Fitz-Edward Hall, D. C. L. Oxon, 3rd Edition. Christian Literature Society.

The origin of this present work was an essay published by Nilakantha Sastri in Hindi in the year 1860, but the lack of technical terms in the Vernacular and the demand on the part of his fellow-evangelizers for a handbook which gave in a clear and succinct compass the abstruse matters of Hindu philosophy, made him revise and enlarge it into more ambitious work, and the present volume is an English translation of it by Dr. Hall. The book has been popular, as is clear from the fact that it has passed through two editions. It is unnecessary to give a detailed criticism of a later edition, but it may be pointed out that while it is likely to satisfy the need of missionaries who care more for abstruse dogmatism than sober discussion, the *mirror* can be nothing more than a *mirage* in the eyes of well-versed scholars and religionists. Both the author and the object of the work are obstacles against a genuine study and impartial exposition of the *Darsans*, and an incomplete, one-sided and destructive tirade in consequence is the result. One single example of gross ignorance is sufficient. The author confounds the *Vedanta* with one aspect or school of it, namely *Advaitism* and forgets the other schools, and the condemnation of *Advaitism* into which he launches himself is singularly unnecessary as it is open for anybody to pin his faith in doctrines which have their basis on the doctrine of reality. But a bigoted convert, he closes his eyes to such aspects as are above the reach of criticism. The book is in 3 sections and 20 chapters. In the first (6 chapters) the author discusses those doctrines which seem in his eyes to be common to all, the six systems of Hindu philosophy. In the second section (4 chapters) he describes the distinctive doctrines of all the systems save the *Vedanta* and in the last (10 chapters), the *Vedanta* which, as we have already said, he fails to understand in its real scope. Being the work of a learned scholar, it is erudite and full of authoritative extracts from Sanskrit commentaries (*advaitic*), and apart from those passages which are vitiated by evangelical bias, it is of value for the information it gives.

Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism. By Ananda Coomaraswamy D. Sc., Published by Messrs. Harrap and Co, London.

Dr. Coomaraswamy's great culture, and his intimate knowledge of Indian art and literatures eminently fit him for the by no means easy task of interpreting the doctrines of Buddhism, its history, its arts and literature.

The book is divided into five parts. In the first part, we have the life of Buddha with its beautiful anecdotes and also extracts from his noble sermons. The second part deals with the doctrines of Buddhism and the author also discusses a number of topics concerning Buddhism which are of modern interest viz., Buddhist pessimism, Buddhism and Nature. The third deals with the contemporary creeds and culture—that "heaven of Indian thought" out of which Buddhism arose. This part is interesting for the great learning with which he discusses the points of agreement and contrast between Buddhism and Hinduism. Some of the conclusions of previous writers on Buddhism are criticised herein and the author shows that the real difference between Buddhism and Hinduism lay not in their doctrines or their ethical and moral teaching but in their history. We have next a study of Mahayana Buddhism. The last part deals with Buddhist art and literature. We may add that the book is beautifully illustrated with plates of well-known Buddhist sculptures and paintings.

Report of the Industrial Conference. General Secretary, Indian Industrial Conference, Bombay. Rs. 2-8. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

The Report is a collection of the speeches delivered at and the papers submitted to the Eleventh Indian Industrial Conference held at Bombay on the 24th and 25th December, 1915.

The subjects treated are more or less of permanent interest in regard to the economic well-being of the country and hence they lose none of their importance even after eighteen months since they were first made public. The collection also includes a lucid study of the Industrial conditions and possibilities of the country together with a number of appendices giving suitable information to those interested in industrial and kindred topics. The Resolutions adopted at successive sessions of the Conference, since its inception nearly thirteen years ago are interesting reading indeed.

JUNE 1917.]

THE WORLD OF BOOKS.

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Catalogue of Manuscripts in European Languages, belonging to the Library of the India Office.—Vol. II. Part I. *The Orme Collection.* By S. C. Hill. Oxford University Press, 1916.

Mr. Hill, the author of "Bengal in 1756-57," (3 Vols.—Indian Records Series) and a practised hand at indexing, now gives us in this book a complete index and analysis of the famous Orme Collection, which the historian Orme, the East India Company's historiographer, gathered as a portion of the material for his great work 'The History of the British in Indostan' and which he left as a legacy to the Company at his death in 1801. The collection has been already twice catalogued, but neither so exhaustively, nor so systematically as now. In the present catalogue the collection is divided into two parts. (1) The Orme Various or O. V. Volumes, 336 in number, and (2) the India Volumes containing almost entirely copies of manuscripts. The O. V. Volumes contain a large number of documents with an almost complete set of military journals which are of special interest to the student of military history and biography and which give much information of the geography and topography of the country and the manners, customs and religions of the people. It contains also copies of official and semi-official documents which have now been lost, as in those days demi-official correspondence was regarded as the private property of the receiver and very often destroyed. And we learn from these a great deal about the personality of Orme himself, his motive in writing the history, the nature and style of his work, etc. A good deal of the secret history of the relations between the English and Haider Ali can also be gleaned from these. The India Volumes are almost entirely copies of manuscripts and not relatively very important.

The descriptive list of Mr. Hill is very elaborate, and gives the full titles of the papers and brief notes and sketches on them, together with elaborate cross-references. And the index is equally exhaustive, requiring nothing to be filled-up. The preface gives a brilliant though brief sketch of the life-work of Orme as a historian, bringing him out in all his noble qualities as a man and as an historian—thus satisfying a sadly regrettable want. According to Macaulay, Orme is inferior to no English historian in style, his powers of painting are minute even to tediousness, and he carefully avoided mistakes and inaccuracies.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

A DIVERSITY OF CREATURES. By Rudyard Kipling. Macmillan and Co., Ltd., London.
TURKEY AND THE WAR. By Vladimir Jabotinsky. T. Fisher Unwin Ltd., London.
CHRISTIAN LIVING AND HEALING. By Annie Rix Miltz. L. N. Fowler and Co., London.
BOSTON LECTURES ON THE NEW PSYCHOLOGY. By J. C. F. Grumbine. L. N. Fowler and Co., London.
THE MASTER'S TOUCH. By H. H. Brown. L. N. Fowler and Co., London.
BECKONING HANDS FROM THE NEAR BEYOND. By J. C. F. Grumline. L. N. Fowler and Co., London.
CONSTRUCTIVE THOUGHT. By Benjamin Johnson. L. N. Fowler and Co., London.
THE OLLIVANT ORPHANS. By Inez Haynes Gillmore. Methuen and Co., Ltd., London.
THE SIN FAN MYSTERIES. By Sax Rahmer. Methuen and Co., Ltd., London.
SCRAPS OF PAPER: GERMAN PROCLAMATION IN BELGIUM AND FRANCE. The War League, Karachi.

BOOKS RELATING TO INDIA.

INDIAN EDUCATION IN 1915-16. Government Printing, Calcutta.
IN MEMORIAM: Haji MOULVI M. SAMEE-ULLAH KHAN BAHADUR. The Times Press, Bombay.
OUR POLITICAL NEEDS. By Sir P. Arunachalam, Kt., M.A., Ceylon Reform League, Colombo.
SREE GOPAL BASU MALLIK FELLOWSHIP LECTURES. By Pandeya Ramavatara Sarma, M.A., Patna College, Patna.
A STUDY IN KARMA. By Annie Besant. Theosophical publishing House, Adyar.
HOME RULE PAMPHLETS: THE LESSON FROM RUSSIA; CO-OPERATION AND PANCHAYATS; A SCHEME OF REFORMS; THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT. The "Commonweal" Office, Adyar.
SOCIAL REFORM IN THE LIGHT OF THE HINDU SCRIPTURES. By A. Mahadeva Sastri. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar.
PIYADASI INSCRIPTIONS. Edited and Published by Ramavatara Sarma, Moradpur, Patna.
AN INTRODUCTION TO NEW VEDANTIC SUFICISM. PART I. METAPHYSICS. By Abdul Ali, M.A., 29, Mirzapur St., Calcutta.
VERNACULARS AS MEDIA OF INSTRUCTION IN INDIAN SCHOOLS & COLLEGES. By Dr. P. J. Mehta, M.D., Bar.-at.-Law, Satyagrahasrama, Ahmedabad,

DIARY OF THE MONTH.

- May 23. Mr. Chamberlain's speech in the Commons in favour of Indians being represented in future sessions of the Imperial War Conference.
- May 24. Lord Pentland's speech in the Legislative Council at Ootacamund denouncing the Home Rule agitation.
- Empire Day celebrations in all important cities all over the British Empire.
- May 25. Fighting in British and French fronts. Attack on Austrian defences.
- May 26. The Admiralty announces the torpedoing of a hospitalship.
- May 27. British air raid east of Vermelles. Thirteen German air machines destroyed.
- May 28. Mr. Barnes has been invited to become a member of the War Cabinet during Mr. Henderson's absence in Russia.
- May 29. Twenty one non-official members of the U. P. Legislative Council have submitted an elaborate representation on the Report of the Public Services Commission.
- May 30. The U. P. Government is offering concessions to Indians enlisting in the Indian Defence Force.
- May 31. H. H. the Maharaja of Bikanir, Sir James Meston and Sir S. P. Sinha arrived at Bombay.
- June 1. Great anxiety all over India owing to the telegram that Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji was dangerously ill was allayed by a subsequent wire that he was improving.
- June 2. The Indian representatives of the Imperial Conference and H. E. the Viceroy exchange greetings.
- June 3. The birthday honours include the distinction of knighthood conferred on Mr. D. E. Wacha.
- June 4. Mr. Dadabhai has been removed to Bombay from "Versova."
- Lord Northcliffe has sailed for the U. S. A. to continue the work of Mr. Balfour.
- June 5. Two German destroyers were towed into Zeebrugge this morning.
- June 6. American warships arrived at the French ports.
- June 7. The Hon. Nawab Sir Syed Shams-ul-Huda handed over charge of his office to Sir S. P. Sinha and took his seat on the Bench.
- June 8. Sahebzada Aftab Ahmed Khan, Bar-at-Law, has been appointed member of the India Council in succession to Mr. Abbas Ali Beg.
- Mr. Winstone Churchill has accepted the chairmanship of the Air Board.
- June 9. A food Exhibition is being organised in Bombay.
- June 10. Second Annual Meeting of the Women's University.
- June 11. The Behar Labour Commission of Enquiry has been appointed. Mr. Gandhi has a seat on the Commission.
- June 12. Air raid on London. Sinking of an American Merchantman.
- June 13. Abdication of King Constantine in favour of his second son Prince Alexander.
- June 14. Appointment of a trade Commissioner for India in London.
- June 15. Order of the Government of Madras explaining their attitude to political agitation.
- June 16. Madras Government issues an internment order on Mrs. Besant, Messrs. G. S. Arundale and B. P. Wadia.
- June 17. The Hon. Mr. Jinnah and several leading Congressmen and Muslim Leaguers join the Home Rule movement.
- June 18. The Privy Council has granted Mrs. Besant leave to appeal against the orders of the Magistrate of Madras in May 1916 and of the Governor-in-Council in August 1916.
- June 19. A Bombay merchant has given Rs. one lakh to the Home Rule League.
- June 20. Allahabad leaders join the Home Rule League.
- June 21. Great public meeting in Madras to protest against the internments. Mrs. Besant and Messrs. Wadia and Arundale left for Ootacamund to-night.
- June 22. Bengal Provincial Congress Committee under the presidency of Mr. Surendranath Banerjee passed Resolutions against the internment.
- June 23. Successful British operations near Warneton. German attacks at Vauxillon and Filain repulsed.
- June 24. Report of Mr. Dadabhai's illness causes great anxiety.
- June 25. Sir P. D. Pattani and the Hon. Babu Bhupendranath Basu are appointed members of the India Council.

TOPICS FROM PERIODICALS

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Thoughts on Government

Mr. Frederick Harrison, writing in the *Positivist Review*, recalls the predictions that he hazarded in 1875 and urges the reconstruction of the constitution, not by the creation of new or the improvement and adjustment of old franchises, but by the rise of a new concentrated government, a substantive executive distinct and national in character. To make any part of the present constitution the object of any special political cry, would involve disproportionate effort and besides draw us far from the aim of political progress. We have to put vigour into the political tone and to make government an efficient and scientific engine. "Were we even to abandon the venture of Parliamentary show-fights, the rhetorical war of party, of which men weary as of the siege of Troy, were we to value the art of governing, as highly as we value the art of debating, it would certainly be a vaster reform than the demolition or even the reconstruction of each part of the constitutional fabric."

The liberal programmes up to now e.g., the extension of the franchise, reform or abolition of the Lords, the various professional devices for regenerating society by giving votes to minorities and the like, would not have any effect at all approaching the measure expected by advocates and opponents alike. The true aim should be the creation of a commonwealth in which the notion that any man or any family has a proprietary right to dispose of the national resources has been displaced by the habit of regarding all exercise of power as a duty owed to the service of the public, and secondly where no exercise of power pretends to be legitimate, unless it has the formal ratification of the citizens and the free co-operation of public opinion. England is already such a commonwealth.

It would be a great change if in place of endless discussions, how the Legislature is to be created, we could settle the question as to what it could safely undertake; if, instead of augmenting the chaotic autocracy of Parliament, we restored it to its natural place as the Great Council of the Nation; if instead of multiplying its labours as a miscellaneous and unwieldy Executive, we could out of it evolve a substantive Executive, distinct and national in character. Far from requiring further limitations and checks on government, we need a concentration of government, provided always that it be exerted under the impulse of public opinion; for safeguards and counsellors we need to substitute personal authority; for dispersion, centralisation; for complexity, simplicity; for supervision, responsibility.

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The Spirit of Japan

The place of honour in the current issue of the *Modern Review* is given to a paper on the above subject by Sir Rabindranath Tagore, who points out:—

The truth is that Japan is old and new at the same time. She has her legacy of ancient culture from the East,—the culture that enjoins man to look for his true wealth and power in his inner soul, the culture that gives self-possession in the face of loss and danger, self-sacrifice without counting the cost or hoping for gain, defiance of death, acceptance of countless social obligations that we owe to man as a social being,—the culture that has given us the vision of the infinite in all finite things, through which we have come to realise that the universe is living with a life and permeated with a soul, that it is not a huge machine which had been turned out by a demon of accident or fashioned by a teleological God who lives in a far away heaven. In a word modern Japan has come out of the immemorial East like a lotus blossoming in an easy grace, all the while keeping its firm hold upon the profound depth from which it has sprung.

And Japan, the child of the Ancient East, has also fearlessly claimed all the gifts of the modern age for herself. She has shown her bold spirit in breaking through the confinements of habits, useless accumulations of the lazy mind, seeking safety in its thrift and its lock and keys. Thus she has come in contact with the living time and has accepted with an amazing eagerness and aptitude the responsibilities of modern civilisation.

This it is which has given heart to the rest of Asia. We have seen that the life and the strength are there in us, only the dead crust has to be removed; that we must nakedly take our plunge into the youth-giving stream of the time-flood. We have seen that taking shelter in the dead is death itself, and only taking all the risk of life to the fullest extent is living.

Japan has taught us that we must learn the watchword of the age, in which we live, and answer has to be given to the sentinel of time, if we must escape annihilation. Japan has sent forth her word over Asia, that the old seed has the life germ in it, only it has to be planted in the soil of the new age.

Sir Rabindranath continues that he cannot believe that Japan has become what she is by imitating the West. We cannot imitate life, he says "we cannot stimulate strength for long, nay, what is more, a mere imitation is a source of weakness. For it hampers our true nature, it is always in our way. It is like dressing our skeleton with another man's skin, giving rise to eternal feuds between the skin and the bones at every movement."

A Study of Missionary Vocation

Miss Ruth Rouse, writing in the *International Review of Missions* attempts to give a few salient points resulting from a study of missionary lives and vocations. A lengthy study of missionary biographies has led the writer to determine that the main missionary motive does not vary, and is unaffected by the period in which the missionary lives, or by his race or church. This constant motive is loyalty to the person of Jesus Christ and to His Will for the world. It was often supposed that the dynamic motive of the early missionary movement was the belief in the eternal perdition of the heathen. Similarly in the modern period, 'a desire to invest life to the best advantage is often stated as a missionary motive, but is never mentioned apart from the thought of the advantage of Christ's Kingdom. Now, again, can we consider as real exceptions, the early Christians and the Roman Catholic missionaries whose motive was an eager desire for the martyr's death; their thirst for martyrdom may have been morbid but it arose from devotion to him for whose sake they died. The central motive is constant. What however does vary, and vary enormously, is the setting of the central motive. Loyalty to Jesus Christ is always the dynamic, but very varied are the statements as to the needs of man, to relieve which that dynamic drives missionaries forth.

The setting of the central motive varies scarcely at all with rationality, which is usually so fruitful a source of psychological difference. The probable explanation of this curious fact is the internationalism of pietism! Again there is little variation in the setting of the missionary motive expressed by members of different churches, save in the above-mentioned tendency on the part of the Roman Catholics to dwell on a desire for personal salvation or martyrdom. The prime cause of variation is the period in which the missionary lives, and the sense of duty is seen in different ages through different psychological media. The following quotation aptly illustrates the variations in the sentiments of missionaries and the character of their motives.

Changing knowledge of the condition of the non-Christian world influences the conception of the needs of the non-Christian world powerfully. Eighteenth-century Christians in Denmark, Holland and Britain awoke to the need of missions when the developing colonial life of those countries brought home to their imaginations for the first time the very existence of the heathen. In the early nineteenth century the heathens were full in view, theology taught that they were 'perishing' and missionaries went to 'save them.' Mid-nineteenth-century exploration and discovery in Asia

and Africa revealed the social conditions of the non-Christian world—the heathens are no longer thought of as 'perishing,' but as 'suffering' and 'neglected'—men go abroad to 'heal the open sore of Africa.' Political changes open up fresh lands and immense heathen populations become accessible; men are moved by the thought of 'open doors' and 'untouched millions.' At the beginning of the twentieth century we hear less of 'numbers' and more of 'crises': Africa no longer 'waits,' but 'moves towards Islam; China is 'choosing between materialism and Christianity'; Japan is 'leading the Orient—whither?'

But from Zinzendorf down to the newest missionary candidate, the real passion is one and the same, "Him and Him only."

Autonomy for Filipinos

The story of America's relation to the Philippines is now pretty familiar all the world over. The new organic act of the Philippines that recently came into force has given almost complete autonomy to the Filipinos. According to the *Philippine Review*:

Hereafter, the people will receive full account of the administration of its affairs. The party in power will rule and the departmental policies of the administration will be determined by it. The departmental secretaries will be appointed after the prevailing party has been installed in office—selected from men of that party—and their term of office will be for three years only—the legislative term of office. Public opinion will be given due recognition hereafter. This new form of government, in the language of Speaker Osmena, will be a constant spur to their sense of duty and to their consciences as patriots.

The Filipinos consider that the date when they will be allowed to stand on their own legs is delayed "only for such length of time as may be necessary for the establishment of our own government on a safe basis." This prospect inspires the writer of the article to reflect thus:—

"The Philippines is now practically beginning its international intercourse, and sooner or later will have to face more serious situations of an international and complicated character. We must, for our part, be determined to earn and keep that place for our dear Philippines, unless we are willing to waive our right to it.

"The Philippines is now very advantageously started out, with the varied and wide experience of nations at her command, on the road of progress; and, no matter how small and weak we may be to-day, we are going to stand high, in the Oriental community at least. We have the latent means and the resources therefor. What we need is self-reliance and the wit to know and acknowledge what we are, and then the determination, stamina, back-bone—grit—to make good."

Varnashrama Dharma and Buddhism

From the February issue of the *Mahabodhi and the United Buddhist World* are extracted below passages which describe the opposing views of the Maharaja of Darbhanga and the Angarika Dharmapala, about the share of Buddhist doctrines and teachings in destroying the vitality of Varnashrama Dharma. The Maharaja remarks as follows:—

It was the rise of Buddhism that dealt it the really serious blow when Asoka openly espoused the new creed and advertised it far and wide. The indifference manifested in the Buddhist teachings to divine revelation and authority which was the basis of our sacred scriptures and social system, and the substitution of the Buddhist code of Ethics for the Vedic religion in Asoka's reign were disastrous to the Hindu nation, and they did widespread mischief, at the time, of disintegrating the tissue of Varnashrama Dharma—the vital protective and preservative element in our society. The new religion, if it may be so called, that aspired to replace the old, lacked the subtle discrimination of caste and preached an impossible cosmopolitanism and it destroyed the serene faith of former times by sowing doubt and discontent in its place. It shattered the faith in the law of Karma that justified the apparent discrepancies of caste. The ordering of society on Dharma lines, the inborn devotion of men to their respective duties and to the life-task assigned to them by hoary tradition and the holy system and order of Vedic times slowly gave way to confusion and chaos. Already these sinister signs began to manifest even under Asoka's rule. When after his death the cohesive force of his commanding personality and his marvellous genius were removed, his successors could not retain the Empire. The national and social structure as a whole became weak and shaky and thus fell an easy prey to the successive invasions of the Turanians, the Uchi tribes, the Cambosians, the Scythians and the locust hordes of the Huns.

The Angarika says with reference to the above:—

The Maharajah of Darbhanga has delivered an address on the Varnashrama Dharma and in trying to defend the position he has taken he has unnecessarily attacked Buddhism. Buddhism had ceased to exist as a religion in India, and for a thousand years there was enough time for the Brahmans to have recovered the lost position. Buddhism was not in their way. The brilliant period of Indian history was when Buddhism spread far and wide all over India, and the early Brahman Bhikkhus carried the teachings of the Blessed One beyond the limits of India, to the extreme East, to China, to the island of Ceylon, to Java, to Tibet, to Mongolia, and to Turkestan. The early Bhikkhus carried the Aryan teachings of the Tathagata and we see the results to-day of that culture in Japan, China and other countries.

The teachings of the Buddha are intended for all castes. He wished that the Brahman should not be arrogant, but that he should become a friend of the other castes. He wished that each caste should keep its own dharma, and yet at the same time he advised that they should love each other. The four 'sangraha-vastu' are charity, loving speech, equality in treatment

and service for the welfare of others. The Buddha preached the doctrine of ahimsa. In the Brahmanda purana (Calcutta edition) chapter 'caturyugakhyaram' the speaker goes into details how society began to deteriorate, and how the Brahmans neglected the study of the Vedas, and followed the Sudra dharma "sudrascha Brahmanachdrah sudrascha rashohabrahmanah." Buddha was not then born even.

For a thousand years the people of India forgot the true dharma, and their neglect to walk in the path of virtue was punished by the invasion of India for the first time in the history of India, by the Moslems. So long as there was unity between the Brahmans and the Buddhists there was no possibility of the alien foe coming to conquer India. Sankara preached a crusade against the Buddhists, and succeeded in bringing discord between the Brahmans and the Buddhists. The result was that India fell, and the Brahmans failed to prevent the Moslems destroying their religion. The Buddhists never destroyed the images of the devatas, but the Moslem invaders of the ninth and tenth centuries destroyed everything. The Buddha came to rehabilitate the dharma of the early period of the "Dwapara yuga" by preaching the "Arya" dharma of "brahmachariya, airagya, amayakdrishti."

The Fishermen of Bengal

Mr. K. Choudhury contributes to the *Bengal Co-operative Journal* an account of the exaction to which the fishermen of Bengal and Orissa are subjected. Mr. Choudhury points out that, whereas the ryot has a fixed tenure in his holding and cannot be ejected so long as he pays rent, a fisherman is only given a short lease ranging from a year to five years, and if he happens to do good business the lease is sold to somebody else who will pay a higher rent. In addition to this he has to contend with two classes of middlemen. There is first the *nicari*, the dealer who comes down to the coast of Orissa and the Chilka Lake. The *nicari* makes advances to the impecunious fishermen and on their strength he makes a large portion of their catches free and purchases the remainder at very low rates. The other middleman is the Calcutta *dadal* or *mahajan*, who induces fishermen to send baskets of fish to Calcutta, and instead of disposing of the consignments honestly, gives merely a fraction of the proper price, alleging that the weight was short, the quality inferior, the train late, or the demand dull. As if these extortions were not enough, the fisherman is the victim of continual robbery. The editor of the *Bengal Co-operative Journal* adds that the Sunderbans fishermen are robbed by lascars employed on Government launches and cannot pass any lock-gates without paying *salami* both in money and kind. Mr. Choudhury suggests the starting of a co-operative credit society among actual vendors in Calcutta as a remedy.

East and West

After the Meiji Restoration Japan's absorption of Western knowledge and art was rapid, especially in science, philosophy and literature. Our acquirements, says Mr. Takahashi in a recent issue of the *Japan Magazine*, were of a general rather than of a special nature, while Western knowledge of Japan was rather specific, such as the Western studies of particular artists or particular subjects. . . . Japan has much to teach the Western world in literature and art as well as in some other ways; and it may be that the great war will do something toward creating a stronger ambition for a closer mutual knowledge between East and West. Material strife often leads to spiritual sympathy and harmonisation. It is safe to suppose that after so violent a struggle the literature of all countries will be different. In this exchange of thought and influence Japan must be prepared to give back to the West as much as she receives. Each nation has something to contribute towards the perfection of other nations; and also something to accept. The final accomplishment of bringing the East and the West closer together depends much on literature and art.

The Native States and the Paramount Power

Mr. T. H. S. Biddulph, writing in the *Asiatic Review* for April 1917, describes the character of the treaties entered into by the British with the Native States. Their conditions, size, origin, and development preclude the possibility of applying any definite code which could cover the innumerable and varying matters which arise and claim the consideration of the British Government. The varying characters of the chiefs themselves have to be taken into account, as well as the facts that each one exercises more or less absolute power and also that until a comparatively recent date, few had any education worth speaking of. The leading principles embodied in the engagements entered into with the Native States are guarantee of succession to lineal descendants, establishment of British cantonments in the States, limitation of the military forces employed by them, prohibition of communication between States except through the medium of the paramount power, and compulsory conformity of the chiefs to British advice. The Native States get absolute protection from all danger internal or external, all the value that attaches to the services of the Imperial Merchant Service railways, telegraphs etc., all the advantages accruing to the membership of the British Empire and above all the right to manage

therein even affairs in their own way without interference from the British.

These treaties cover three varieties of engagements—viz., treaties, engagements and Sanads. The articles are such as are likely to have permanent force while matters of detail are provided for by subsidiary rules. Every succession must be recognised by the British Government and the armies of the Native States should be limited to what is reasonably required for the dignity of the chief and the presentation of order in his territory. The right to protection involves the common duty to aid in common defence and the principle of military co-operation in some form or other has always been recognised. With a view to ensure the continuity of Native States, Government have laid down a rule that a chief cannot bequeath a State as he pleases or encumber it with injurious legacies. The Imperial Government assumes the right to take charge of States during minorities and to satisfy by itself that the minor chief is duly educated. The education of the Native Chiefs must proceed up to a certain point on ordinary lines, along a carefully laid out course either at a chiefs' college or under specially selected guardians and tutors. But beyond this, each Chief requires special education in his own particular responsibilities or duties, and it is also necessary that a Chief may not descend to the level of his companions who are illiterate, that some of his *sirdars* should be educated up to his own level. The political officers require the most careful selection and training and must be possessed of quite special aptitudes for their training.

Life in the Tropics

When I first arrived in India over fifty years ago, writes Mr. Nicolls in the *Chamber's Journal*, I was told that beer-drinking was absolutely necessary for a European if he would keep his health. I drank a quart steadily at dinner for some years, and occasionally on Sundays and holidays had another for breakfast. I found that it caused me heaviness and drowsiness, and for forty years I have been a teetotaler, to the advantage of both health and pocket. A bottle of beer a day and two on Sundays during forty years would have cost over eight thousand rupees. What has been saved in medicine through my being a teetotaler probably far exceeds that sum. Life in the tropics is not so cheerful and pleasant as an ordinary life in temperate climates. But so far as health is concerned it is probably as healthy as life in England to many constitutions.

Settlement of Criminal Tribes

The *Social Service Quarterly* (for April 1917) contains an interesting article about the criminal settlements in the Bombay Presidency, where experimental villages of criminal classes were made as early as 1910, and large plans for the extension of settlements are also in the air. Great care has been taken to see if a criminal tribe is wholly or partially concerned in the commission of offences and to consider, if under the conditions of their restraint, they are able to earn an honest livelihood. The existing settlements of the Bombay Presidency are of three main types.

(a) Agricultural Settlements.

(b) Settlements depending mainly upon mills which afford employment the whole year round, i.e. spinning and weaving mills.

(c) Settlements depending upon the general unskilled labour work, such as, road or building work, always available in any large town, and upon the employment obtained by trained workmen as masons, carpenters, etc., and partly offences or if a section of the caste are peaceful members of society. In some criminal tribes, a large proportion lead honest lives. In such cases it is essential to make a survey of the tribe and to put under restraint and control those of criminal tendencies and reputations and to exempt from all restrictions those who bear an honest character.

Any settlement to be successful must be carefully lurked up with a scheme for the gradual freeing of the settlers from restraint, as they become fitted for this. In the industrial settlements, arrangements are being made whereby, a person on his discharge, is given a plot of land on which to build a house, and also an advance money to aid him in its construction. Care is taken to prevent over-crowding in laying out these plots.

The question will naturally rise as to the result of these efforts. No final statement can yet be made with accuracy, but the experience of the last seven years seems to show that, given a sympathetic and honest staff in charge of a settlement, the persons placed therein respond to the efforts made on their behalf. Reasons have been fewer than might have been expected. The greatest hope is in the children, and, with a few exceptions, they seem to be developing into honest and respectable citizens. The work is slow and great patience is needed but the future is full of promise. The results to be looked for are important and far-reaching. These people have been the dread and scourge of the country-side. They have maintained themselves hitherto by robbery, by false coining, and by black-mail. The relief to the other members of Indian Society, if these persons become honest and industrious workers, will be incalculable.

Women's Education in India

Miss Margaret Pope, a missionary worker with the S. P. G. in the diocese of Lucknow, writes to the *East and West* of April 1917 about women's education in India, in which she explains the varying educational needs of Indian women and the means of satisfying those needs. In villages and small towns poor women need elementary instruction in sanitation, cleanliness and the care of children; while in large towns poor women have often more time and can learn more and their men-folk are more willing that they should learn. Wives and daughters of the wealthier or better-born men, especially those of the literary castes, need a fuller and longer education to enable them to be companions to their husbands. Lastly an increasing number of women need preparation for professional life, including government service, as doctors, hospital nurses, inspectresses, teachers etc.

There is now a persistent demand for more and better education for girls in certain sections of Indian society. Of the causes which have hindered the spread of education, the chief is the status of the woman, especially among the Mahomedans and the rooted idea among the older and more conservative country folk that a woman is quite incapable of receiving education while another cause is a real scarcity of good literature in many vernaculars. Then there is the great question of the *purdah* which is responsible for a serious break in schooling and which is not always compensated for by home education. Some of the better *purdah* schools are doing real good work, both under official and private supervision, and some enlightenment has been coming through *purdah nashin* parties, ever since the days of Lady Amherst who, in 1827, first received some Mahratta ladies at Agra. Another hindrance is the reluctance of the higher classes to allow the 'untouchables' to enter schools which would otherwise be open to all. Quite another class of hindrances arise out of the education itself which has been hitherto supplied. And a real hindrance to thoughtful parents is the danger of Anglicisation and of the loss of much that is good in the old womanly ideals of the country.

Much may be done to spread women's education by co-operation between Christian and non-Christian societies and communities in order to prevent overlapping and in order to use to the best purpose the available funds and teachers, and between the school authorities and the public or at least the parents of pupils.

The Golden Age of Malayalam Literature.

Mr. A. Gopal Menon, writing in a recent issue of the *Malabar Quarterly Review*, describes the organic and continuous nature of the development of Malayalam literature and gives an idea of some representative Malayalam writers. The ancient writers have been inextricably mixed up with the Tamilian writers of the early centuries; and it is only when we come to the middle period that the golden age of Malayalam literature begins and poetry comes to be created in varied forms like, *kilipattu*, *champu*, *thullal*, *kavyam*, *kathakali*, etc. And though themes were mainly drawn from Puranic legends, the flow and rhythm of the verses, the beauty and nobility of their ideas have been very high. The aim of poetry was, however, sublimely religious, but they fail to cultivate a feeling of national love, a sense of patriotism, a thirst for knowledge, and an earnest desire to live a life of action. Its purpose was fully and solely metaphysical and theological. Modern Malayalam poetry has been developing a vivid and distinctly human interest. There is now going on a steady and systematic attempt at introducing uniformity in literary language, at discussing and explaining questions of taste in matter, expression and form, at forming a logical and historical codification of rules of grammar, syntax and prosody. The field of fiction is now growing particularly prolific, and prose literature in its various departments has reaped some notable fruits. Centres of literary influence are sprouting in all nooks and corners of the Malayalam country, as well as reliable literary associations. These, produced within the last thirty years, mark a most significant advance in Malayalam literature, and make this age also a glorious one for it.

The Birmingham University

Mr. F. H. Garner gives an instructive account of the Birmingham University in the current number of the *Educational Review*. We all know that the newer Universities of England were specially designed to give practical education to the middle and the poorer classes, and it is interesting to note that the Birmingham University gives special instruction in the arts most useful to the people of the neighbouring districts.

Special attention was paid to engineering, mining and metallurgy, as these are the chief industries of the neighbourhood. In engineering there are three chairs, namely, mechanical, civil and electrical engineering; in the University building at Bournbrook, now taken over by the military authorities for use as a hospital for wounded soldiers, there are workshops extremely well-fitted up in which the practical part of the training was carried out. In mechanical engineering, the University

Power Station, which supplies the whole of the University with lighting, heat and power, constitutes the heat engineering laboratory, in which the experimental work on steam and gas engines is carried out.

In all these sciences, it will be observed that great attention is paid to the practical side as well as to theory. For instance, in the case of mining every student should have at least two months' practical experience in a mine each year of his academical course before he could obtain the diploma. Great freedom of choice is also afforded in the study of commercial subjects, according to the aptitude of the respective students. Here again business is combined with theory:—

Students can combine study in the scientific and technical aspects of the business in which they are interested with the principles involved in the commercial conduct of such a manufacturing business and with a certain amount of linguistic study; or, on the other hand, it is possible to devote the period of study to the acquirement of a knowledge of foreign languages and to a wide range of economic, financial and administrative studies. Recently the University has made provision for theoretical and practical training in social work; many social welfare workers are needed in factories, and elsewhere to advise the workers in these factories, more particularly the women and young persons, and to look after their interests. The importance of this kind of work and its great value, not only to employees but also to employers, has only been fully realised as a result of experiences in the present War.

The Claims of India

The *Round Table* contains the following observations on the place of India in the reconstituted Empire:—

India has recently put forward not only the demand for a larger measure of Self-Government, but also for some representation in the Imperial Councils. That is a demand which no one who realises the services rendered by India in this War and the internal progress in India itself can ignore.

It is manifest that some means must be found whereby the views and needs of a country containing 315 millions of inhabitants can find direct expression, when fundamental questions of Imperial policy are under consideration. The way of doing this will not be easy to find, but the fact that the demand has been made, and rightly made, shows that from the point of view of India as well as of the Self-Governing Empire, the constitutional system governing inter-Imperial relations "will, of necessity," as Mr. Asquith said, be "brought, and brought properly, under close and connected review," after the War, unless serious misunderstandings and difficulties are to arise.

However opinion may differ as to the form in which the claims of India should be conceded; they must be dealt with without delay when the War is over. . . . Is it possible, for instance, to conceive a more certain way of producing a revolution in India, or a hopeless impasse in Ireland, or a general revolutionary industrial unrest, or serious inter-Imperial friction, than that the Government should keep on making the reply that the consideration of these problems, vital and urgent as they admittedly are, must be postponed until more urgent business is disposed of and it has time to deal with them?

Sir Tagore on England and India

The editor of the *Modern Review* quotes the following passage from one of the speeches of Sir Tagore on the "Cult of Nationalism."

"I have not come here, however, to discuss the question as it affects my own country, but the future of all humanity. It is not about the British Government, but the government by the Nation—the Nation which is the organised self-interest of a whole people, where it is the least human and the least spiritual. Our only intimate experience of the Nation is the British Nation, and as far as the government by the Nation goes, there are reasons to believe that it is one of the best. Then again we have to consider that the West is necessary to the East. We are complementary to each other because of our different outlooks upon life which have given us different aspects of truth. Therefore if it be true that the spirit of the West has come upon our fields in the guise of a storm, it is all the same scattering living seeds that are immortal. And when in India we shall be able to assimilate in our life what is permanent in the Western civilisation we shall be in the position to bring about a reconciliation of those two great worlds. Then will come to an end the one-sided dominance which is galling. What is more, we have to recognise that the history of India does not belong to one particular race, but it is the history of a process of creation to which various races of the world contributed—the Dravidians and the Aryans, the ancient Greeks and the Persians, the Mahomedans of the West and those of the Central Asia. Now that at last has come the turn of the English to bring to it the tribute of their life, we neither have the right nor the power to exclude them from their work of building the destiny of India. Therefore what I say about the Nation has more to do with the history of Man than specially with that of India."

Women and the Law

His Honour Judge Parry, in the course of an article on "Legal Reform," in the April number of the *Fortnightly Review*, condemns the narrow-minded and short-sighted attitude which the Bar Council and the Law Society have recently adopted towards the question of admitting women to the legal profession. The writer says:—

Nothing could have been more unfortunate than the recent discussions of the Bar and the Law Society about the introduction of women into the profession. Much of the work of a lawyer, especially the work of a solicitor, is peculiarly adapted to women, and after the triumphant success of women in the far more difficult and dangerous field of medicine one would have thought that the lawyers' unions would have had sufficient tact to remember the mistakes and defeat of the doctors, and not led their members into what in the near future must be an undignified contest with only one possible end to it. There can surely be no manner of doubt in any honest mind that women exist capable of doing as good, and indeed better, legal service to the community than many lawyers of to-day. The only possible objection to women joining the ranks of the Bar or the solicitors is the selfish, animal trade union fear that there is only so much soup to go round, and that any further competition would result in hunger and possible starvation of existing members. It was perhaps unwise to raise the question at the moment, as all the younger men, the leaders of the Bar of the near future, are away fighting for their country and the meeting was bound to be dominated by the older fossil-bearing strata of the profession. The matter will be settled by the public, and not by the trade unions, as it is a public question. The result will be "dilution."

America and the War

The opening article in the March number of the *Contemporary Review* is on "America and the War" by the Hon'ble Sir Charles Hobhouse, M. P. The writer goes over the tendencies which have been working hitherto against both the Allied cause and intervention, and then shows how these have been neutralised by Germany's own wrong-doing, so much so that America has at last concurred in its President breaking off relations and "is prepared to follow him should he find it eventually necessary to throw down the gage to the German Government."

Dawn of Japanese Fine Art

Professor Y. Kind of the Waseda University writes an interesting article on the "Dawn of Japanese Fine Art" in the May number of the *Japan Magazine*. He contends that the marvelous development of fine art in the early stages of Japanese history no doubt received its greatest inspiration in China and Korea. With the introduction of Buddhism there came a new ideal of religious art. But the civilisation of pre-Buddhist Japan was not altogether bereft of works of art. There was indeed no outstanding triumph in the domain of art but it is fairly plain that the subsequent development of Japanese art was a freer and maturer expression of distinctive racial genius. Hence Japanese art suggests a spontaneous development of indigenous artistic triumph which is the primary reason of its difference from that of other countries and peoples. How natural and domestic is this gift of the Japanese nation may be inferred from the following observations of the Professor:

From all that one can learn of primitive ages in Japan they were as arcadian as were reputed to be the days of Theocritus and the ancient Greeks. There was more particularly a remarkable development of skill in the use of natural things. This is very clear in the case of naval architecture, for example; for the Japanese were bold navigators, venturing into unknown seas, from the earliest times. They well understood, moreover, how to cultivate the land to advantage, as well as how to weave and how to dye, with considerable knowledge of mining and minerals. Their progress in metal work was early and rapid as well as efficient. Their mirrors, halberds, quivers, bows, arrows and shields are still objects of wonder for the skill displayed by them.

So much for art in works of utility and domestic economy. The origin of pictorial art is no less interesting:

The most primitive examples of native pictorial art that have come down to us, suggest an extreme degree of simplicity, as is to be expected. Among the best examples of this early art are drawings of the inside of the tombs of Hinooka, and the outlines of the tombs at Kumilderamura in Higo. The art is merely lineal and symbolic. The earliest examples of sculpture are in stone and comprise images of men and horses, dating back 1380 years ago. They were found placed beside the tomb of the rebel Iwai of Tsukushi who died fighting against authority in that far-off time. There is another ancient stone image from Katsujima, Higo, which is now in the Imperial Museum, Tokyo.

Specimens of the most ancient art in moulded clay are of two kinds, one for purely ornamental purposes and the other as statuary, the former being seen on bottles or utensils and the latter as *haniwa* or clay images for graves. A crucible dug up at Sagara-gun in Chikuzen, is an example of the former, having on it a deer, a dog and girl with a baby on her back. Another pot unearthed in Bizen has a horseman on it. These objects betray the degree to which art and decoration

had developed at that time, and on the whole suggests a keen appreciation of the picturesque.

The Professor concludes with a reference to the characteristic of early Japanese art and its later developments in the life and thought of the Japanese nation. And he draws some valuable inferences of the character of the people from the nature of their artistic instinct and ideals:

It may be that these examples of primitive fine art in Japan do not show the same degree of genius and originality that are to be found among the examples of primitive art in India before the introduction of Greek and other outside influence, but nevertheless they exercised a great influence on the development of the national mind and on Japanese civilisation generally, and have the special virtue of being eminently characteristic of the race that produced them. In any case the examples that have reached us are too few to afford much basis for conjecture and inference. But they clearly indicate the Japanese love of chaste decoration and simplicity of ornament; the tone is clear, clean, simple and elegant, with that marked aversion from needless complexity that has always been a feature of the Yamato mind. Graceful simplicity is the Japanese ideal. The swords, mirrors, beads, silks, and all that have come down from the days of our ancestors, alike show this merit. The progress made by Buddhist art in Japan had its basis on the native art that had thus shown such remarkable progress long before the advent of the new religion.

INDIA IN INDIAN & FOREIGN PERIODICALS.

THE LAUREATE OF THE EAST. By Lady Katherine Stuart. ["The Asiatic Review," April 1917.]

EDUCATED INDIANS AND INDIAN WOMEN. By Miss Katherine Vaughan M. B. ["The Hindustan Review," April 1917.]

THEORIES OF THE EVOLUTION OF KINGSHIP AMONG THE INDO-ARYANS. By Narendranath Law M.A., B.L. ["The Modern Review," June 1917.]

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF THE SYRIAN CHRISTIANS IN FORMER TIMES. By L. K. Anantha Krishna Iyer M. A. ["Madras Christian College Magazine," April 1917.]

INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE WAR. By Mr. S. K. Sarma B.A. B.L. ["The Wealth of India," April 1917.]

AGRICULTURE IN THE UNITED PROVINCES. By "Rusticus." ["The Mysore Economic Journal," May 1917.]

THE INDUSTRIAL FUTURE OF INDIA. By Mr. Moreland ["The Quarterly Review," June 1917.]

LOVE IN HINDU MARRIAGES. By Mr. T. Lakshmana Pillai, B.A., ["The Malabar Quarterly Review," June 1917.]

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

Tutorial System

The following order dated the 7th May 1917, has been issued by the Madras Government:—

Among the defects in collegiate education in this country to which criticism has been directed from time to time, particular stress has been laid by thoughtful observers on the lack of that corporate life and feeling which is so marked a feature of University life in Great Britain more especially at the older foundations of Oxford and Cambridge. As regards the students themselves much has been done in recent years to promote social relations and common interests by the institution of hostels, by the provision of playgrounds and by the promotion of inter-collegiate competitions, debating and literary societies and other similar organisations. Further development as regards hostels and playgrounds must depend largely on the restoration of normal financial conditions and it is the intention of the Government, when circumstances permit, to improve and extend the facilities which such adjuncts to educational institutions undoubtedly confer. Any advance towards commensality must, of course, be gradual and voluntary in this country, but its absence need not hinder the growth of a sound corporate life or prevent a college from securing the loyalty of its alumni and their continued and grateful interest in its welfare and good name. If these objects are to be secured, however, it is not enough to promote personal relations among the students themselves; the association of the students with the members of the teaching staff in relations of mutual friendship and of personal sympathy is also necessary.

The Government recognise that many members of these staffs do take an interest in the welfare of individual pupils and in such collegiate activities as exist. They also recognise that further progress in this respect must in part depend on the development of a residential system which will include always some proportion of the teaching staff. They consider, however, that even under existing circumstances more could be done to enlarge such personal relations. They have, therefore, given careful consideration to the matter and are of opinion that valuable results may be expected from the extension to all Government colleges of a tutorial system already, they understand, tentatively introduced in one or two cases.

The general lines on which, in the opinion of the Government, this system might suitably be introduced are laid down hereunder and the Director of Public Instruction is requested to take steps for its introduction into all Government colleges as soon as the necessary arrangements can be made.

Each student of a college will be assigned to a member of the staff who will be regarded as his tutor. The tutor should, where possible, be the Professor or Assistant Professor of the principal subject of the student's course. He will be expected to see each individual student under his tutelage periodically so as to have an opportunity of discussing with him matters affecting his general welfare and the progress of his studies. He should also arrange a time on some fixed day in each week at which students assigned to him will be at liberty, if they so desire, to consult him on any point on which they desire advice. The information and insight thus acquired will be of great assistance to Principals of colleges who, by regular consultations with the tutors, will be enabled to acquire a personal knowledge of the progress, activities and needs of individual students which would otherwise be impossible.

The success of this system will of course depend on the spirit in which it is worked. The Government confidently hope that the members of college staffs will co-operate in making it a success and welcome the opportunities which it will give to mould and influence in the right direction the characters and dispositions of those placed under their immediate care.

Students and Politics

The following is the text of the Madras Government order which has been issued recently:—

The attention of the Government has been drawn to the attempts which have of late been made to bring students in schools and colleges under the influence of a political propaganda. H. E. the Governor in Council is strongly of opinion that, in the interests both of educational advance and of the youths themselves, it is unwholesome and undesirable that students shall be involved in such discussions and he has arrived at the conclusion that the time has come when action should be taken to deal with this tendency. His Excellency in Council believes that to this end the parents and guardians of the students in question can give valuable aid by

using their influence against the practice of students taking part in political agitation, and he trusts that they will realise the grave responsibility which lies on them in this respect. It is necessary also that the educational authorities should use their powers to the same direction. The disciplinary regulations which are contained in Chapter VIII A of the Madras Educational Rules already contain certain directions on the subject. It has, however, been represented to His Excellency in Council that the directions in this chapter are insufficient to meet the present situation and that it is necessary to supplement them by further instructions. The Government therefore direct that no undergraduate student in any college and no pupil in any school shall be permitted to take part in public political discussions, to attend political meetings, to join any political association or to take part in any movement with which it is, in the opinion of the educational authorities, undesirable that persons still in *statu pupillari* shall be associated. His Excellency in Council directs that heads of colleges and schools, whether under public management or otherwise, shall strictly enforce these directions. In doing so they should have regard not merely to the declared purpose of a meeting, but also to the speakers who will address it.

Bombay Government and Students

The Bombay Educational Department has also issued a similar circular dated 7th June, which, among other things says:—

It has recently come to the notice of the Government that students from schools and colleges have latterly been attending political meetings in large numbers. Such attendance is contrary to the rules regarding participation of students in public meetings laid down by the Government in connection with maintenance of discipline in schools and colleges. It is the desire of the Government that these rules should be strictly observed at the present time by the pupils of all educational institutions, whether Government aided or unaided, but recognised.

2. The Government particularly desire that school and college students should not be permitted to attend meetings, which are organised by the Home Rule Leagues, or at which Home Rule is to be advocated. Proved instances of breach of the rules or connivance at their breach by heads or managers of educational institutions will be taken serious notice of by the Government.

National Education

Mrs. Annie Besant, in launching a new scheme of National Education under Indian control, writes:—

At the end of last year I discussed the necessity for a step forwards National Education—a goal set up by me since 1896, the Central Hindu College being a step in that direction. I also issued a little pamphlet on "National College," repeating once more the old ideal.

The chief educational want of India is colleges run on national lines and under national control, colleges which, like the Central Hindu College at Benares, should be wholly independent of Government while in no sense hostile to it, which should make it their one duty to train up pious, honourable, brave and cultured Indian gentlemen, loyal to their Motherland, to the Crown and to the Empire.

To fulfil this duty, it is absolutely necessary that the boys should grow up, through their school and college life, in an atmosphere of pure and passionate patriotism, full of pride in their country, full of aspiration for her service. The high spirit of the boys must be trained and disciplined but never broken; love and not fear must be the root of their obedience, and trust not terror must characterise their attitude to their teachers. To ensure this, the teachers must embrace their noble profession as a vocation, rather than as a mere means of livelihood, as a dedication to the service of the Motherland, rather than as a drudgery from which to escape, as soon as the hours of study are over. They must frequent the playing fields as well as the class-rooms, take part in games as well as in study. They must realise that their work is to train citizens for a free India, not clerks whose value lies in their servility, and whose aim is to become petty tyrants in their turn.

Such a College in each Presidency town and major Province—to be the parent of similar colleges in the mufassal—is necessary for the growth and training of the national life. The present generation of lads is splendid material, but is mostly uncared for out of class-hours and unloved by their teachers in the Government and missionary schools; their budding patriotism is treated as sedition, their self-respect as insubordination, their high spirits as rebellion; their national heroes must be worshipped in secret and the national portraits which should hang in their class-rooms must be hidden away in their boxes. We have to train our boys for freedom,

and the very qualities, now repressed, are national assets, to be utilised, not eradicated. We need not fear their high spirits, their daring, their pride, their sensitive dignity; these are the jewels of a free nation, though dreaded by the authorities over a subject people. Our boys must be as free in India, as English boys are free in England.

To this end their bodies must be our special care; study must be subordinate to health. Drill, physical exercises, games, fencing, Indian sword-play, the science of self-defence must all form part of our curriculum; Boy Scouts and cadets must be trained. Englishmen say that Indians must be able to defend their country before they are "fit" for Home Rule. Let us begin to teach our boys their future duty, and turn out the sturdy youths trained and disciplined, ready to form a citizen army.

Needless to say—since it is I who write—that religion and morality based on religion, and character built up by these must be an integral part of our education. Patriotism must be Indian History—before Clive—by national songs and national festivals. Civics must be taught. The Council must outline an Indian Scheme of Education for Indian boys, and, in it, it must be remembered that scientific and technical, commercial and industrial training are the life blood of National prosperity. Our work will not be to turn out clerks.

While independent of Government aid, our colleges must excel Government colleges in efficiency, but it must be true efficiency in education rather than in educational machinery. A new educational life is spreading over every civilised country except India. Our colleges are to embody that life for India.

When the Madras Government issued its G. O. 559, it seemed necessary to delay no longer in taking practical steps. So I sent the following letter to a number of well-known people* on May 24, 1917:—

"As the Government Educational Service becomes more and more rigid and the deadening official pressure, which crushes out patriotism and

* This has gone out to 74 persons; 41 have already accepted, one has declined, one has promised all possible help and support but has not decided to join the Board; many are away from home and have not yet answered: I am sending out four or five more. I had not intended to publish anything until the list was complete, but the threatening speech of H. E. the Governor of Madras makes it desirable to publish the list as far as it has gone, so that if I am incapacitated, others should go on with the scheme.

the sense of pride in the country, becomes heavier, those who work for India's freedom within the Empire are faced by a grim alternative. Either they must stand aside, and see the youth of the country divided into two groups: one service cringing, useless to the country and fit only to be the servants of the bureaucracy; the other high-spirited and patriotic but desperate, plunging into anarchical violence. The G. O. No. 559 of the Government of Madras deprives the whole school and college-going population of the instruction and advice hitherto given to them in political matters by the lectures of leading politicians, cuts them off entirely from the great men of their own country, to be shaped by foreigners, and infuses into their minds doubt and suspicion of their natural leaders.

"It is, therefore, necessary to do something to save these unfortunate youths from becoming either slaves or rebels, and the wisest plan seems to me to carry into execution a scheme discussed with friends in the various Provinces for some months past, namely to build up a system of National Education entirely apart from, but not in hostility to, the official system, and to offer as an alternative to the Government and missionary schools, an education which will train Indian students as students in other countries are trained, to look forward to a life honourable to themselves and useful to their country, nourishing in their boyhood and youth a noble ambition to be worthy citizens of a great and powerful Nation.

"The whole system must outline a complete scheme of National Education from the infant to the finished graduate, with the necessary adjuncts of medical inspection, clinics, manual training, workshops, etc. An effort will be made to adapt to Indian use the modern ideas of education, evolving the child's natural faculties, shaping the education to the needs of the child, not the child to an iron system. In view of the special and immediate necessity for industrial progress, special stress will be laid at first on the commercial, trade, and agricultural side of education, with the applications of science to industry and agriculture, but the Arts will not be forgotten, and a broad foundation will be laid on which culture may be built.

"Such an education is a crying need in this country, but the Government does nothing to start or encourage it. We need some of the best brains of the country in commerce, manufactures, and applied science, and we propose to

establish this education under the control of a Board of National Education, which will frame curricula, appoint examiners, conduct examinations, and issue diplomas in the different branches studied in its schools, colleges and workshops. These diplomas will become valuable if we set up a high standard and maintain it.

"It is proposed to teach all subjects in the schools under the Board in the vernacular of the Province, teaching English as a compulsory second language. Religious instruction, according to the pupil's ancestral religion, will be given. The curricula will be framed by the Board, and we may be sure that it will place Indian interests in the forefront, and will make India the centre of study, the study of other countries adjuncts instead of primaries.

"The consent of the Governing Body of the Theosophical Educational Trust was obtained at its annual meeting last Christmas in Lucknow, to merge its separate existence in the National Board, when it was formed, so that we have a number of schools, one boy's college and one girl's college as a nucleus, which we can reshape to fit our plan, when it is made. It must not be forgotten that a national scheme must include the education of girls, and must be so devised as to fit them to be noble women of the Indian type, devoted wives and wise mothers, and must include the education of teaching and

medical women, for those who desire to enter these professions.

"At the Madras Provincial Conference at Cuddalore, whence all our Volunteers were driven by the action of the police purporting to be obeying G. O. No. 559, 1917, I invited some of the leading men to join the proposed Board, and they willingly consented. As soon as we have secured the assistance of men from Bengal, Bombay, the U. P. and Behar, we propose to publish the names of the Board; and to incorporate it. The Memorandum of Association, with the Rules, will be circulated and approved by the members of the Board, before incorporation.

"The task is no doubt a great one, and one of difficulty, but I believe it is absolutely necessary for the building up of men of character out of the present generation of youths and I earnestly beg you to co-operate in it, and to give us the help of your counsel and your name. The Board must be one which cannot be ridiculed as unimportant; we have already secured men of weighty names in Madras and this letter goes to picked men of other Provinces.

"If you consent, as I hope you will, will you agree to the nomination of G. S. Arundale,* M.A., L.L. B., as Hon. Registrar of the Board? I think we cannot have a better man both for theoretical knowledge and practical experience.

* Since then Mr. Arundale has been interned. [Ed. I.R.]

UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

The Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri on India and the Imperial War Conference.*

Since this Conference met last at Ahmedabad, two events of first-rate importance have happened: the Session of the Imperial War Conference at the seat of the Empire, and the adoption of a scheme of Post-War Reforms by the Indian National Congress and the All India Muslim League at Lucknow. The whole country rejoices that the representatives of India were admitted to the Imperial Conference on terms of perfect equality with those of the Dominions, and that they everywhere met with the utmost cordiality and consideration, while by their personal bearing and patriotic utterances they have sustained the honour of India and are entitled to our gratitude and appreciation. Touching the actual results of the Conference, the cablegrams, so far received,

* Extracts from the Presidential Address to the Bombay Provincial Conference held at Nasik.

although they contain momentous news, do not enable us to obtain precise notions. In the first place, the members of the Conference unanimously recommended that India should have full representation at future Imperial Conference and that the Government concerned should be moved to give their consent to the arrangement. But what does "full representation" mean? If the representatives of each Government are to have only one vote between them, more significance attaches to the quality of the representatives than to their number. Speaking for myself, the country has been particularly lucky this time in the gentlemen chosen by Government to champion its interests. But luck cannot always be counted upon. The other Governments are composed of elected leaders of the people, and their choice may be held to be the same as the people's choice. In the case of India it may happen that the persons chosen by Government do not command the confidence of the public and that the views which

they express at the Conference are conformable to the wishes of the Government but not to those of the country. It would be necessary to secure that the nominees of our Government should have been recommended to them on behalf of the public by some electorate like the elected members of the Indian Legislative Council or the elected members of the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils. This method is obviously unsuitable to obtain the official representatives or the representatives of the Ruling Chiefs, should such representatives be required for future Conferences as well. On this, as on other important aspects, however, we have no information to go upon. One observation, however, may be made with absolute certitude. The idea that the Secretary of State can represent the people of India in the Imperial Conference is untenable, if not ridiculous. Says Mr. Silburn on this subject with reference to the Conference of 1907, "It cannot be said that the Secretary of State for India was the proper personage to represent some 294 millions of people at a Conference, the other delegates at which were directly representing the people of countries they were personally acquainted with by long residence." Another matter, but one which affords satisfaction, is that the Conference unanimously approved of the principle of reciprocity between the Dominions and India and commended the memorandum presented by our representatives on our position in those countries, to the favourable consideration of the Dominion Governments.

A third resolution, transcending the others in far reaching consequence to India, enunciates some of the principles to be borne in mind when a special Imperial Conference will sit immediately after the war to consider the relations of the component parts of the Empire in the future, in other words, the basis of the future Imperial Commonwealth. One of the principles is that India as well as the Dominions should have an adequate voice in the determination of foreign policy and foreign relations. So far so good. But what about this other principle, that any readjustment should recognise the Dominions as autonomous nations of the Imperial Commonwealth and India as an important portion thereof? Does it mean that our representatives have consented to an arrangement which even in the future will place India on an inferior level to the Dominions? Or does it mean that, though India may see no change in her internal constitution, she will enjoy, so far as the Commonwealth is concerned, equal status with the self-governing Dominions? Constitutional expedients are no doubt infinite, and the ingenuity of

constitution-makers is not easily baffled. But we cannot refrain from asking, how will this equality of status be made compatible with India's position as a Dependency of Great Britain? How can she, in her character as such, cast her vote in the Parliament of the Commonwealth independently of Great Britain, as the Dominions will? If the idea is that, while she has a vote, it will always be cast with Great Britain's, it is only a device to secure the domination of Great Britain, and the boasted equality of India with the Dominions is nominal. Independence of Great Britain in the Commonwealth Parliament is a greater thing constitutionally, than independence of Great Britain in internal affairs. Are we to get the greater thing, while we are still to be denied the smaller? On the contrary, the self-governing status appears to us almost a *sine qua non* of India becoming an equal partner in the future Commonwealth. Perhaps, however, we are taking too much for granted in supposing that a commonwealth with a defined constitution will take shape as a direct result of the deliberations of the special Post-War Conference. Great complexities surround the problem, and informed opinion is by no means unanimous in the United Kingdom or the Colonies as to the feasibility or the desirability of a comprehensive Imperial constitution. Professor Dicey and Sir Wilfrid Laurier, to name only two, have not yet become converts to the new gospel of a Federated Empire. Indian opinion cannot count for much in this mighty issue. In the scheme adopted by the Congress and the Muslim League, it has only one clause to itself, although that clause is comprehensive enough:—"In any Council or other body which may be constituted or convened for the settlement or control of Imperial affairs, India shall be adequately represented in like manner with Dominions and with equal rights." The governing resolution of the National Congress is briefer still and embraces India's status, both internal and external. "That in the reconstitution of the Empire India shall be lifted from the position of Dependency to that of an equal partner in the Empire with the Self-Governing Dominions." In fact, Indian opinion is by no means enthusiastic for an Imperial Federation. For obvious reasons, it has concentrated on the acquisition of internal autonomy. The people of India believe that, so long as their representatives are nothing in internal affairs, they cannot be anything in external affairs, whatever the constitution may provide; and they believe further that, when

India becomes autonomous, she will know how to secure her proper rights in the larger Councils of the Empire. Powerful feelings arising from the contemplation of hopes long-deferred, pledges unfulfilled and rights denied, impel Indian politicians to work for Self-Government, and those who ignore this circumstance ignore the most vital element in the situation and can never hope to understand the problem of India's aspirations.

The logical mind of the Indian perceives an incongruity in the plan of his Anglo-Indian brother, who advocates a position of equality for India in the Federation of the Empire but resists the movement for internal freedom; but incongruities and logical flaws do not disturb those who have been brought up to believe in the perfection of the British constitution. To them it is enough that a constitution is workable and bids fair to become a tolerably efficient means of promoting the happiness of the community. So we find Mr. Lionel Curtis sketching the outline of a Federal Parliament with a nominee Upper House and a wholly elected Lower house, in both of which the people of India should be adequately represented, though he knows that they do not enjoy such a privilege in their own country and in fact commends the scheme to their acceptance expressly on the ground that it will provide Indians with a voice in the determination of the steps by which and the place at which they should advance towards full responsible government in internal affairs. This assumes that the Federation movement outside India will reach consummation far sooner than the Home Rule movement inside India, which is indeed bidden to wait on such chance as the former may have of success. Which of these two movements is the simpler and more urgent? Mr. Curtis moves with confidence among the considerations that make up the question of Imperial Federation. He does not understand, and is naturally diffident in dealing with the questions connected with Indian Home Rule. The position of the average Indian politician is exactly the reverse. He is familiar with the many aspects of the nationalist movement in this country, while he walks with unsure steps along the intricate paths that lead to the great Britannic Commonwealth. Each may be pardoned then if he has a different opinion from the other as to which of the two is to come first and which second—Imperial Federation or Indian Self-Government. Mr. Curtis, indeed, has now convinced himself that the Indian can and must have responsible government as soon as possible and is

willing to countenance her endeavours in that direction, so far as he considers them proper and legitimate. The average Indian politician is in a worse predicament. He is not satisfied that Imperial Federation must come and is not, therefore, prepared to grapple with the difficulties of that problem. Scanning the meagre message of Reuter, one reads a note of hesitation and doubt in the resolution of the Imperial War Conference on this particular subject.

If, however, an Imperial Parliament, such as Mr. Curtis adumbrates, is to be brought into being before India gets responsible Government, we should welcome the suggestion that India should be adequately represented in both Houses, and in the Lower House by men of her own free choice. Only this condition is indispensable—that the standard of representation must be the same for all alike, population or total contribution made to the Imperial treasury. Mr. Silburn, in his "Governance of Empire," suggests a unicameral Parliament for the Federated Empire, with 218 members. When he comes to distribute them, he assigns 67 members to the United Kingdom, 37 to India, 30 to Canada, 16 to South Africa, 12 to New Zealand, 11 to Australia and so on, thus recognising in the case of India that "to give this portion of the Empire a voice in its governance, commensurate with its importance, it is necessary to make that voice second only to that of the United Kingdom. His basis of representation, however, viz., the size of the legislative bodies in the different countries represented, is arbitrary and liable to fluctuation and even manipulation. Lord Sydenham and other critics do not scruple to discount the representative character of our representatives in the various Councils on account of the smallness of the electorates who choose them. The fact is that it suits the bureaucracy, in their rooted opposition to all democratic movements in the country, to keep the franchise both narrow and indirect. To-day the franchise may be widened enormously with perfect safety and justice, and instead of the non-official members of local bodies electing to the Provincial Legislative Councils and the non-official members of the Provincial Legislative Councils electing to the Imperial Legislative Council, it is perfectly feasible to create large and enlightened constituencies directly among the people.

Dr. Wilson's Memorable Speech

The following are extracts from President Wilson's memorable address to the extraordinary Session of the United States' Congress, held on 2nd April, in which the President asked the Congress to declare that a State of War exists between the United States and Germany:—

We are at the beginning of an age in which it will be insisted that the same standards of conduct and responsibility for wrong done shall be observed among nations and their Governments that are observed among individual citizens of civilised States. We have not quarrelled with the German people. We have no feeling towards them but one of sympathy and friendship. It was not upon their impulse that their Government acted in entering this war. It was not with their previous knowledge or approval.

It was a war determined upon as wars used to be determined upon in the old unhappy days, when peoples were nowhere consulted by their rulers and wars were provoked and waged in the interest of dynasties, or little groups of ambitious men, who were accustomed to use their fellowmen as pawns and tools. Self-Governed nations do not fill their neighbour States with spies or set in course an intrigue to bring about some critical posture of affairs which would give them an opportunity to strike and make a conquest. Such designs can be successfully worked only under cover where no one has a right to ask questions. Cunningly contrived plans of deception or impression, carried, it may be, from generation to generation can be worked out and kept from light only within the privacy of Courts, or behind the carefully guarded confidences of a narrow privileged class.

Does not every American feel that assurance has been added to our hope for the future peace of the world by the wonderful heartening things that have been happening within the last few weeks in Russia? Russia was known by those who knew it best to have been always, in fact, democratic at heart in all vital habits, in her thought and in all intimate relations of her people that spoke of their natural instinct and their habitual attitude towards life. The autocracy that crowned the summit of her political structure, long as it had stood and terrible as it was in the reality of its power, it was not, in fact, Russian in origin, character, or purpose and now it has been shaken and the great generous Russian people have been added in all their native majesty and might to the forces that are

fighting for freedom in the world for justice and for peace. Here is a fit partner for a league of honour.

We are accepting this challenge of hostile purpose because we know that in such a Government, following such methods, we can never have a friend, and that in the presence of its organised power, always lying in wait to accomplish, we know not what purpose, there can be no assured security for the democratic governments of the world. We are now about to accept the gage of battle with this natural foe to liberty, and we shall, if necessary, spend the whole force of the nation to check and nullify its pretensions and its power. We are glad now that we see facts with no veil of false pretence about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world, for the liberation of its peoples—the German peoples included—the rights of nations, great, small, and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and obedience. The world must be safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon trusted foundations of political liberty.

We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquests and no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves and no material compensation for sacrifice we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind, and shall be satisfied when those rights are as secure, as fact and the freedom of nations can make them. Just because we fight without rancour and without selfish objects, seeking nothing for ourselves but what we shall wish to share with all free peoples, we shall, I feel confident, conduct our operations as belligerents without passion, and ourselves observe with proud punctilio the principles of right and fair play we profess to be fighting for.

Civilisation itself seems to be in the balance but right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts, for democracy for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own Government, for the rights and liberties of small nations for the universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as will bring peace and safety to all nations, and make the world itself at last free. To such a stake we can dedicate our lives, our fortunes, everything we are, everything we have, with the pride of those who know the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and might for the principles that gave her birth, and the happiness and peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

Indians in Burma

The Burma Provincial Congress Committee, Rangoon, has submitted to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Burma a representation from which the following is an excerpt:—

The annoyances, hardships, and our committee regrets to add, the humiliations to which Indians of all classes are subjected on board the incoming steamers, have, for some years past, been a standing grievance, and a rankling memory of their stay in this province.

In the interests of peace and good Government of the province, our committee believes that the present methods of the Police, Customs and Port Health departments ought not to be allowed to continue without a public protest, and that, in raising this protest, our committee is voicing the long-felt grievances of the Indians resident in this province. Our committee hopes that the Government will be pleased to give their most earnest consideration to its representation.

At present, no one, who does not wear European clothes, is allowed to enter the wharves on the arrival or departure of steamers from or to India. . . . Our committee thinks that Indians, who are expecting their friends and relations from India and who desire to go on the wharves, or to see off those who are leaving this country, should be given passes to go on the wharves when requested to do so.

Our committee regrets to state, that the searches of passengers by the Police or the Customs are carried out with the least amount of tact, and that very little regard is shown towards the feelings of the persons searched. . . .

With regard to travelling in the interior of Burma, our committee is informed that it is a common practice in some stations in Burma to require Indian passengers to go to the nearest police station to register their names, to pay daily visits to the police station, and take permits to purchase railway tickets for their return journey. It is sad that even highly respected Indians should not be allowed to live and travel in a part of the Indian Empire, without feeling that they are looked upon by the Government as seditious and criminals. Our committee knows of cases of men being treated as suspects, and kept under surveillance, because of their sympathy with the Indian National Congress, the Muslim League, and the various constitutional movements of social, educational and other reforms in India.

Indians in South Africa

A Congress of the Cape British Indian Council was held in the City Hall, Capetown, on May 12, to ask the Government to consider sympathetically questions concerning the citizenship of Indians, their marriages and immigration. Mr. Merriman opened the Congress with a brilliant speech, in which he described how all classes in India were doing their duty in supporting the Empire. Britain's name in the world would, as time advanced, depend upon how she ruled India, but possibly the time was not yet ripe for great changes. He urged Indians in South Africa to ask for redress of their grievances in a moderate, constitutional way, and make the Union Government's burdens as light as possible.

Indian Emigration to Dominions

A blue-book of 160 pages of the proceedings of the Imperial War Conference is issued. The memorandum recommends the following basis of agreement:—First, as regards the Indians already permanently settled in the Dominions, that they should be allowed to bring in their wives (subject to the rule of monogamy) and minor children and in other respects should not be less privileged than the Japanese settled immigrants.

Secondly, that the future admission of Indians for labour or settlement should, if possible, be regulated on lines similar to, and not less favourable than, those governing the admission of any other Asiatic race.

Thirdly, that if this is impossible there might be reciprocal treatment, in India and each Dominion, of immigration for purposes of labour or permanent settlement. If a dominion is determined to exclude these two classes of immigration from India, India should be free to do the same as regards that Dominion. It would be clearly recognized that the exclusion in either case was not motivated by race prejudices but was the outcome of different economic conditions.

Fourthly, that along with such exclusion reciprocal arrangements would be made for granting full facilities for the admission of tourists, students and the like, and for business visits entailing temporary residence so long as this residence was not for labour purposes or for permanent settlement.

We are glad to learn from the report of a speech in the Commons, on May 23rd, by Mr. Chamberlain, that indentured emigration from India could not be revived.

FEUDATORY INDIA

Marriage Law Reform in Indore

The *Lahore Tribune* writes:—Those who deplore that the existing laws in India do not allow people of different castes to marry without declaring themselves to belong to no religion, will be glad to hear that His Highness the Maharaja of Indore has created the required legal facilities by enacting the Civil Marriage Act 1 of 1916 by which any Indian, only by residing in Indore State for 14 days before marriage, can marry any other Indian of a different caste or nationality without offence to his religious beliefs. The only conditions laid down are that (1) neither party must have a husband or wife living; (2) the man must have completed 18 years of age and the woman 14 years; (3) each party must have obtained the consent of parents or guardians if below 21 and 18 years of age respectively; (4) and the parties are not be related to each other in any degree of consanguinity or affinity which would render a marriage between them illegal. These are the only conditions which are necessary, and previous to the marriage those who object to it on any valid ground will be heard in a civil court. The Indore Civil Marriage Act will benefit more people outside the State than in it, and all social reformers in India will welcome the facilities created in his State by His Highness.

Punjab Chiefs on Post-War Reforms

A Memorandum on Post-War Reforms, submitted by the Punjab Chiefs' Association to the Lieutenant-Governor, has been recently published in the "C. & M. Gazette." The following are some among the more important suggestions of the Association:—

(1) Local Self-Government should be developed and improved by the appointment of non-officials as presidents of municipalities and district boards; (2) an Advisory Committee should be established in each division to advise the Commissioner; (3) the Provincial Council should be enlarged by increase in the number of members so as to give definite and adequate representation to important minorities; (4) besides the president, the number of Indians and Europeans in the Council should be equal; (5) the Provincial Legislative Council should be given the right of electing two members for the Imperial Legislative Council, instead of one as is the case at present; (6) the administration of civil and criminal justice should be entrusted gradually to honorary agency, provided that men who by ability and character

are competent to fill the offices are found. Competent men may be entrusted even with the powers of an Assistant Sessions Judge; (7) Submontane and hilly districts where there is no prospect of canal irrigation should be permanently settled. Districts which have been benefited by irrigation should be settled for a period of 40 years; (8) one or more educational institutions should be opened for the sons and orphans of military men, who are serving or have served Government.

Underlying even these reforms which seem to have been suggested in view of the special needs of the Punjab, there are general principles which seem to be applicable to the whole of India. The following are, however, some of the general suggestions directly meant for all India: (1) The commissions should be opened to Indians; and young men of good families should be given preference. Better arrangements must be made for their training; (2) the system and principle of internal defence introduced by the Defence of India Force Bill should be made permanent; (3) rules under the Arms Act should be so modified as to remove the present racial distinction; (4) India should be given a proper place in any scheme of imperial federation which may be formed after the war; (5) Indentured labour should be abolished; (6) Indian industries should be encouraged and saved as far as possible from the harmful effects of extraneous competition; (7) Special 'jagirs,' liberal land grants and pensions should be given to the survivors and heirs of men who have served in the present war.

New Minister of Kashmir

Raja Diljit Singh has been appointed Chief Minister of Kashmir in succession to the late Dewan Amar Nath, C.I.E. The appointment is believed to be for a period of five years as stipulated by the Raja himself and is to carry with it a salary of Rs. 5,000 per mensem.

Jind and Imperial Service

H. H. Maharaja of Jind has granted the issue of free rations to his Imperial Service regiment permanently, excepting when on leave. It is understood His Highness is the first among the Ruling Princes in India maintaining Imperial Service Troops to give this concession, which was notified on the 21st April 1917. An increase of pay to all officers, and the free supply and maintenance of charges to mounted officers is also granted permanently.

The Usmania University

The following is a translation of a portion of the Press Note issued the other day conveying His Highness the Nizam's sanction to the formation of a University for Hyderabad:—His Highness has been graciously pleased to pass the following, sanctioning the founding of a University. "That such a University be established as would impart modern and ancient, Western and Eastern knowledge in such manner that the defect in the present system of education will be removed and the full benefit be derived from ancient and modern methods of physical, intellectual and spiritual education, and with the spread of education the student's moral improvement be kept in view, and, on the other hand, higher research should be carried out. The main object of this University should be that Urdu should be the means of imparting higher education, but at the same time English should be one of the compulsory languages. Consequently, I have the greatest pleasure in sanctioning, in accordance with the proposal, in commemoration of my accession to the throne (*gadi*), that arrangements be made for establishing a University for my Dominions at Hyderabad and that the University be called Usmania University."

Restoration of Tank in Mysore

The Mysore State has accorded sanction to the award of a hundred engineering scholarships, of ten rupees a month, for two years for the training of educated young villagers as Maistries in connection with the carrying out of the Government's scheme for restoration of minor tanks throughout the State. Under the scheme about 1,135 tanks were to be restored, but the work could not be expedited owing mainly to the want of trained Maistries who could supervise it. The Mysore Government have now hit upon the happy idea of training educated young villagers in elementary engineering for this purpose. The Government, of course, will have a lien on their services for two years, during which period they expect to restore the tanks completely.

Maharaja of Darbhanga's War Gift

His Majesty the King Emperor has directed that the sum of two lakhs offered as already announced by the Maharaja of Darbhanga for any object connected with the war which might be approved by His Majesty should be devoted to the provision of aeroplanes. The aeroplanes will be inscribed with the donor's name.

Kashmir

At the moment when Kashmir is very much in the public mind, as perhaps the most desirable and picturesque—if the least accessible—of India's hill stations to which the war has driven those who would in other circumstances have gone Home, it is interesting to recall the quaint particulars of the treaty by which the British Government settled the rulership of Kashmir with the present Maharaja's predecessor. It seems that under the terms of the treaty executed in March, 1846, the Maharaja of Kashmir bound himself to send annual tribute to the British Government, which tribute was to include one horse, twelve perfect "shawl" goats of the "tus" breed (six males and six females) and six Kashmir shawls. The shawls were sent by the Government of India to Queen Victoria, and Her late Majesty distributed them as wedding presents until Kashmir shawls went out of fashion, but what we would like to know is, what becomes of the twelve live goats of the shawl producing breed that the Indian Government receives annually. In these days of the revival of Indian industries the goats might well be used in India, or they might be made available for introducing their valuable breed to other parts of British Dominions which boast a climate similar to that of Kashmir. It would be interesting to learn the fate of this portion of the Kashmir State's tribute. Is the Indian Government maintaining and running a clandestine herd of the creatures in some sequestered corner of the Himalayas handy to Simla? Are the animals—horrid thought—sold or auctioned? Or does the inner exalted circle, members of Council and such like at Simla hold surreptitious orgies on mutton grown in Kashmir?

H. H. The Maharaja of Bikanir

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir, addressing Indian students in England, said he was confident that they recognised their responsibilities, and were showing themselves worthy and devoted sons of India, loyal to the Empire and able to take their place in the vanguard of the country's advance towards a higher goal. He exhorted them to turn the healthy and inspiring associations of Edinburgh to the best account, not only in their own interests, but principally for the benefit of the Motherland and the Empire. This terrible war had brought all parts of the Empire closer together, and it was his personal belief that as England now understood India and her aspirations better than ever before, the future was full of hope for the Motherland.

INDUSTRIAL & COMMERCIAL SECTION

Indigo Labour in Behar

The Government of Behar have issued a resolution regarding the appointment of a committee to enquire into the relations between land-lord and tenant in the Champaran district, including all disputes arising out of the manufacture and cultivation of indigo. The committee, with the approval of the Government of India, consists of the following:—President: Mr. F. G. Sly, Commissioner, Central Provinces; Members: Mr. L. G. Adami, Legal Remembrancer, Behar and Orissa; the Hon. Raja Harihar Prasad Narayan Singh, a landlord; the Hon. Mr. D. J. Reicl (?) a member of the planting community; Mr. G. Rainy, Deputy Secretary, Finance Department, Government of India, who had been in the Champaran District formerly and M. K. Ghandi; Secretary: Mr. E. L. Tanner, Settlement Officer, South Behar. Mr. Tanner, it may be stated, was the sub-divisional officer of Bettiah, when indigo riots broke out in that sub-division in 1908.

The Committee's duty will also be to examine the evidence on these subjects already available, supplementing it by such further enquiry, local and otherwise, as they may consider desirable, and to report their conclusions to the Government, stating the measures they recommend in order to remove any abuse or grievances, which they may find to exist. The Lieutenant Governor in Council has left a free hand to the Committee as to the procedure they will adopt in arriving at the facts. The committee will assemble about the 15th July, and will, it is hoped, complete their labours within three months.

The resolution, appointing this Committee, says:—On various occasions during the past fifty years, the relations of landlords and tenants and the circumstances, attending the growing of indigo in the Champaran District, have been the cause of considerable anxiety. The conditions, under which indigo was cultivated when the industry was flourishing, required readjustment when it declined simultaneously with a general rise in the prices of food grains, and it was partly on this account and partly owing to other local causes that disturbances broke out in certain indigo concerns in 1908. Mr. Gourlay was deputed by the Government of Bengal to investigate the causes of the disturbances, and his report and recommendations were considered at a series of conferences presided over by Sir Edward Baker, and attended by the local officers of the Government and representatives of the Behar

Planters' Association. As a result of these discussions, revised conditions for the cultivation of indigo, calculated to remove the grievances of the raiyats, were accepted by the Behar Planters' Association. In 1912 fresh agitation arose connected not so much with the conditions under which indigo was grown as with the action of certain factories, which were reducing their indigo manufacture, and taking agreements from their tenants for the payment, in lieu of indigo cultivation, of a lump sum in temporarily leased villages or of an increase of rent in villages under permanent lease. Numerous petitions on this subject were presented from time to time to the local officers and to Government, and petitions were at the same time filed by raiyats of the villages in the north of the Bettiah sub-division, in which indigo had never been grown, complaining of the levy of *abab* or illegal additions to rent by their lease holders, both Indian and European. The issues raised by all these petitions related primarily to rent and tenancy conditions, and as the revision settlement of the district was about to be undertaken, in the course of which the relations existing between landlords and tenants would come under detailed examination, it was thought advisable to await the report of the Settlement Officers before passing final orders on the petitions. The revision settlement was started in the cold weather of 1913. On the 7th April 1915, a resolution was moved in the Local Legislative Council asking for the appointment of a mixed committee of officials and non-officials to enquire into the complaints of the raiyats and to suggest remedies. It was negatived by a large majority including 12 out of the 16 non-official members of Council present, on the ground that the appointment of such a committee at that stage was unnecessary, as the settlement officers were engaged in the collection of all the material required for the decision of the questions at issue, and an additional enquiry of the nature proposed would merely have the effect of further exaggerating the relations of landlord and tenant, which were already feeling the strain of the settlement operations. The settlement operations have now been completed in the northern portion of the district, and are approaching completion in the remainder, and a mass of evidence regarding agricultural conditions and the relations between landlords and tenants has been collected. A preliminary report on the complaints of the tenants in the leased villages in the north of the Bettiah sub-division, in which no indigo is grown, has

been received, and action has already been taken to prohibit the levy of illegal cesses, and, in the case of the Bettiah Raj, to review the terms of the leases on which the villages concerned are held. As regards the complaints of the raiyats in other parts of the district, the final report of the Settlement Officer has not yet been received, but recent events have again brought into prominence the whole question of the relations between landlords and tenants and in particular the taking of agreements from the raiyats for compensation or for enhanced rent in return for the abandonment of indigo cultivation. In these circumstances and in deference to representations which have been received from various quarters that the time has come when an enquiry by a joint body of officials and non-officials might materially assist the Local Government in coming to a decision on the problems, which have arisen, the Lieutenant-Governor in Council has decided, without waiting for the final report of the Settlement operations, to refer the question at issue to a Committee of enquiry on which all interests concerned will be represented.

The resolution then gives the names of the members of the Committee stated above and the duties assigned to it.

Indian Mining Federation

At the second annual general meeting of the Indian Mining Federation at Calcutta Mr. N. C. Sarkar, presiding, said:—The coal trade passed through an acute crisis during the last year, and the trade has now in a way been placed in the hands of the Coal Committee. By the operation of this Committee, the accepted principle of supply and demand regulating price no longer applies. When Bombay mills were glad to purchase at Rs. 9 a ton, we have been selling on their account at Rs. 3-8-0 to Rs. 4-0-0 a ton. There is some grudging and some murmur at the rise of the price of coal. I do not think it is unusual or at all high, if we compare the rise in the price of mining materials and the rise in wages. I think coal is not selling at an abnormally high price. The present market rate is giving a base of life to many collieries which were being crushed under pressure of an accumulated loss of years. So long as the War lasts, the Government requirements of coal must continue to be heavy, and when the War has ended all signs indicate a heavy foreign demand on our coal. But if we fail to meet the demand with adequate supply, the demand will go away from us.

Lord Curzon on the Cotton Duties

In its issue of the 30th March, the *Westminster Gazette* quoted a passage from the ex-Viceroy's speech made at Manchester in 1910, and another lately made in the House of Lords and showed how in the light of those remarks the decision on Indian cotton duties had lent itself to the accusation that Lord Curzon had turned a complete somersault. His Lordship demurs to this charge and explains how thoroughly consistent he has been. The following extracts from his letter deserve wide publicity:

So far from this charge being true I have held, and have frequently given expression to the same views ever since I entered Parliament over thirty years ago.

I have always regarded the attitude of Lancashire towards India in respect of the import duties on cotton, and still more of the countervailing excise, as an injustice and a wrong. When I was a Lancashire member, I declined to vote for Sir Henry James in the famous debate of December 1894. When in India as Viceroy I more than once expressed myself in the same sense. On my return to England I made a speech in the House of Lords on May 21, 1908, in which I said that "the fiscal policy of India during the last thirty or forty years has been shaped far more in Manchester than in Calcutta." In the speech at Manchester in 1910 to which you refer, I alluded to the same facts, viz., the subordination of Indian fiscal policy to the Secretary of State, and a House of Commons powerfully affected by Lancashire influence.

What India has now done, or been allowed to do, has been not, as you seem to think, to treat this country as she might Germany or the United States—very far from it, for how could they have insisted upon imposing or retaining an Excise duty in India?—but to obtain the consent of a Secretary of State and a British Cabinet to increase her import duties all round in time of war (in order to render assistance to the British Government), without being forced to accept a corresponding increase in the countervailing duty imposed and still retained upon cottons by Lancashire influence with that Government.

I am glad that a Secretary of State has been found with the courage and political wisdom to sanction this tardy act of generosity and justice, and I am glad to have been a member of the Cabinet which unanimously authorised him to do so.

Sir S. P. Sinha on Indian Industries

At a luncheon given by the Chairman of the East India Section of the London Chamber of Commerce, in London on April 26, Sir S. P. Sinha was called upon to speak on Indian industries and commerce. The following is a summary of his speech he delivered on the occasion:—

It had been too much the custom to fix attention in respect to Indian products on the industrial development of England. As the Secretary of State lately said, we must not look upon India as a country to be exploited for the benefit of other parts of the Empire, her raw materials must be so utilised in the creation and development of industries in India itself so as to benefit India most and he ventured to think that it would be also to the highest advantage of the Empire as a whole. As there must be decentralisation in politics and administration, so there must be industrial decentralisation. The development of India's strength in men, money and materials would be an asset to be placed as freely at the disposal of England and the Empire in the future as in the last three years. For this work to succeed there must be the utmost spirit of co-operation between European merchants in India and his own countrymen. He had preached this doctrine of co-operation in every sphere of life, as those of them who had known him in Calcutta could testify. In social matters and in political matters he had endeavoured to show that that way lay the salvation of his country. He knew many men amongst the European merchants, of generous impulses and of large sympathies for the people in the country, those who had lived there knew that the people of India responded readily to such impulses and instincts, and he was confident that in the future as in the past they would stretch their hands to assist in every way in that development. India's one great industry in the past had been agriculture; but no country could thrive upon agriculture alone. If she did so it would only be by having her produce exploited to supply other nations. One of the means of future development had been referred to by the Chairman, who pointed out that a great deal had been done by the Government of India in the last few years for the purpose of improving agriculture in India. But the progress was slow on the whole. Here again he thought that the European merchant in India, instead of confining his attention merely to the export of Indian raw material might turn his energies also to the production of those raw

materials with great benefit to the country. (*Cheers.*) In this and many other ways it was in the power of the gentlemen of the Indian section of the Chamber to help India more and more in the days to come. He was confident that they would not grudge any opportunity of co-operation that would assist in the development of India. They would know that as she grew stronger and marched, it might be slowly but steadily to the goal in view, she would be more and more fit to share the burdens and responsibilities of the Empire, and also to share in the glorious heritage of her liberty and freedom.

An Improved Carriage Wheel

A layer of india-rubber between the wheel and an iron tyre is said to reduce much of the noise due to iron tyres and increase the resiliency of the wheel. The rubber is protected from direct injury, the wear being taken by the tyre. Something analogous was done in Manchester, about 50 years ago, on a tram line with flat rails and ordinary wheels. There was a smaller fifth wheel that was lowered into a grooved mid-rail by a pedal to serve as a guide. But the wear on the eye of the mid-wheel was excessive until the inventor of the system introduced a rubber liner between the bush of the wheel and the boss, and this stopped the excessive wear and the heavy repairs.

Housing Problem in India

The difficulties of the poor and middle class people living in towns and cities in regard to the housing problem, observes the *Tribune*, are increasing every year. Unless they live in their own houses they have to pay rents which are raised more or less arbitrarily. The situation naturally leads to overcrowding, deficient food supply and diseases. Municipal authorities have done very little in solving the question in large and thriving cities. Capitalists have not helped much and there are very few philanthropists who interest themselves in it. The passing of a town-planning Act will probably be advantageous in this way, if both Government and local bodies interest themselves in the problem of housing. There is really no reason why city and town dwellers in India should not succeed in developing a scheme on the lines of the western countries. It requires enterprise and business qualities; and provided Government is able to supply cheap capital and municipality gives certain reasonable concessions, every city or town should have several (co-operative building) societies of this kind.

Methods of Japanese Industry

In his reply to the address presented the other day by the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, Lord Ronaldshay, held up to the industrialists of Bengal the methods of the Japanese. His Excellency said: "Let me illustrate what I mean by a reference once more to Japan. The Japanese Government have done a good deal to assist the cotton industry, and that industry has undoubtedly flourished. I have visited many Japanese cotton mills and I remember talking to the manager of a successful factory. He struck me as possessing a most comprehensive knowledge of his business, and I asked him where he had learned his trade. He told me that he had spent a long period working as a mill-hand in a factory in Lancashire. He was, incidentally, a graduate of the University of Tokio. I would venture to commend his example to those among your young men who aspire to industrial success."

An Indian Lecturer in England

Mr. B. N. Dey, B. Sc., C. E., (of the *Collegian*, Calcutta, and Talbot Mansions, London,) a distinguished graduate of Glasgow University, has been appointed a lecturer on Engineering subjects at the Technical College, West Hartlepool.

Mr. B. N. Dey graduated as B. Sc. (honours degree) in Engineering at Glasgow (April 1915) and obtained a Certificate of Proficiency in Engineering. He also got merit certificates in advanced classes at Royal Technical College, Glasgow. He was selected as Assistant Engineer (Indian P. W. D.) by the Secretary of State for India in July 1916, but had to give it up owing to ill-health.

Velvet Manufacture

Velvet, we are told by a contemporary, was first manufactured by a man named Velutti, whose invention brought prosperity to his family as early as the thirteenth century. The handsome silk brocades for which Florence was so famous were the reward of enterprise and also the outcome of free exchange of silk in the market. Florence was the great centre of the trade route between the East and the West. The rich fabrics of the East passed through her markets, and were exhibited for sale. Among them were marvellous silks and brocades from India and China. The natives who brought them were encouraged to settle in Florence, and from the Florentine silk workers learned various methods and received new ideas by means of which their silks were brought to a high degree of perfection.

Sir D. E. Wacha on India's Export

Writing to the local press the Hon. Sir D. E. Wacha contradicts the criticism levelled by Sir Shapurji Broacha against the policy of the Finance Minister in restricting the sale of Council Bills and thereby ruining the export trade as alleged. Mr. Wacha quotes the seaborne trade returns up to March last and shows that in the first three months of this year, export trade rose in value equivalent to over 56 per cent. in two years. Mr. Wacha says: "In his personal warmth to denounce the financial policy of the Government of India Sir Shapurji gave the go-by awhile to the actual facts of the trade till then revealed. 'Ruin' was a mere rhetorical expression, for a study of the export trade statistics for the period would have informed Sir Shapurji that the statement was not borne out by facts and was liable to mislead the public."

Oil Seeds in India

There are very many oil-yielding seeds in India besides the palm nuts and inasmuch as from all accounts, the demands for vegetable oils are on the increase, oil extracting promises to be a good industry with a future before it, says the *Justice*. A very large export business is now done in oil seeds, but it would be much more economical to export this in the shape of oil than in the bulky raw material. Many kinds of oil seeds are allowed to run to waste in India for instance, cotton seed which yields a very excellent and nutritive edible oil has not yet attracted the attention it deserves. Excepting the Navsari cotton oil factory, there is no other factory extracting oil from this seed although there is scope for several. What is important to ensure success is the selection of proper and up-to-date machinery so that the results obtained may answer to the requirements of foreign manufacturing interests.

Trade Returns

Although the sea-borne trade returns of British India for last month show that the imports of last month were less in value to the extent of 75½ lakhs of rupees, or nearly 7 per cent., as compared with the figures for April 1916, says the *Empire*, the total exports, including re-exports, were no less than 37 2/3 lakhs, or 2 per cent., to the good. The decrease in imports was mainly caused by the reduced shipments from the United Kingdom and the United States of drugs and medicines, railway materials, iron and steel, yarn and textile fabrics.

AGRICULTURAL SECTION

To Increase Agricultural Produce

After the war, observes the *Tribune*, the world will require a larger quantity of agricultural produce to be grown. There must be a larger output in manufactured goods and all other items of wealth to replace that destroyed by the war. Prices will go up and competition will be severe. India is largely an agricultural country and her agricultural output should be increased. Already the effect of high prices of food has proved harmful to the great bulk of the poor. Extended agricultural education among the people, larger use of machinery and scientific methods of cultivation are generally suggested. But nothing is said about land tenures and the necessity to reform land laws so as to do away with the periodical raising of rents, general education of the masses, establishment of land banks and removal of such laws as Alienation of Land Act. . . . In our opinion no reform will be of greater use unless the land laws and the system of land assessment are altered to give greater incentive to cultivators to grow more food and other grains. The free supply of capital and brains is an equally important condition of success.

Schoolboy Farmers

The huge scheme for employing hundreds of thousands of schoolboys in the cultivation of the soil in the United States is a timely adoption of a method employed with much success in England last year. The Americans are evidently greatly improving in the English example, but in England also they are going on better in the same direction this year. Mr. Neville Chamberlain, Director-General of National Service, issued an appeal the other day to British schoolboys, particularly in the public and large secondary schools, to volunteer for National Service under the agricultural section of the Department. The appeal said that the age of boys permitted to volunteer should not be below sixteen, except in the cases where the school authorities consider boys of fifteen sufficiently strong to undertake the necessary work. The boys will be organised in squads of varying sizes, each in charge of a master or other responsible person. It is proposed that during term time the period of continuous whole time service should not exceed two weeks.—*The New Times*.

Motor Vehicles for Agriculture

Monocast writes in the *Commerce*:—A desire has been expressed by several Bihar agriculturists, says the Bankipore correspondent of *Indian Industries and Power*, that they should welcome handy ploughs driven by petrol motors; of course, the initial cost should be small and the manipulation also should be fairly simple. This desire is getting stronger and stronger in spite of the rise in the prices of petrol, because people have at last come to realise that animal power is more expensive than mechanical power, while at the same time the latter is the more reliable of the two. "I understand that a number of American manufacturers have sent travellers to India to study the needs and requirements of this vast country, and it is expected that soon the Indian market will be flooded by American motor ploughs. I have no prejudice against the American motor manufacturers—indeed, the American imports have, to a large extent, been responsible for the popularity of motor cars here—but I think the British manufacturer should not be idle and let the time and opportunity go by default. As soon as the stress of the war is over, let them concentrate their energies on the production of cheap and efficient motors. The recent arrival of the motor sector in the motoring world from America is an indication that small petrol engines of dependable construction are capable of development. In America they are being largely used by ladies, and they are fast and successfully competing with cycles. There it is a matter of luxury, while if such small motors can be fitted to Indian ploughs, it will fill a real want, and nowhere in India is this want keener than in Bihar and Orissa."

Seaweed as a Potassic Manure

According to the journal of the *Board of Agriculture* the most promising of all the present available sources of potash is seaweed, of which there are abundant quantities around the coast of the British Isles. One ton of the fresh seaweed, it is stated, contains as much as 1½ cwt. of kainit. One of the most urgent needs of the present time in Great Britain is to develop this source of potash. Needless to say, the collection and transport of this material involve a good deal of labour at a time when it is more than difficult to secure. In the West Indian islands, however, it should be easily possible to make greater use of seaweed as a manure.

Cotton Growing in India

With the increase in prices, observe, the *Indian Textile Journal*, the area has risen from 16 million acres in 1904 to 25 million acres in 1913. In 1914, the prices ruled very low, and the effect was that the area in 1915 decreased by about seven million acres. In 1915 the demand improved a little and the prices rose again with the result that the area in 1916-17 shows, so far as figures are available, an increase of 5 million acres. It will thus be seen that the area under this crop is largely governed by the prevailing prices and the profits obtainable, and with perhaps the single exception of jute, this crop is more affected by the market rates than any other. For, while of almost any other crop it can safely be said that a good crop means a good return, of cotton it may, on the other hand, mean that the whole crop may be left in the grower's hands, owing to influences totally beyond his understanding or control; and this feature makes the increasing areas placed under cotton each year a source of some anxiety to an agricultural population who depend entirely on their land for their food.

Hot Weather vs. Monsoon Cultivation

The Bihar and Orissa Agricultural Department, says the *Wealth of India*, undertook last year an experiment to find out what effect, if any, hot weather cultivation has on the out-turn of transplanted rice, as compared with fields which are never opened up until the first rains have set in. One good effect of hot weather cultivation on the plots was that the grasses and weeds were practically killed out by exposure to the severe sun of April and May, and consequently there was less expense in weeding the paddy crop on these plots. Of course the expense of cultivating the plots ploughed during April and May was a little more but the extra yield obtained from these plots more than made up for extra cost incurred. The table below gives the averages of two 1/5th acre plots in each case:—

	Out-turn in pounds, per acre.	
	Grain.	Straw.
Monsoon Cultivation (ploughing in June) ..	1,107	1,537
Hot Weather Cultivation (ploughing in April) ..	1,353	1,706

The Future Prospects of Indigo

Indigo planters are at present enjoying a period of artificial prosperity, says the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika*. The closure of the main source of synthetic dyes has made consumers dependent on the natural product. Prices have soared to quite abnormal heights, cultivation has been extended, old factories have been re-opened, and in some cases the losses of the years of depression have been more than made good since the outbreak of war. But the industry still lacks the element of permanency. There is no certainty that it will be able to sustain the competition of artificial dyes dumped on the markets at low prices. That the present prosperity will not collapse with the conclusion of peace may be assumed. The demand will for some time exceed the supply and rates are unlikely to reach the pre-war level for several years at least. But they will gradually decline towards that level and unless producers utilise to the full their existing opportunities they will be confronted within a relatively short period with the same difficulties as previously menaced the industry. Fortunately their resources are greater than they were and they are now supplemented by access to scientific facilities not previously available. The study of indigo production is being pursued in all its aspects. Valuable work has been already done in seed selection and the prevention of disease, experiments in manuring and improved methods of culture have given promising results. Experts are engaged on the equally important problems of extraction and preparation for the market; and their labours are already bearing fruit. During the past two years several discoveries have been made which may well have an important influence on the future of the industry.

An account of one of these is contained in a bulletin recently issued by the Pusa Research Institute and relates to the part played by bacterial action in the manufacture of indigo. Mr. Hutchison, the Imperial Bacteriologist, in conjunction with Mr. Davies, the newly appointed indigo chemist, carried out a series of investigations into the work done by bacteria in the transformation of the crude form of indigo into the dye of commerce, and he has now published his results in a pamphlet characterised by lucidity and freedom from technicalities.

Literary.

"NEW INDIA" AND THE "COMMONWEAL."

Owing to the internment orders on Mrs. Besant and her two lieutenants, *New India* ceased publication for three days from the 17th June. On the 20th Mrs. Besant appeared before the Presidency Magistrate, Madras, and stated that she had disposed of the paper *New India* and the press to Mr. P. K. Telang of the *Young India* of Bombay, who deposited Rs. 2,000 under the provisions of the Press Act. Since the 21st, *New India*, therefore, reappeared under the Editorship of Mr. P. K. Telang who has also declared himself printer and publisher. Mr. Telang says in the first issue under his direction, that he will continue the policy pursued by Mrs. Besant so far as in him lies. Mr. Ranga Reddy has taken charge of the *Commonweal*, Mrs. Besant's weekly journal, after depositing the usual security of 2,000.

THE HINDU MISSIONARY.

The following announcement regarding a new Weekly to be started shortly has been made:—

From July next we propose to issue a new Anglo-Marathi Weekly with the title "The Hindu Missionary." It will be published every Monday evening, the annual subscription being Rs. 2 including postage and other charges. It will be a mouthpiece of Missionary Hinduism and will record events pertaining to all liberal movements for the uplift of men and women. Advocating a direct liberal movement in Hinduism, it will discuss the ways and means for the reconstruction of the Hindu Society. Those who wish to become subscribers should send their names and address to Messrs. Vaidya Brothers, Thakurdwar Road, Bombay.

THE TIRUVALLUVAR MEMORIAL.

A private meeting of a few gentlemen interested in Tamil literature was held recently in Madras. It was resolved at the meeting that steps should be taken for the publication and issue of a memorial variorum edition of Tiruvalluvar's "Tirukural," for an annual Tiruvalluvar celebration, for the institution of a "Tiruvalluvar Lectureship," for raising a memorial building and library. It was also resolved to form an Association under the name and style of "Tiruvalluvar Memorial Society" and that the same should be registered under the "Charitable Literary and Scientific Societies Act."

EDUCATIONAL SUPPLEMENT TO NEWSPAPERS.

We acknowledge with thanks a copy of the official report of the Conference of the Directors of Public Instruction. The report says that one of the subjects discussed and approved of at the last Conference is the value and advantage of "An Educational Supplement to an Indian Newspaper." The scope and object of the scheme can be gathered from paragraph 39 which we quote below:—

At first there seemed to be a desire on the part of directors for an authoritative educational journal to be published by some central authority. Mr. Mayhew stated that he was particularly anxious to have not only articles of general educational interest but also news of what was going on in other provinces and in other countries. It was not easy, however, to find a central authority ready to undertake so big a responsibility, and it was also explained that there might be difficulties in obtaining a Government subvention for this purpose. It was agreed, therefore, that the best course would be to allow the existing journals and magazines to continue as at present and also to support indirectly the publication of an educational supplement which had been proposed by a well-known Indian newspaper. Many of the directors thought that such a publication, in addition to its educational value, might be useful as an advertising agency. Educational officers would be permitted to contribute to the supplement provided that they kept within the terms of the Civil Service Regulations. It was urged that the newspaper in question was not read at all widely in certain parts of India, but Sir Edward Maclagan replied that the proposed supplement would be separate from the ordinary editions of the paper.

CONGRESS GREEN BOOK.

The British Committee of the Indian National Congress has reproduced in pamphlet form Sir William Wedderburn's excellent article on Post-War Reforms, published in the *Contemporary Review* for April. It will be remembered that a summary of Sir William's contribution appeared in our columns in the May issue. The article was, as the reader is aware, written mainly for the benefit of the British electors and appears in the form of a catechism. In view of the misunderstanding which still prevails among a good many high officers of Government as regards the scope of the reforms urged by the Congress, it is suggested to the All-India Congress Committee to circulate Sir William's article amongst all European officials in this country.

Educational.

A UNIVERSITY CORPS.

The *Bombay Chronicle* writes:—

A deputation waited on his Excellency the Governor as Chancellor of the University of Bombay recently at the Secretariat, to request him to move the Government of India to sanction the formation of a Bombay University Company under the Defence of India Force Act and to grant certain concessions relating thereto. The deputation was headed by Mr. Chimanlal H. Setalvad, the Vice-Chancellor of the University, and consisted of the Hon. Mr. R. P. Paranjpye, representing the principals of the Poona Colleges, the Rev. Father Goodier, representing the principals of the Bombay Colleges, Mr. S. H. Kirtikar (St. Xavier's College), the Secretary of the Representative Committee, and Messrs. H.D. Karaka (College of Commerce) and Krishna Natarajan (Grant Medical College), both members of the representative committee. The proceedings were private, but we understand that his Excellency received the deputation very sympathetically.

INDIAN WOMEN'S UNIVERSITY.

The second annual meeting of the Senate of the Indian Women's University commenced on the 8th June and closed on the 10th. The Chancellor, Dr. Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar, presided. Prof. Divekar, the Registrar, read the report which was adopted on the motion of Mr. Apte. Prof. Karve then submitted statements of accounts up to the end of last year which showed that the University possessed Rs. 31,000 as its permanent fund. Prof. Limaye's motion that the constitution of the University as amended by the Syndicate be passed, having been passed, rules and regulations framed by the Syndicate were placed before the meeting and adopted. Dr. Bhandarkar and the Hon. Mr. Paranjpye were re-appointed Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor respectively for the next year.

A COLLEGE AT HYDERABAD.

The movement for the establishment of a Second Grade College at Hyderabad (Sind) has been revived through the interest taken in it by Prof. H. L. Chablani, M. A., of Jodhpur College, and several meetings of leading citizens have been held from time to time and a provisional committee has been appointed, with

Prof. H. L. Chablani as Secretary. Matharam Dharmadas' Trust has given Rs. 12,000 and the Hon'ble Mr. R. B. Dewan Teckchand Uddavdas and the Hon'ble Mr. Bhurgri have given Rs. 2,000 each. The members of the provisional committee have altogether given Rs. 10,000 and are issuing an appeal for funds from the residents of Sind. They have also received offers for building Library and Laboratory Funds. The College is to be run on lines similar to the Fergusson College, Poona. Mr. R. B. Bulchand Dayaram is to be the Honorary Principal. It is expected that the College will be opened next June.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY COMMISSION.

The following gentlemen from England have been appointed Members of the Calcutta University Commission, viz., Dr. Michael Sadler, M. A., D. Litt. (Manchester and Sheffield), LL. D. (Columbia), C. B. and Vice-Chancellor, Leeds University; P. G. Hartog Esq. M. A., B. Sc., L. E. Sc., (Paris), Registrar of the Academic Council London; Ramsay Muir Esq., M. A., (Oxon) Professor, Modern History, Manchester University. The names of the other members will be announced later. The Government of India in the Education Department are to be congratulated on having obtained the services of the three eminent educationists for the Commission.

Dr. Sadler, who is to be the Chairman of the Commission, was for some time Director of Special Enquiries and Reports in the Education Department, London. Since his retirement from that post in 1903, he has sat on many commissions of enquiry in educational matters, and is now Vice-Chancellor, Leeds University.

REVOLUTION IN EDUCATION.

The new educational proposals for England and Wales, which will add £7,500,000 to the estimate bringing up the total cost to £32 millions include higher pay for teachers, the fusion of all social classes in secondary schools, full provision for poorer children in every direction, replacement of the baneful examination system, more post-graduate courses and university scholarships, improved commercial and scientific as well as general training, the raising of the age for compulsory school attendance to fourteen in all cases, and the provision of more facilities for education after that age, nursery schools for children under five, the development of a taste for country life in country schools, national physical training and national training in the art of amusement.

Legal.

JUSTICE SHURFUDDIN AND SIR ALI IMAM.

Mr. Justice Shurfuddin has been appointed a member of the Executive Council of Bihar and Orissa in succession to the Maharaja Bahadur of Darbhanga, and Sir Syed Ali Imam has been appointed a judge of the Patna High Court, vice Mr. Justice Shurfuddin. "It was thought lately that the Executive Councillorship was slipping through the fingers of Mr. Justice Shurfuddin, but the good old man has not been disappointed, and we congratulate him and wish him all prosperity in his new sphere." May we hope, observes the *Leader* of Allahabad, that he will remember that in the good old days he was a member of the Indian National Congress? "It would have been much more satisfactory from a public point of view if Mr. Justice Shurfuddin's more talented and distinguished nephew had been appointed a member of the Council. We suppose it is for merely personal reasons that Sir Syed has accepted the judgeship."

JAIL ADMINISTRATION IN BENGAL.

A resolution on the administration of the Bengal Jails during the last year, recently published, shows that in the early part of 1916 the average daily population was 15,546 as compared with 14,475 in 1915. After August, 1916, the figures began to fall off, and the total number of admissions during the year was 80,828, that is, 973 less than in the previous year. Statistics regarding sickness and mortality are slightly less favourable than those of the previous year, the death-rate being 22.4 as compared with the quinquennial average of 21. The scheme for converting the Berhampore Jail into a special tuberculosis jail still awaits the provision of a new central lunatic asylum for the presidency. But, meanwhile, the Inspector-General has arranged to construct a temporary building for the treatment of tuberculosis prisoners from Western Bengal and proposes to make similar arrangements in one of the Eastern Bengal Jails. The outturn of jail manufactures was very satisfactory. A large quantity of cloths and bags was supplied to meet military requirements. The Midnapur Central Jail furnished the Army Department with 79,000 bandages and Dacca 17,242 blankets.

CONFESSIONS AND THE POLICE.

Sir Harvey Adamson, K.C.S.I., in the course of an article in the *Indiaman* complains that the people do not co-operate with the Police in bringing the offender to justice owing to the absence of a sense of public duty and a rooted distrust of the honesty of the Police, etc. Sir Harvey thinks that the frequency of confessions and subsequent retractions are more or less due to causes ingrained in the nature of Oriental peoples. He says: "It would, indeed, be a misfortune to the administration of criminal justice if for any reason whatever the admission of an accused party against himself, which under proper precautions is the most convincing evidence against him, should be excluded from proof." He suggests an amendment of the criminal law in India on the following lines:—

"The law should be amended so as to provide that when an accused person volunteers to confess, he should be treated as an ordinary witness. He should be interrogated by a magistrate, who should have the assistance of a superior officer of police who is acquainted with the facts of the crime, and with all the clues that are in the possession of the police. The inquisition should be of the strictest nature. The accused should be cross-examined in the light of ascertained facts about the crime and of his own statement. An innocent man who had been coerced into confession could not sustain this ordeal without his innocence being *prima facie* established. A guilty man would rarely pass through it without his guilt being so established that a subsequent retraction would be of no avail."

MRS. BESANT AND MR. ARUNDAL.

We are glad to learn that the Privy Council has granted Mrs. Besant permission to appeal against the orders of the Madras Magistrate and the Governor-in-Council. We also understand that the two Indian Barristers, Mr. Joseph Baptista of Bombay and Mr. E. L. Iyer of Madras will shortly proceed to England to take out a writ of *Habeas Corpus* on behalf of Mr. Arundale.

NEW CHIEF JUDGE FOR BURMA.

The Governor-General in Council has approved of the appointment of the Hon. Justice Sir D. H. R. Towney, Kt., I. C. S., Barrister-at-law, Judge, Chief Court, Lower Burma, at present on leave, to be Chief Judge of that Court in the vacancy caused by the retirement of the Hon. Sir Charles Fox, Kt., Barrister-at-Law.

Personal.

MRS. BESANT'S HUSBAND.

The Rev. Frank Besant, whose death was announced on April 25th, was the husband of Mrs. Annie Besant.

He remained for 45 years vicar of the quiet agricultural village of Sibsey in Lincolnshire, while his wife pursued her career in great cities, across wide seas, fighting in law courts, addressing huge audiences, leading strikes, the one life all storm and stress, like the sea: the other as calm and placid as a lake.

Mrs. Besant married the Rev. Frank Besant in 1867, when they were both young.

The Rev. Frank Besant was not a sympathetic counsellor for a heretic wife, and it was obvious that such a position could not last. In 1873 a judicial separation was arranged, by the terms of which Mrs. Besant was to have the custody of her daughter Mabel and a small allowance from her husband.

She came to London to take up literary work and, thanks to the help of the late Mr. Thomas Scott was just able to maintain herself and her daughter.

She subsequently met Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, and took a prominent part in his propaganda.

This led the Rev. Frank Besant to take proceedings in 1878 for the custody of his daughter on the ground that her mother's heretical opinions would be "detrimental to the future prospects of the child in society, to say nothing of her eternal prospects."

Mrs. Besant appeared in person, and argued her case with great ability, but the Master of the Rolls (the late Sir George Jessell,) who behaved with singular brutality, deprived her of the custody of the child, which had been solemnly given to her by the deed of separation.

When Miss Mabel Besant was 21 she at once returned to her mother, who had by that time become a Socialist and then a Theosophist.—*The Star*.

A PUNJABI IN THE BRITISH FLYING CORPS.

A correspondent of the *Punjabee* says that the first Indian to get a commission in the British Flying Corps is Mr. H. S. Malik. He graduated with honours from Balliol College, Oxford University, in 1913, and after this he served honorary for about 9 months in charge of a Motor Ambulance in France. He has just been given a Commission in the Royal Flying Corps in England and made a 2nd Lieutenant.

THE PETITS.

S. B. M., in a letter to the *Bombay Chronicle*, shows how in the early days of Indian political life, Mr. Dinshaw Manekji Petit was one who worked shoulder to shoulder with Dadabhai Naoroji and his band. He says:

It does no small credit to Sir Dinshaw Petit that a mere business man and pioneer of Mill Industry, without any pretensions to modern education, he should have worked shoulder to shoulder with Mr. Naoroji Furdooji and Mr. V. N. Mandlik in the past and with Mr. K. T. Telang, Mr. Badruddin Tyabji and Sir P. M. Mehta and the Hon. Sir Wacha in the present. That Sir Dinshaw was not what we call a mere figurehead in the sphere of political activity, can be easily testified to, by the Minute Books of the Managing Committee of those bodies and by the published reports of the labours of these Associations. Moreover, his princely donations and endowments were given with equal liberality and magnanimity to the promotion and advancement of the political activities of these bodies. One thing on which Sir Dinshaw was very keen (a significant testimony to his political sagacity and intuition) was Sir Dinshaw's conviction that all political work, however ably piloted here, would not succeed in its aim and object unless and until the British Press, Parliament and public men in England were kept in touch with the sound and weighty articles on Indian questions appearing in our Indian papers, by a responsible organ published here or in England and distributed broadcast in England to neutralise the doubtful (if not positively mischievous) activity of Anglo-Indian newspapers in India, and of many partisan and one-sided effusions in English papers and periodicals by retired Anglo-Indians.

WIVES OF INTERNED INDIANS.

The mother and other female relations of Babu Jyotis Chander Ghose, M.A., interned in Bengal have made a pathetic appeal to the Government stating that they are left in an actual state of starvation on account of the bread winner of their family being interned and that no news of the health and condition is received by them. In England, observes the *Tribune*, even the wives of interned aliens are given the usual allowance. We hope, says our contemporary, that the complaint will receive the attention of the Government of Bengal and that orders will be issued that in no case the unprotected women and children of the families of interned Indians will be allowed to starve.

Political.

THREE INTERNSMENTS IN MADRAS.

In exercise of the powers conferred on him by Rule 3, of the Defence of India (Consolidation) Rules, 1915, His Excellency the Governor of Madras in Council directed on June 16 the service of orders on Mrs. Annie Besant, Mr. G. S. Arundale and Mr. B. P. Wadia, prohibiting them from attending or taking any part in any meeting from delivering any lecture, from making any speech and from publishing or procuring the publication of any writing or speech composed by them, placing their correspondence under censorship, and directing further that, after the expiry of a brief prescribed period, they shall cease to reside in the City of Madras or the district of Chingleput and shall take up their residence and remain within any one of the following six areas:

- (1) The Nilgiri district.
- (2) The Coimbatore district.
- (3) The Bellary district.
- (4) The Palani Hills.
- (5) The Shevaroy Hills.
- (6) The Municipal town of Vizagapatam.

Mrs. Besant started for Ootacamund on the 21st night.

THE CREED OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

What is the creed on which the British Empire should be reared? According to Sir Robert Borden it is, 'Perfect autonomy, self-government, and the responsibility of ministers to their own electorate.' In the opinion of General Smuts, 'What we want is the maximum of freedom and liberty, the maximum of self-development for the young nations of the Empire.' The *Daily News* asks on this: 'What of India, now "making a contribution to the war which should never be forgotten?" Is India to be excluded from the general application of that policy, and on what grounds?'

A NON-OFFICIAL MEMORANDUM.

Twenty-one non-official members of the United Provinces Legislative Council have submitted to the local Government an elaborate representation on the report of the Public Services Commission in response to a courteous invitation from Government. The representation is a very lengthy one covering 43 pages of print including appendices, and it treats of the Commissioners' general recommendations, the Indian and Provincial Civil Services, and the Education, Medical and Police departments.

MR. KERR ON INDIAN SELF-GOVERNMENT.

Mr. Phillips Kerr, the editor of the *Round Table* who is also a Private Secretary to the present Prime Minister, delivered a lecture at the University of London on "The Empire and the Future" in the course of which he said:—"The peoples of the dependencies, and specially of India, will certainly ask for some formal definition of their status within the Commonwealth, and for some further advance towards self-government. Indeed, they have already done so. And they will urge in support that they have taken their share in defending the integrity of our common state, and have shown that they appreciate and understand the principles which give it life. This is true. Things can never be after the war what they were before. . . . Whatever steps are taken must be in the direction of helping the peoples of the dependencies to govern themselves as rapidly as possible."

VILLAGE GOVERNMENT IN ASSAM.

It is a curious irony, observes the *Bombay Chronicle*, that, as far as, at least, the development of local self-government is concerned, the most backward provinces in other respects are those which show the most progress. This is apparent from the interesting account which Sir Archdale Earle, the Chief Commissioner of Assam, gave at a recent meeting of the local Legislative Council, of the village organisations in that province. There are at present 62 village authorities established under the Local Self-Government Act. Though Sir Archdale did not say whether the members of these are elected or nominated, the people according to him, have shown that they are capable of governing their own villages. Thus numerous village paths have been constructed and roads, and in some cases, tanks, have been built at the expense of the villagers. The villagers have been entrusted with the maintenance of primary schools and village grazing grounds. Experiments made to test the executive capacity of villagers by distributing small grants supplemented by the free labour of the villagers or their contributions have, Sir Archdale added, proved successful. Sir Archdale promised further development of these bodies and stated that a scheme to give them powers to deal with petty Criminal and Civil cases is under consideration and that, in fact, a Bill on the subject has already been drafted. Whilst this is the achievement and promise in Assam the Government of "progressive" Bombay are still considering the possibility or advisability of starting village organisations in the Presidency!

General.

INDIAN ARMY RECRUITMENT.

In connection with the recruiting of Indian Army the Commander-in-Chief announces that with the approval of the Secretary of State the Government of India have sanctioned (1) the grant of a *bonus* of Rs. 50 to each recruit enlisted in the combatant branches of the Indian Army on and after June 4th, 1917. The *bonus* will be paid as follows—Rs. 10 on enrolment and Rs. 40 after the recruit has been passed by the Medical Officer of the unit in which he is enlisted. (2) Grant of appointment in infantry battalions as Jamadars, Havildars and Naicks to Civilians, of promotion to these ranks in case of serving soldiers who bring in recruits subject to the following conditions:—

(1) For Jamadar, 102 passed recruits must be brought in; for Havildar 50 passed recruits must be brought in, for Naick 30 passed recruits must be brought in.

(2) The above numbers must be completed by army head quarters of the individual recommended (vide clause below).

(3) Candidates must in case of Civilians be certified by Civil Heads of their districts and in the case of serving men by their Commanding Officers, as suitable in every way for the rank for which they wish to qualify, and must be passed fit for service by a medical officer.

(4) Civilians must be between the ages of 18 and 30 and serving men cannot be appointed as jamadars of over 40 years of age.

(5) Serving men if selected must be willing to transfer to any infantry unit as may be required and suitable men should be encouraged to avail themselves of the opportunity, thus afforded, of earning promotion.

(6) As there is only a limited number of vacancies for these appointments the names of civilians recommended must be submitted by the Divisional Recruiting Officers, those of serving men by their Commanding Officers direct to the Adjutant General in India who will select the men to be permitted to qualify for the above appointments and promotions, and determine the units to which they and the recruits they bring shall be allotted.

(7) In submitting the names, the following information regarding each candidate must be given:—Name, father's name, caste and tribe, residence, particulars as to family and antecedents and class of recruit he is prepared to bring in.

THE IMPERIAL INDIAN CITIZENSHIP ASSOCIATION.

The objects of the Association are as follows:—

1. To protect, safe-guard and maintain the interests, rights and privileges of Indians in every part of the world outside India, as subjects of the British Crown;

2. To secure by constitutional endeavours, equality of treatment with all other British subjects alike as to terms of admission, residence and occupation for all Indian emigrants to every part of the world and to secure for such settlers equal status with all the other settlers in the respective part of the world;

3. To establish and maintain branch Associations;

4. To prepare, adopt and put into effect a course of active propagandism in order to educate public opinion of the objects of the Association;

5. And generally to work for the attainment by every possible constitutional means of all cognate objects not specifically included in the previous clauses.

In pursuance of the above objects, the Association may adopt measures.

1. To ascertain the condition of Indian settlers outside India and to work for the removal of their disabilities and grievances;

2. To investigate the conditions of transport under which emigrants travel to their destination and to secure an amelioration of such conditions as may be found to be defective;

3. To maintain a bureau of information for the benefit of Indian emigrants;

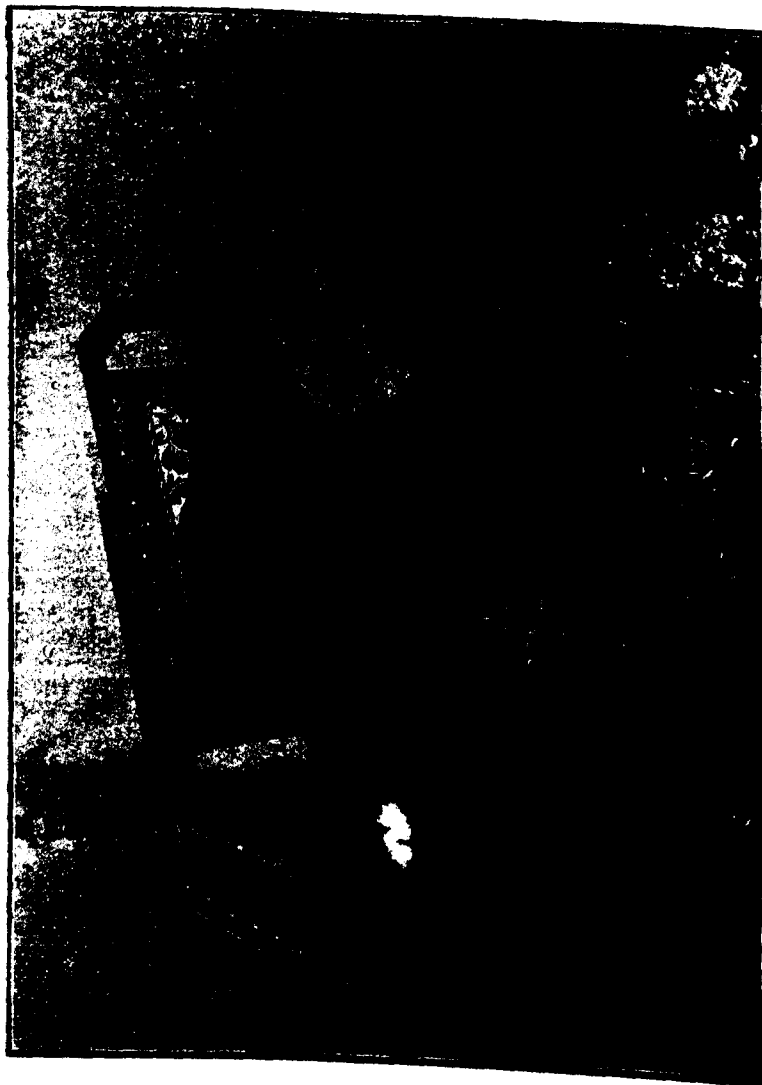
4. To establish and maintain a library containing colonial and foreign laws and journals and all other special books of interest to emigrants.

All communications regarding this new Association should be addressed to Mr. Jehangir B. Petit at 359, Hornby Row, Fort, Bombay.

INDIANS IN THE DEFENCE FORCE.

The United Provinces Government have issued a resolution offering the following facilities to Indian subjects for enrolment in the Indian Defence Force:—(1) Candidates for Government employed will be allowed to deduct from their age the period spent on training or on service. (2) Facility will be afforded to Government servants to join the force and to retain a lien on their civil appointments if called out on service. (3.) The satisfactory discharge of duties while on training or general military service will give preference, other things being equal, in the matter of appointment or promotion to posts under the Government.





DADABHAI NAOROJI.

THE INDIAN REVIEW

A MONTHLY PERIODICAL DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST.

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DADABHAI NAOROJI

BY MR. RUSTAM B. PAYMASTER, B.A., LL.B.

'Tis dark, the sky of Ind is overcast
With densest gloom, her solar King is gone,
Who cheered her with his light and warmth and [love,

Who gave her nobler cares and larger views,
Infused in her a life of Faith and Hope,—
Of boundless Hope and Faith beyond all thought,
Awoke her from her deepest apathy,
And taught her how to make her destiny.
No more is Ind a listless country now,
Dull, cold and lifeless as you erstwhile found,
A spirit new with aspirations large,
Your gospel of Swaraj inspires in her,
Her heart is stirred unto its utmost depths,
Her pulse moves quick with warm and healthy [blood,

There's life in every limb, that once was numb,
And blood flows warm in every artery.
You left your hearthstone warm in native Ind,
Those near and dear to you, your kith and kin,
For foreign lands in colder regions bleak,
You stood the stress of adverse wind and storm,
Of frost and blight, receiving scars and wounds,
Nor swayed from side to side in coldest blast,
But manful conquered all for years and years,
Inured to roughest weather ever known.
Your voice soon gathered all the scattered bones
That in the valley lay, and called them up
As if their time of resurrection came,
Your own example was a deathless torch
With which was kindled bright for ever more
The fire of purest patriotism,—
Which not in mere lip-service hollow lay,
But deep as life, embraced a myriad souls.
You by your self-control first conquest made
O'er all your senses, passions, appetites,
No pride you had of victories you gained,
Nor consciousness of service rendered long;
But always like a true Zoroastrian wore
The white and spotless garment of true love,
In Bharat-Mata's temple stood devout,
And to her loving offerings hourly gave.
O best of patriots e'er produced on earth!
India's true Saviour and Apostle famed!

Though winters ninety-two passed o'er your head,
Still, still the same simplicity of faith
You had, so burning and so passionate,
So unsurpassed in pristine purity
Which all around undying lustre spread,
With reasoned right and sober self-restraint.

Sagacious leader of your countrymen!
Whose destinies did mould by speech and pen,
Controlled and guided currents of their thoughts,
To right and noble ends you used your power,
To highest purposes employed each hour
And in return as idol worshipped far,—
For ever loved and honoured and esteemed
For ever revered and for ever mourned.

In every niche your Indian brethren will
Preserve your image bright with sacred love,
Be they Hindoos, Moslems or Parsees,
Marathas, Sikhs, or Sindhis, Bengalis.
Your sons and daughters and their children, too,
Will lisp your name as maker of their race,
Regenerator of their country loved
Who gave them eyes and gave them light and [life,

And gave them voice and speech who once were [dumb.

Let us not sadden him by our vain tears,
Too great he was for us to weep and mourn,
But following his sacred footsteps close,
In lowly wise our gratitude may show
To him who had the foresight of a seer,
Unclouded, sweet simplicity of heart,
Whose mighty soul poured out but warmth and [light,

In cascades bright, enkindling all the world.

The magic wand you held as prophet blest
Hath changed the aspect of our country's cause,
Where once was dark, there soon appeared a haze,
By efforts yours, 't was changed to crimson tint.
Of dawn, and grew to blaze of glorious light
Of Swaraj and self-government you taught.
Thus earned with one accord and one acclaim,
The diadem of immortality!

A Blind Baronet's Work for the Blind

BY MR. SAINT NIHAL SINGH.

BLINDNESS came to a great journalist and newspaper owner in London six or seven years ago. He was then only about forty-five years of age, and was full of life and vigour, used to working under great pressure for long hours. His was not the temperament that is staggered by a cruel blow dealt by Fate. Instead of rebelling against the handicap that had been imposed upon him and cursing his unlucky stars, he revolved in his mind various plans for spending the years that still stretched out before him so as to get the most good out of them. He could have done what another great journalist—the late Mr. Joseph Pulitzer of the *New York World*—did and continued to direct the fortunes of his newspaper and magazine enterprises in spite of his blindness. But Cyril Arthur Pearson felt that he had made all the money he needed for himself and his family, and wisely chose to give the rest of his life to the service of his fellow-creatures who laboured under the same disadvantage under which he himself had been placed.

Soon after he made this resolution, Mr. Pearson associated himself with the National Institute for the Blind. He brought to his new work that fiery energy and enthusiasm, that tireless persistence and that consummate business ability that had enabled him to rise from Rs. 1,500 a year at the age of twenty to be one of the most dominating personalities in British newspaperdom, the owner of three daily papers and several weekly and monthly magazines. He at once began to think out plans to obtain funds, to extend the institution and to increase its utility. He approached his friends personally and got at the public by letters, leaflets, and newspaper advertisements. He secured money and offers of assistance. The number of persons who bought the articles manufactured by the blind increased as the people learned of the existence of the industries that were being carried on. The additional

funds secured were used to improve internal organization, to better the methods of housing and teaching the blind charges of the institution, and to increase the volume of literature printed in Braille—the ingenious invention that enables blind persons to “read” by passing their finger-tips over the letters that consist of a series of dots raised on paper.

While engaged in this beneficent work, the war came on, and with it came the cry of the men who had been blinded in action. They had left their comfortable homes and their paying positions in office, shop, or factory, to stand up for their country and for civilizations; and had been sent back to England with their sight gone and all hope blotted out of their lives. Mr. Pearson answered the call, and immediately set out to organize an institution to comfort the blinded soldiers and sailors, and to make them as independent of charity as he could.

Mr. Otto Kahn, a rich American, held the lease of a residence in London that was ideally suited to serve as a home for the blind. It was in the midst of the world's metropolis, and yet was as quiet as if it was situated in the country miles and miles away from the hurly-burly of modern life. The reason for this quietude was that “St. Dunstan's,” as it was called, was surrounded by an extensive park known as Regent's Park. Readers of William Makepeace Thackeray will be interested to learn that it was none other than the country-house of the wicked Lord Steyne, of “Vanity Fair.”

Mr. Pearson approached Mr. Kahn the lessee of St. Dunstan's, who readily placed it at his disposal, to be converted into an institution for soldiers and sailors blinded in the war. Money was quickly collected to fit the existing buildings, to serve the new requirements, and to erect out-houses for work-shops, study-rooms, and dormitories. Within a few weeks the place was ready to

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A BLIND BARONET'S WORK FOR THE BLIND.

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receive blinded fighters who were physically fit to leave the hospitals where they had undergone treatment after being wounded. Mr. Pearson's resourcefulness and energy were rewarded, shortly afterwards, by the King, bestowing a Baronetcy upon him, and I shall, therefore, refer to him in the remaining portion of this article as Sir Arthur Pearson, or simply as Sir Arthur.

I claimed the philanthropist as an editor for whom I had written before he went blind, and called upon him at St. Dunstan's a short time ago. He was not in when I arrived, but his Secretary, Mr. Castle, who, like his employer, is an energetic and resourceful man, conducted me through the institution.

About the first thing that he did was gently to pull me off a strip of carpet that ran through the centre of the hall, on which I was standing. For explanation he called my attention to a blind man who was coming towards us. He was not carrying any stick, nor was he being led by the hand by anyone, and I naturally did not take him to be a blind man. But I realized that he was sightless as soon as he had moved forward a few paces; for he paused just the fraction of a second to feel with his foot where the strip of carpet ended at the door. He mounted the step leading into the next room, as any sighted person would have done.

Strips of carpet of even breadth ran through the centre of every room, and made it possible for men to go about without being guided, or even without feeling their way with a stick; for so long as they remained on the carpet they were sure as they were going in the right direction, and that there would be nothing in their way that they would knock against, barring another blind man going in the opposite direction. Several times I saw two men bump up against each other as they were hurrying over the strip of carpet, but on such occasions they greeted each other with merry

banter, and went on as if nothing unusual had happened.

Out of doors other means have been taken to guide the men about. At the top of the terraces and on the top and bottom steps of stairways, strips of lead or wood tell the men, the moment they set foot on them, just where they are. Railings along the footpaths leading to the various out-houses guide them, and when they come to a turn in the paths they feel for the little knob that serves to direct them aright.

The first thing a blinded warrior learns when he goes to St. Dunstan's is to read Braille with his finger-tips. It is surprising how quickly these men master the system. Some of them make more rapid progress than others, though nearly every one is able to read Braille quite rapidly after six or seven weeks' practice. The secret of success lies in the institute employing blind instructors to teach the blind. I found many of these teachers were working without any recompense whatever, and a number of them were women.

Once the Braille system is mastered, the blinded soldier or sailor loses that terror of life-in-the-dark that sudden loss of sight inspired in him. He is able to get away from his own thoughts by occupying himself with useful or interesting reading. He can feast upon books covering practically the whole range of literature. Many of the world's classics are now available in Braille. Text books on all sorts of subjects have been especially prepared for the use of the blind. Numerous novels have also been printed for their exclusive benefit. Periodical literature is also open to them. They can even read a daily paper, for the *Daily Mail* is published in Braille every day of the week. Thus they are able to keep in touch with what is going on in the world.

As soon as a man has learned to read Braille, he is taught to write it so that he may be able to express his thoughts by “writing.” None of

them has ever seen, and never will see the little machine used for this purpose. It is simplicity itself. By pressing different keys, series of dots are embossed. On a narrow strip of paper tape, when the end of the composition is reached, the tape is torn off and wound back on the reel. Any one conversant with Braille is able to pass his fingers over the raised dots and read what has been written.

A system of Braille-shorthand has been perfected, by means of which a blind man can take down notes by pressing the keys of the machine. I saw blinded fighters taking dictation as rapidly as the average sighted shorthand writer does with pen or pencil.

I was taken from the shorthand-typewriting section of the Institute to the department where blinded soldiers and sailors are taught massage. An assortment of human bones lay on a long table, around which several blinded men were sitting. One of them held in his hand the bones of a foot, and was slowly and carefully passing his fingers over them noting all their characteristics and peculiarities. The teacher, a kindly woman with a sweet voice, was telling him the names of the different parts. She paused in her lesson, upon our arrival, and Sir Arthur Pearson's Secretary picked up a bone from the table and gave it to the person nearest to him, and asked him if he could tell us what it was. The long, sinuous fingers of the man recently blinded, and without any previous knowledge of anatomy, went over it methodically, and he called out the correct name and gave the scientific description of it without any hesitation.

After the pupil has had primary instruction in anatomy and physiology at St. Dunstan's Hostel, he is passed on to the Institution for Massage by the Blind conducted by the National Institute for the Blind—the parent Institute of St. Dunstan's—which provides unexcelled facilities for the teaching of massage to the blind. It has a class-

room, gymnasium and dressing rooms, lavishly equipped with the necessary apparatus to prepare men to become healers. There is, for instance, a complete model of the human body, so constructed that every muscle, nerve, and bone is fully defined, and every organ is removeable.

After the completion of the period of instruction the pupil goes up for the examination prescribed by the Incorporated Society of Trained Masseurs. The tests are stiff the same for blind men as for sighted persons. One of the men from St. Dunstan's topped the list at a recent examination, with distinction, and another stood sixth with distinction.

In response to my inquiry, the teacher said that there was keen demand for masseurs. The Army needed them badly to massage the limbs of wounded soldiers. When a man went out from the Institute, he was able to earn £2.13s. a week. Many of them did not earn a third of that sum before the war, when they were sighted. She went on to say that even after the war the demand for masseurs will remain quite brisk, for the world is coming more and more to realize the good that massage accomplished. A blind man, she added, is often a better masseur than a sighted person, because blindness gives him a delicacy of touch upon which depends the success of massaging, and lack of sight makes him concentrate upon his work, for there is nothing to distract his attention.

In the boot-repairing department, a totally blind man was running a stitching machine and turning out work that any sighted boot-maker might well be proud of doing. The repairs done by hand left nothing to be desired. I was glad to hear that kind-hearted men and women in town and country regularly send their boots and shoes to St. Dunstan's, and the shop always has work on hand waiting to be done. Many of the men who have graduated from St. Dunstan's are now earning £1 a week or more at boot-repairing.

The instructor in the carpentry department is a totally blind man whose skill with the saw and hammer is almost uncanny. He has a great knack of teaching joinery, carpentry, and cabinet-making to the newly blinded fighters. He takes in hand men who were formerly employed on farms as agricultural labourers, or in shops or offices, and who had never before handled carpenter's tools, and gets them to make packing cases, hen coops, rabbit hutches, wooden trays, and other useful articles. Persons who were carpenters before they became blind, or who have special aptitude for the trade, are taught cabinet-making.

I saw several drawing-room tables, desks and book-shelves, trays, that the sightless cabinet-makers had made. I carefully examined the articles they had turned out to see if the hammer had struck the wood instead of the nails that were being driven into it, and failed to detect any such mark. The finish very much delighted me.

A few yards from the work-shops is the poultry farm of the Institute. It is in charge of Captain Webber, the blind poultry expert, who is assisted by several sighted and blind persons.

When I visited this department of St. Dunstan's, I saw some of the blinded fighters being initiated into the mysteries of the incubator. In the next chicken house a class was being trained to distinguish the breed of poultry by the sense of touch. In the third house, a blind sergeant was teaching blinded soldiers how to truss a chicken for cooking.

In the garden just outside the poultry farm blinded soldiers were busy growing vegetables to feed the chickens, and also for human consumption. They worked with spade, hoe, and rake so efficiently that if I had not been told that they were totally blind, I would have taken them to be ordinary gardeners.

In another part of the grounds I saw instruction being given in netting. Nets of various sorts were being made, ranging from shopping bags to

hammocks. The dexterity with which the blinded men worked was surprising.

Sir Arthur Pearson's Secretary told me that they were also teaching blinded warriors to be telephone operators and drivers. He said that great emphasis was laid upon the advisability of every man acquiring some trade that would make him independent of charity. Men who learned to read and write Braille or studied stenography in the morning spent the afternoon in one of the workshops, the poultry farm, or at gardening or netting. Those who had been engaged in some manual occupation in the forenoon underwent mental training in the afternoon. Thus the head and the hand were equally developed.

The blinded fighters do not lack for amusement. Every Saturday afternoon a number of them visit theatres and music halls, where they are entertained as guests of the management of these places of amusement. Twice a week dances are given at St. Dunstan's. Often, of an evening, domino tournaments are arranged, or the men compete in games in which they are required to discover and to identify various objects by the sense of touch. Once a week a debate is held, in which the men engage with great zest. Many topics of general topical interest are discussed on the occasions. A piano class has been started, and other kinds of musical instruction is given if desired. Concerts and entertainments are provided regularly. The whole effort is to keep the men from becoming down-hearted because time hangs heavily on their hands and they have nothing to amuse them or to occupy their thoughts.

The Institute has homes by the sea-side at Brighton and Torquay, where men needing change of air are sent, and kept as long as may be necessary for their health. A special annex is maintained a short distance from St. Dunstan's for the care and training a blinded officers.

The workers in St. Dunstan's try to study each person entrusted to their charge individually, and to do the best they can for him. I learned, for instance, of a man who wished to set up as a news-vendor, was taught to distinguish different papers and periodicals by the sense of touch and now has a prosperous business of his own.

The Institute takes no end of pains to find suitable jobs for the men who leave it after learning a trade or profession. It keeps in touch with them, helps them if trouble arises, and endeavours to get them to take a bright view of life if they show an inclination to become low spirited.

Sir Arthur Pearson came to the Hostel before I had finished visiting the different departments, and I had a long talk with him before I left. In the course of our conversation I unfortunately referred to his "affliction." He at once corrected me. "Handicap, if you like," he said, "but not affliction." He then let me have an insight into

the philosophy that he has learned from life, especially since he became blind. It was the rosiest philosophy that I have heard anywhere in the world, and you see it reflected in the blind Baronet's face, which habitually wears a smile.

Much of Sir Arthur's time is given to securing funds for carrying on and extending the work of the Institution. He is constantly going about to see rich and influential persons, sending letters and pamphlets, advertising in the press, and speaking from the platform in and out of London. Shows and bazaars are frequently organized.

Sir Arthur went abroad early this year to study for himself the methods that are being employed on the Continent to care for the blind. He visited numerous large and small institutions and made searching inquiries. He came back full of fresh ideas and fresh enthusiasm for his work. Ever since his return he has been busy making improvements in St. Dunstan's.

The Work of the Y.M.C.A. for the Troops

BY THE HON. SIR ALEXANDER CARDEW, K.C.S.I.

Chairman of the Y.M.C.A. Emergency War Fund.

WHEN we read the telegrams in the newspapers telling us of the battles which are being fought in Mesopotamia, East Africa or other parts of the world, we do not trouble ourselves to think very much as to how the troops who take part in those battles are moved about, fed and provided with the necessities of existence. We are inclined to take it for granted that the army's function is to fight and we don't ask ourselves whether the human units who make it up, whether British or Indian, have any other purpose in the world except to face the enemy. We forget that in every cam-

paign the hours which are spent in actual fighting must be comparatively few. Moreover, in many parts of the world there are long intervals, when owing to climatic conditions, fighting is impossible. In Europe, the extreme cold of Russia and Galicia makes it almost impossible to carry on an active campaign there during winter, while on the Western front the character of the soil of Northern France and Belgium, which a few showers of rain turn into a bog through which men can hardly drag their feet and over which it is impossible to move guns or heavy baggage, enforces a long period of inaction during the wet

winter months. In Mesopotamia on the other hand the hostilities are suspended not during the cold weather but during the hot weather when owing to the extremely high temperatures which are prevalent at that time of the year no forces in the world could advance and fight. Once more, in East Africa the rainy season imposes upon all troops the necessity for a remission of active operations. So that in almost all the fronts where fighting is now going on there are long periods when the troops have to remain quiescent.

Has it ever occurred to any one of the readers of this "Review" to consider what the position is of men who find themselves in tents or other similar accommodation, whether it be in Flanders or Mesopotamia or East Africa, during these months of inaction? These long periods of quiet are more trying to the morale of troops than the actual fighting itself. Men encamped in the desert or in a jungle, without even a village within a reasonable distance, without any of the amenities of civilized life, receiving letters only at very long intervals and uncertain whether their own letters will reach their destination, find themselves without any means of occupying their spare time. In Mesopotamia the long and dreary hot day comes to an end at last in the evening, but there is no recreation for the troops in tents or huts who have to exist month after month without change or amusement. In East Africa the wet season, with its attendant malaria and dysentery, is equally trying. It has been well said that it is not the active fighting which breaks the soldier's spirit so much as the halts for long periods in camps bereft of the common amenities of life.

The need to provide troops with recreation, amusement, change of occupation during these enforced periods of quiet is thus very great and has been recognized by all recent commanders. During

the present war a definite attempt has been made to meet it by various agencies, and in the East the major part of the work has been done by the Y.M.C.A. That organization which was originally intended for the benefit of young men in times of peace and which in Madras has done a very large amount of useful work for Indian young men, has during the war found an even wider opportunity for good work among the troops in the field. Both in France and in Mesopotamia and East Africa, where troops from India are fighting and where the work of the Y.M.C.A. has been of special value owing to the great distance at which the men are from their homes, the Y.M.C.A. has established stations or "Y.M.C.A. huts," each in charge of one or more secretaries. These stations are supplied with pianos, gramophones, billiard tables, bagatelle boards, libraries, writing tables, reading tables, magazines and newspapers. Concerts are provided for the troops, lectures are given to them, cinematograph shows are carried on and gymkhanas are organized. In the case of Indian troops, which contain many men who are unable to read and write well, the Secretaries in each of the Y.M.C.A. huts undertake the duty of writing letters for the illiterate while the gramophones are provided with records of Indian music and songs. In the huts the soldiers are able to purchase the chief things they require at reasonable rates while in the hospitals special agents are at work visiting the wounded and sick, writing letters for them and contributing to their comfort and amusement.

Many tributes to the success and value of the work done by the Y.M.C.A. for the Indian and British troops in Mesopotamia and elsewhere have been written by officers in the field, from General Maude, commanding the British armies in Mesopotamia, downwards. The following letter comes from one of those officers who have attained distinction in the present war. Brigadier-General

W. M. Thomson began the war as a Captain in the 1st Seaforth Highlanders and was awarded the Military Cross for his valuable service in that rank. He has risen by ability and hard fighting to the command of a brigade and has spent a long period both on the French front and in Mesopotamia. His testimony to the work of the Y.M.C.A. cannot fail, therefore, to carry conviction as it comes from an eyewitness specially qualified to speak on this matter. In a letter dated 30th July 1917, Brigadier-General Thomson writes as follows :—

"I wish very much to pay a tribute to the good work of the Y.M.C.A. in Mesopotamia and to express to a small degree what we all feel in gratitude for all that is being done for us.

"Perhaps I can best express it by examples. We were asked—"Billiard tables may be procured, how had they best be distributed?" We replied "Hand them over to the Y.M.C.A."

"In the 35th Brigade the Y.M.C.A. never have asked for a fatigue party to pitch their tents or help unloading their baggage, because there are scores of men always awaiting their arrival and only too glad to lend a hand.

"The only trouble that has ever cropped up was when a neighbouring brigade complained that we had been keeping the Y.M.C.A. longer in our camp than we should have done.

"The reason the Y.M.C.A. is so popular is that it gives the men what they most want, a place where they can be entertained with concerts, gramophones, cinemas etc; where they can read or write or talk or obtain refreshments as they wish; and if they want a friend, there are no two better hearted men than the two Y.M.C.A. men we have had with us.

"I do not think we have been exceptionally fortunate. The Y.M.C.A. is good all through. Our Padre, Rev. C. H. Hemming, took me to the Y.M.C.A. in Baghdad. They had possession of one of the best buildings there and it was a going concern and crowded at a very early date after our arrival. I am told it is the same at Sheikh Sand, Amara, Basra and elsewhere.

"It is very difficult for soldiers when on service to express their appreciation for what is being done for them. It may appear that they take everything as a matter of course. That is not so, and I should like on their behalf to say how much we are thankful to the Y.M.C.A."

It only remains to add that this work cannot be carried on without money. Although the Secretaries employed in carrying it on are paid very low salaries and although every economy is exercised in the purchase of supplies and other requisites of the work, it is impossible to pro-

vide huts at the chief halting places for troops in a great area like that of Mesopotamia, not to speak of East Africa, without considerable outlay. An appeal has been made for funds for this work by the Committee which as treasurers possesses Mr. Gourley, the well-known Private Secretary to His Excellency the Governor of Bengal, Mr. Robertson, the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay, and in Madras, Mr. W. A. Beardsell, who has himself both personally and through his firm, contributed in the most generous way to the support of the Fund. Almost all the European firms in Madras have indeed subscribed with the utmost liberality to the support of the work and it is hoped that the Indian public in Madras will see that it is equally well represented. Among the large number of troops which are employed in Mesopotamia and East Africa a large part of the Indian army is to be found and it is for these Indian troops that help is urgently needed. These brave men are risking their lives and enduring great privation and hardship for the defence of India and for the service of the Empire and they deserve all the help that can be given them. All monies subscribed are spent on work for the benefit of the troops and on no other object. Any subscriptions which the readers of this "Review" may feel moved to give would be sent to Mr. Beardsell, Post Box No. 7, Madras.

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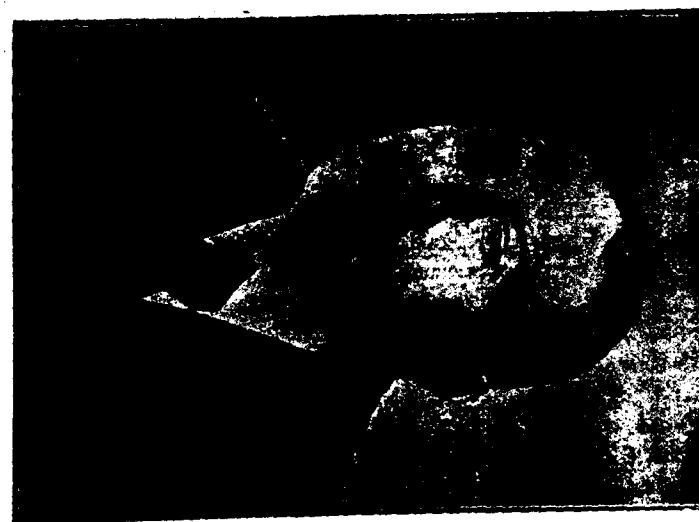
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GENERAL PETAIN
Commander of the French Armies.

THE FUTURE OF THE EMPIRE.*

BY THE RT. REV. DR. WHITEHEAD

The Lord Bishop of Madras.

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I do not wish to assume the rôle of a prophet and have no intention this afternoon of attempting to foretell what exactly will happen to our Empire after the war; but I wish to emphasize the fact that after the war we shall all be living in a new world with new opportunities and new responsibilities, and that this fact ought profoundly to influence the ideas and lives of us all. There can be no doubt that the war is already producing vast and far-reaching changes in the whole world.

I

In the first place we can see a great development of the ideals of liberty and democracy. The war is a struggle for liberty and it has already produced a revolution in Russia. Russia entered the war on the side of liberty, side by side with England and France. It was a strange alliance between despotism and democracy fighting together for the cause of freedom; but the spirit of freedom has prevailed and the vast Empire of Russia has taken her place among the great democracies in the world. Then again the entry of America into the war has given a tremendous impulse to those ideals of democracy and liberty throughout Europe. In a striking sermon preached at St. Paul's Cathedral on American Day at the beginning of May, Bishop Brent, the American Bishop of the Philippine Islands, described the spirit in which America has come into the war. 'America which stands for democracy, that is, the cause of plain people, must fight, must champion this cause at all cost, the cause of plain people.' President Wilson, in his historic message to the Congress summed up the aims of America in a single sentence when he said: 'we must make the world safe for democracy.' Now

* A lecture delivered at Coonoor by the Lord Bishop of Madras.

that is the spirit that will dominate the world when the war is over. It is difficult for us to realize the enormous change that there has been in this respect during the last century. At the end of the eighteenth century when the French Revolution broke out, democracy was a comparatively new thing in the modern world. There was hardly a single state of any size that was governed on true democratic principles; whereas to-day out of 1,700 million people in the world 1,200 million stand for liberty and democracy, and out of those 1,200 million at least 600 million in China and Russia have joined the ranks of democracy within the last ten years.

II

In the second place the war is producing a spirit of brotherhood among the democratic nations of the world which did not exist before. History teaches us that democracies can be just as exclusive and just as selfish as nations which are ruled despotically; but as a result of the war America, France and the British Empire, and we hope also the peoples of Russia are feeling as they have never felt before a common responsibility for the cause of liberty and the welfare of the human race. We feel that we are not fighting simply for one another's interests; we are pouring out blood and treasure for the welfare of mankind. Let me again quote the eloquent words of Bishop Brent: 'To-day we are entering upon a new epoch. Democracy hitherto has been working out its problems, certainly its political problems, in an isolation that can never be seen again. The great democracies of the world are now so interlocked, interlocked in defence, that they can never be separated when the days of reconstruction come. But democracy in all countries must never lose sight of the fact that the

supreme unit of the human race is mankind. The day is past for individualistic attempts to redeem mankind.'

III

While the war is producing these great changes in the world at large it is also having a profound influence on the British Empire.

(1) It is giving to it a wonderful sense of unity. The Imperial Conference recently held in London and all the various functions held in connection with it are a striking sign of this new spirit of unity. Last April when the Freedom of the City of Edinburgh was conferred on three of the leading members of the Conference, Sir Robert Borden, the Prime Minister of the Dominion of Canada, General Smuts, the representative of South Africa and the Maharaja of Bikanir, the representative of India, Sir Robert Borden in returning thanks referred to the fact that General Smuts was in arms against the British Empire not more than fifteen years ago, whereas 'To-day' he said, 'he and General Botha, his chief, are great assets to the Empire, and more than that, to the world. We come from different dominions, we have sprung from different but kindred races, we have grown up under widely differing conditions. Is there not some evidence that our Empire rests on a broad foundation when I find that his conception and my own as to the course and method of future constitutional relations and development are substantially the same? It could not be otherwise, for the foundations on which the British Commonwealth stands secure are liberty and justice, autonomy and unity.'

(2) Then, in the second place, there is a growing sense of our great responsibility to mankind for developing to our utmost capacity the vast resources of the Empire. When speaking some two months ago before the British Science Guild on National Reconstruction, Lord Sydenham said that 'the resources of the Empire are almost inexhaustible and their utilisation is only begin-

ning.' The war has certainly revealed to us how slack and careless we have been in using and developing this magnificent estate. The first thing that woke us up was the discovery that the metal trade of Australia and the greater part of the manganese and hides of India were in German hands. We had simply not taken the trouble ourselves to develop these sources of wealth. It is the same with other things. Sir Robert Borden in the speech that I have already quoted says: 'I hope that after the conclusion of peace our eyes may be turned more closely upon the vast and varied resources of our Empire and their future potentialities. There are questions of the gravest import touching their control, development and utilisation for a common purpose; the production of an adequate food supply, means of transportation and communication, the utilisation of raw material by the most effective methods for all needful purposes of national concern. We must take stock of our resources, exercise an effective control and utilise them to the highest national advantage. There is reason to believe that before the war Germany had a more sympathetic and thorough knowledge of the resources and development of the Dominions than could be found in the United Kingdom.'

(3) Another change that the war has brought about is an immense stride in the direction of the State management of industries. I do not know what exact proportion of the industries of Great Britain is now being managed or controlled by the State, but it is a large proportion. The army and navy together employ five million men. A large number of munition factories are Government concerns. The State controls the railways and the shipping and has recently exercised a certain control over agriculture. We cannot assume that what is necessary in war is good in peace; but the war has undoubtedly shown us the grave dangers involved in the private ownership of those industries which are vital

to the safety and welfare of the nation; and certainly one result of this great development of State management is a greater care for the workers. Social Welfare Committees have been established in all the Government Munition Factories; the housing question is being more carefully considered, and I suppose that no large body of workers have ever been better fed or better cared for by their employers than the British Army in France. This object lesson will not be forgotten after the war. It is more than probable that there will be a strong agitation for the nationalisation of the land, the railways, the mines, the shipping and all those industries which are necessary to the safety of the Empire in time of war.

(4) Then, again, there is already a new spirit among all classes throughout the Empire in dealing with our political problems. This is especially conspicuous in the case of India. Already the peoples of Canada, South Africa and Australia are beginning to change their attitude towards the peoples of India. The Maharaja of Bikanir has more than once expressed his satisfaction at the spirit in which Indian questions were dealt with at the Imperial Conference. The same is true of the attitude of Great Britain. The Maharajah when speaking at Edinburgh expressed the hopes and aspirations of the Indian princes and of the educated classes of British India. After speaking of the profound veneration in which India held the Emperor and her constant concern for the welfare of the Empire he continued: 'Our next aspiration is to see our country, under the guidance and with the help of Great Britain, make a material advance on constitutional lines in regard to matters political and economic, and ultimately to attain, under the standard of our King-Emperor that freedom and autonomy which you in this country secured long ago for yourselves, and which our more fortunate

sister Dominions have also enjoyed for some time past.

A few years ago a statement of this kind would probably have been considered dangerous; but to-day these aspirations command the sympathy of a majority of the responsible statesmen of Great Britain. Mr. Austen Chamberlain speaking at a luncheon given to the Indian delegates to the War Conference under the auspices of the British Parliamentary Association at the end of April last when proposing the toast of the Indian delegates said with reference to the aspirations of the peoples of India that 'while the things they longed for could come only as the result of time and as Indians became qualified for the possession of greater liberties and of the exercise of greater responsibilities, at the same time we of the Mother of Parliaments, we of an Empire founded on freedom and justice above all others, were bound to have sympathy with the aspirations that Indians entertain. We are bound to lend a helping and a guiding hand, and to strive to make the British Government in that country a fitting training school for the development of India's capacities and liberties.'

(5) Another striking result of the war in England is the new position it has given to women and the enormous development of women's work. It was one of the first things that struck us when we went to England last year. When we went to the railway station at Southampton a woman inspected our tickets; a woman took our tickets when we arrived at London; the conductors of the motor busses in London were women; there were women-waiters in the hotels and women clerks in the bank and in Government offices; women working on the land and women policemen. About 800,000 women were in one way or another working in munition factories and nearly all the girls one met were engaged either in nursing in hospitals or making shells, or serving in Y.M.C.A. huts

or doing important work in Government Offices. In one of his recent books entitled 'What is coming' Mr. H. G. Wells truly remarks: 'There can be no question that the behaviour of the great mass of women in Great Britain has not simply exceeded expectation but hope. . . . It is not simply that there has been enough women and to spare for hospital work and every sort of relief and charitable service; that sort of thing has been done before, that was in the tradition of womanhood. It is that at every sort of occupation, clerking, shop-keeping, railway work, automobile driving, agricultural work, police work, they have been founded efficient beyond precedent and intelligent beyond precedent. And in the munition factories, in the handling of the heavy and often difficult machinery, and in adaptability and inventiveness and enthusiasm and steadfastness their achievement has been astonishing. More particularly in relation to intricate mechanical work is their record remarkable and unexpected.' The change which this fact is bound to make in the position of women in our English social life seems to me quite incalculable. To begin with, the franchise is virtually conceded. When I went home in 1914 before the war women were assaulting policemen, breaking windows and violently agitating for the right to vote. Now, in the words of Mr. Wells, 'Those women have won the vote.' 'The girls who have faced death and wounds so gallantly in our cordite factories—there is a not inconsiderable list of dead and wounded from those places—have killed for ever the poor argument that women should not vote because they have no military value. Indeed, they have killed every argument against their subjection.' What exact influence this is going to have upon the industries of the country when the war is over it is quite impossible to say; but I think that Mr. Wells is right in saying that it is unthinkable that the invasion by women of a hundred employments

hitherto closed to them is a temporary arrangement that will be reversed after the war.

(5) Another striking change in public opinion that the war is producing is a deeper realisation of the grave moral evils of our social life. I have already spoken of the injustice of our industrial system; but there are other evils that are equally widespread and equally fatal to the welfare of the Empire such as drunkenness, gambling and sexual immorality. They are not new. People have known about them for centuries. They are as old as the human race. But before the war the mass of people in the Empire would not realise how serious they are and how deeply they eat into the very heart of our social life. People who attempted to fight against them were scoffed at as faddists and cranks. But it is different now. The people who have raised their voices against these evils during the war have been our leading statesmen, our great soldiers and sailors and our captains of industry and commerce. The war has brought into prominence the social aspect of vice. It has compelled men to realise that such vices as drunkenness, gambling and impurity not only ruin the individual life but are also a serious danger to the State. Mr. Lloyd George said at the beginning of the war that we have two great dangers to fight against, Germany and drink and that drink is the greater danger of the two. And I think that this is hardly an exaggeration. At any rate no one who knows the fact can doubt that the defeat of drunkenness is almost as vital to the power and prosperity of Great Britain as the defeat of Germany.

This close relation between temperance and social welfare has been curiously illustrated recently in the Revolution in Russia. The correspondent of the *Times* describing the causes which contributed to the success of the Revolution says that the Reactionary party, who strove to main the autocratic power of the Czar with all

its abuses always protested against the abolition of vodka and declared that it would prove the ruin of the Czar. And the *Times* correspondent goes on to say: 'None but a sober people could have carried out the Russian Revolution. Had the populace of Petrograd and other cities been besotted by drink, they would never have understood or been able to defeat the reactionary plot, nor would the Revolution have been so remarkably free from sanguinary excesses on a large scale. The police were, on the other hand, the victims of drink. They had seized the vodka at the order of the Government, and had kept plentiful supplies for themselves. Thus the Revolution was in part a struggle between drunken reaction and sober citizens. Sobriety triumphed.'

IV

This does not by any means exhaust the catalogue of important changes that the war has already produced in our Empire and in the world. But these are sufficient to illustrate the truth of the statement that after the war we shall all be living in a New World and must adjust ourselves to new conditions. I ask you now to consider how these changes in the Empire ought to affect us as individual citizens.

(1) In the first place I think that the rapid spread of democratic ideals throughout the world ought to lead us all to take a great deal more interest in public affairs. We ought to study them more and also to take part in them far more than we have done in the past. The spread of democracy throws a great responsibility on the individual citizens. It will not work at all unless the mass of the citizens are educated. It will not work well unless the most intelligent citizens and the men and the women of high moral character take their full share in public affairs. In India, I know, it is difficult for those of us who are not members of the Government to do this. We live under a benevolent

bureaucracy, and our natural inclination is to leave public affairs to the Government just as we leave the navigation of the ship to the captain and the crew when we sail from Bombay to 'Blighty'. I venture, however, to think that this attitude of aloofness from public affairs will be in the future a serious weakness both to the Government and to the country. In the years that are coming the British Government must rest far more than it has done in the past on the will of the people. If it is to govern well and govern strongly it must be backed up by a strong body of public opinion. And the European and Anglo-Indian community, small as it is, could yet do a great deal to form a sound and healthy public opinion if it would go the right way to work. But it is essential first that we should seriously study Indian affairs and bring to bear on them the highest ideals of English public life and Christian morality. I know the difficulties that lie in the way. I have myself been thirty-three years in India as a non-official and I can sympathise with your tendency to leave public affairs alone. But I feel sure that you could do a real service to the Empire if you would really study the problems of Indian politics and even if you cannot take any part in public life at any rate do your bit in the formation of public opinion. European opinion in India does count for something and if it were better informed and more fully inspired by Christian-ideals it would count for far more than it does.

(2) And then in the second place the enormous work of reconstruction and development that lies before our Empire demands that all citizens, both men and women, should do their part. There ought to be no room in the future for an idle class within the Empire. In view of the work that needs doing, no one has a right to be a burden to the community and to make his fellow-citizens work for him while he renders no service to them in return. The

British Empire will never develop its vast resources for the good of mankind and will never rise to the full height of its opportunities unless every citizen does his best. And may I urge that this applies to women as well as to men. The war has shown us what women can do, and it has demonstrated the enormous power that the women of the Empire can exercise if they are only educated and trained. And I hope that one result of the war will be to stimulate the women of the upper classes all over the Empire, and especially the younger women, to make their lives really useful for the service of the Empire and the Church. They will not go on making shells and munitions; they will not be needed, I hope as agricultural labourers; but there are many forms of social, medical and educational work all over the Empire for which women would be invaluable. But if workers are to be effective, whether they are men or women, they must be properly trained, and they must remember that they cannot train themselves for useful service, by devoting their time mainly to amusements.

(3) And in the third place we ought all to apply our Christian principles vigorously to public questions. In a striking passage in his latest book entitled 'War and the Future' Mr. H. G. Wells says that 'even those who have neither the imagination nor the faith to apprehend God as a reality will realise presently that the Kingdom of God over a world wide system of republican States is the only possible formula under which we may hope to unify and save mankind.'

In other words the only hope for mankind is a federation of States governed by the will of their peoples and the will of the peoples dominated by the principles of the Kingdom of God. But if that is to be brought about we must all of us take our Christian principles more seriously. We must apply them through to business and politics and to all the details of our public life. In the

past we have to a disastrous degree played fast and loose with the principles of Christian morality in our public affairs. We have had an unfortunate illustration of this recently in the sanction given by the Government of India to the lotteries for the war loan in Calcutta and Bombay and that is only one example of the way in which the ordinary principles of morality have been set aside in our business and politics. So long as that is the case we shall never see the Kingdom of God dominating the nations of the world. And in that, as men are coming to see, lies the one hope for the future. If the war has taught us anything it surely has taught us this; that the greatness and prosperity of a people depend upon its character and its moral principal, that selfishness and vice in all their forms lead to national weakness and universal misery and that the hope of the future both for our Empire and the world lies in those great principles of the Brotherhood of man and the Fatherhood of God which are the central principles of the Kingdom of Heaven.

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Industrial and Commercial Education.

BY PROF. M. SUBEDAR, B.A., B. SC. (ECON.)

WHILE many topics dealing with the industrial problem in India have been discussed widely, there is one to which sufficient attention does not seem to be directed. And this is the boaring of commercial education on the industrial prosperity of a country. So vague are the ideas of people on this subject that this was not even included in the first draft of questions for the Holland Commission. When as an after-thought, questions have been framed on this topic, nothing definite has been elicited, so far, from the witnesses examined. The only point of instruction in their monosyllabic Ayes and Nays is, that whereas the bulk of non-official Indian witnesses, who have answered the questions regarding commercial education, have thought the establishment of commercial colleges in this country necessary and beneficial, all European merchants and officials, who touched on this matter, have voted against commercial education. The merchants' standpoint is intelligible. They frankly dislike possible competition. But the officials' view is difficult to understand. They are harping always on the 'great undeveloped resources' of India. They have shed tears on the liquidation reports of the Indian banks that have failed. They have deplored in connection with the reform in Indian Joint Stock Companies' Act, and on other occasions, the lack of business management on the part of Indians. In their reviews of technical state-scholarships and the outlook of young men coming from abroad after finishing a course of technical instruction, they have remarked on the unpractical and unbusiness-like character of the initial ventures by those men. From the highest downwards, the officials

have pointed out to the chronic overcrowding in certain professions to which educated Indians turn in their despair. If there are resources in India and if the energies of intelligent men is misdirected, an administration, whose real care is the welfare of the people would set about to direct the people on to work where they would advance their own prosperity and that of the community and the Government. If the middle class people in India are unable, as they are, to engage in this beneficent activity, why not let them have such help as a systematic education will give. With what good grace and consistency does this solid indifference or opposition from the officials towards commercial education come? Are they afraid or unwilling to alter the present state of affairs in which the bulk of Indian trade is in foreign hands and the efforts of Indians in industrial enterprise are, in most cases, thwarted by lack of business capacity? Is it because they have ceased to believe in the Universities as they are? Let the Government control, in that case, the whole system of commercial education. Or is it that they distrust education of every description? It is not with a view to unravel, much less to assign a motive to the officials that these lines are penned. If Indian opinion is concentrated on this matter, it is not too late to get the official 'angle of vision' altered. In the hope that this can be still done, a few ideas on the subject are given below.

Every industrial concern has two aspects, the technical side and the business side. To select the proper machinery and processes, to see that these are satisfactorily worked, to secure the necessary uniformity, finish and quality are im-

portant things in industry; but not less important is the series of decisions which involves the selection of the sources of raw materials, fuel, capital and labour; which leads to the choice of what is to be produced and how much of it and which affects the organisation for marketing the produce. It is the function of the business man to form these judgments day after day and to maintain such elasticity about the enterprise as to make adaptation to the changing dynamic conditions of supply and demand easy, and to reduce to a minimum the possibility of misdirected production and waste. The success of an enterprise depends on the resultant of the efficiency on the technical, as well as on the business side. A new mode of organisation involving better utilisation of the available labour and capital is as valuable as the economy effected by a new invention or a new process. This fact is patent to all industrialists to whom a better acquaintance with a bank manager or a large order from an unexpected quarter are as much tonic as additional power or improved machinery.

When the stage of factory production is reached these two sides could always be clearly distinguished and tend to be separated. The degree of specialisation always varies in different localities and industries but a considerable difference could always be discovered in the qualities required in the works-manager and the general manager even if it is not always so wide as between the editor and the business manager of a newspaper. In a country aspiring to industrial eminence, there is always great stress laid upon technical education at the start. But mere technical knowledge is like uncontrolled energy and soon lands people into side-tracks and disasters. Then people begin to perceive, but by no means too soon in this country, that the business side of industries needs to be strengthened as well. This is the genesis of the failure of a good many Swadeshi enterprises. It shows that a mere chemist or an

engineer never could run a successful industry because a thing should not only be a technical success but it must be produced on a commercial basis. Comparisons are inconclusive as in the fable of the hands and the stomach, but it must be said that a businessman can succeed by controlling the labour of others without being an expert but an expert cannot succeed without being something of a businessman.

There are many divergent opinions regarding the mental equipment of those who would direct production. But there can be little doubt that men embarking on the conduct of industrial enterprise should have in themselves (or should have the co-operation of those that have) the quality of forming sound business judgments and the necessary knowledge of the conditions of the world and of their own industry in particular, to enable them to form such judgments. There is a certain orthodox theory which regards the world as the best teacher of worldly things. Our system of education, general and special (professional) has greatly shaken this doctrine but it seems to persist still in regard to business, though it is in business that a mistake is immediately registered in *L. s. d.* on the wrong side and experience is the most costly of all modes of learning. In so far as is feasible the case for a systematic training is very strong in this matter. Whether it is taken as a substitute for general college education, whether it is taken as supplementing the work done in technical colleges or workshops, or whether it is merely stealing an hour or two in the evening from the time which active men do not always know how to use to the best advantage, some regular system of business training would prove ultimately of great advantage. It would enable men engaged in industry not to lose their foot-hold from the hard facts of life, to extend when opportunity occurs the field of their operation and to adapt themselves to the situation with the moving kaleidos-

cope. The actual value of such training must necessarily differ in different cases but if it is possible as an extreme case for an ignorant and unbusinesslike man to prosper in industry, it is inconceivable that even he, whom mere luck has favoured, should be able to do so for long. For the rest, the reference here is meant only to average conditions of business for the ordinary run of people and for these the value of systematic business training cannot be gainsaid.

The peculiar importance of higher commercial education lies, however, not merely in reference to people engaged in industry, but to those engaged in the occupations auxiliary to industry. To put down at the door of the factory what the fields and the mines have produced, and to reach the products of industry to the people, these are vital to the success of industry itself. The agent, the factor, the banker, the broker, the carrier, the shipper, the wholesale and retail dealer and a host of others intervene between the consumer and the industry. The more efficient these are, the greater is the reward of industry and the satisfaction of the people. These commercial pursuits have assumed peculiar importance in our days owing to the fact that improved communications have annihilated old landmarks and raw and manufactured goods are now moved across continents. Defective banking, costly communication, imperfections in the produce-exchanges, unsatisfactory market organisation, all mean wasted opportunities and languid life for industries. To leave the growth of these useful occupations entirely to chance and to the costly process of survival seems to be regarded as a very wise course in some quarters. All human progress, however, means systematisation and transmission of knowledge, and greater complexity in economic organisation calls for more specialised and precise knowledge, a good part of which can be imparted in educational institutions so as to shorten the time and trials of apprenticeship.

Even if partially successful, higher commercial education facilitating, as it would, ultimate efficiency in all these subordinate lines would be indirectly of very great advantage to industry proper.

Public opinion in England has been very slow to realise this because on account of potentialities in the large area covered by the Empire and the industrial momentum retained during the period when America was young and Europe still bleeding from Wars, the English have not been really put to it for any hard search for material or market. And for their own purposes, their banking and monetary system has been very satisfactory. Their ideas have been conservative. The Americans and Germans have, on the other hand, felt great need of systematic business training to establish their position industrially. Even in England the Tariff Reform Campaign led to the realisation that modern methods were needed in business and provision, private and municipal, and at the University was made. The present war and the need of making great effort after the war to maintain the Empire's economic position have given still further impetus to the idea of better trade training and two committees are sitting at present to consider the necessary measures. In India, where industries have to be built up, if at all, against powerful rivalry of foreign countries, the case is much stronger for systematic business training. If the Industrial Commission is going to make recommendations calculated to promote the industrial life of this country, let them remember that the business side of an industrial enterprise is very important and that if that is left to chance as it has been so far, the results would be far from satisfactory. No particular system of commercial education is urged for their support but they may recommend a system, if they will devise one or bring in a general manner to the notice of the Government and the people, the important bearing which Commercial and Business Education has on the industrial prosperity of India.

GERMAN ATROCITIES.

BY "AN ENGLISHMAN."

IN an article which was published in this *Review* in July last statistics drawn from official sources regarding immorality and crime in Germany were set forth and it was suggested that a people whose life in peace was marked by such characteristics might naturally be expected to exhibit in war the ferocity and bestiality which the record of the last two years had led one to associate with the name of German. It may, however, be doubted whether the people of India have ever had placed before them the facts regarding the manner in which Germany conducted the present war. No doubt general statements regarding outrages committed by the Germans have appeared in the newspapers. But it is necessary to read the record of individual instances in order to realise the full horror of the German misdeeds. Evidence on these matters has been accumulated both by a Commission appointed by the French Government and by a Commission appointed by the British Government and various official reports have been published by these Commissions. In addition to these Blue-Books other works have appeared on the subject. Mr. J. H. Morgan, Professor of Constitutional Law in the University of London, and Commissioner appointed by the Home Office with the British Expeditionary Force has published under the title of 'German Atrocities, an official investigation' a collection of 80 new and unpublished documents containing evidence of the outrages committed by the German soldiery on the civil population in Belgium and France, the massacre of wounded and unwounded prisoners of war and the wilful destruction of property. Under the auspices of French Ministry for Foreign Affairs a book has been published entitled 'German violations of the laws of war' which has also been translated into

English and which contains a large number of similar documents many of which are produced in facsimile. It is of course impossible to give in the course of this article any adequate idea of the horror of the proceedings here narrated; but a few instances will give at least some impression of what war means when conducted by such people as the Germans.

2. It appears that the German soldier is encouraged to maintain a note book in which he records day by day the chief occurrences which have come under his notice. Many of these note books have fallen into the hands of the French and British when their writers were captured or killed in action and in the books above named extracts have been reproduced in original German and translated. Some of the writers betray horror at the scenes which they witnessed and took part in. Others manifest no such qualms. Such a man was Private Baum, a soldier of the 182nd Regiment of Infantry who wrote in his note book as follows:—

"Monday, 31—8—1914. At 7, marched with nothing to eat. We passed through the town of Rethel where we halted for two hours. Wine and champagne in abundance; we looted with a will."

A soldier of the 5th Regiment of Infantry writes:—"In the night Ette was entirely in flames and it was a magnificent sight from a distance." Next day, August 23rd, Ette was almost entirely in ruins and we looted everything that was left in the way of provisions. We carried off all eggs, bread, jam, tobacco, cigars, cigarettes and above all wines for our regiment."

Horst Braener of the 134th Regiment of Infantry writes:—"August 26th. Stayed to bivouac at Namur. Many prisoners brought in to-day. The village has been

July 1917.]

GERMAN ATROCITIES.

thoroughly plundered. Only a few small hovels in which some old people live were spared. A great deal was wantonly destroyed. The houses are a terrible sight. Everything ransacked and smashed."

This was in Belgium. But things were just as bad in France.

Non-Commissioned Officer Burkhardt of the 100th Regiment Grenadiers writes near Rumigny in Ardennes:—"We re-visited the cellars and found all sorts of good things. The splendid rooms of the chateau are a terrible sight. Everything turned upside down in the hunt for gold and silver. It is every hard to have to march again after drinking one's fill. I brought away a stone bottle of Chartreuse too in my knapsack."

Private Rudolf Rossberg of the 101st Grenadiers wrote:—

"Dinant, 23rd August. We sleep on the pavement, not far from the corpses, after looting two more cafes. About 150 bottles of wine, champagne and liquors were the results of this operation. We were ravenous, and carried off everything."

"August, 28. Great day of gorging. Friday. I play the piano, and we loot steadily."

The note book of stretcher bearer, Joseph Ott, 33rd Division of the 16th Army Corps, contains the following significant remark:—"Leave was given us to loot, and we did not need to be told twice. Bales of cloth, wine in bottles and flasks, fowls and pigs were taken away. We had dinner at 1 o'clock and it was eaten in the company of dead Frenchmen. One gets used to everything."

3. These extracts relate to looting, but many others refer to crimes of even a worse order. The unfortunate inhabitants of the districts of Belgium and France through which these German barbarians advanced were subjected to every horror which can be imagined. Any one who was found in possession of a weapon was im-

mediately murdered even though he had made no attempt whatever to use it.

Private Fritz Krain of the 4th Battalion of Light Horse writes in his note book:—"Carried off four bottles of wine in my bag. Our first bivouac in France. There will soon be a battle, I hope. When we want to fetch water we encountered a girl with a revolver. Shot her dead and took her revolver."

Private Treinen of the 237th Regiment writes in his diary under date the 19th of October 1914:—"The owners of this property, rich and distinguished-looking people, fill the air with their lamentations and call upon the mercy of God. We make a search and find a revolver on the person of a young man of 21. Screaming with terror he is dragged out to the front of the farm-house and there shot before the eyes of his parents and brothers and sisters. The sight was more than I could stand. After that a light was put to the splendid barn and everything was destroyed."

Private Hassemmer of the 8th Army Corps describing a massacre of French soldiers and civilians at Sommepey on the Marne writes in his note book:—

"September 3rd. A horrible bath of blood. The whole village burnt, the French thrown into the blazing houses, civilians burnt with the rest."

These outrages began the moment that the troops passed the borders.

Private Weishaupt of the 3rd Bavarian Regiment which advanced through Lorraine writes:—

"August 10. Parux was the first village burnt; then we got to work and one village after another burst into flames. We rode on bicycles over fields and meadows until we came to some way-side ditches where we ate cherries."

Private Schlutter of the 39th Regiment writes under date the 12th of August:—

"Pepinster, Belgium. The burgo master, the priest and the schoolmaster shot, houses reduced to ashes. We continue our march."

Again Private Lange of the 74th Regiment writes on the 15th of August:—"Marched from Elsenborn. Giving three cheers for our Emperor and singing *Deutschland über Alles*, we crossed the Belgian frontier. All trees cut down to serve as barricades. A parish priest and his sister hanged. House burnt."

Private Scheu of the 3rd Bavarian Regiment, describing the burning of the village of Saint-Maurice in France writes:—"In the night of August 18—19, the village of Saint-Maurice was punished for having fired on German soldiers by being burnt to the ground by the German troops (2 regiments, the 12th Landwehr and the 17th.) The village was surrounded, men posted about a yard from one another, so that no one could get out. Then the Uhlans set fire to it, house by house. Neither man, woman nor child could escape; only the greater part of the livestock we carried off, as that could be used. Any one who ventured to come out was shot down. All the inhabitants left in the village were burnt with the houses."

4. The foregoing extracts are based entirely upon entries written by German soldiers themselves, and supported by facsimiles of the original records. It is not, however, in all cases possible to supply such evidence of this character. But other documents not less reliable exist to support the statements. General Stenger, commanding the 58th Brigade, gave orders in September 1914 that all prisoners were to be killed. His order was communicated verbally by officers under his command to the various units of the brigade and was repeated in the ranks from man to man. Thus Anton Rothacher writes in his journal of the 27th of August:—"French prisoners and wounded are all shot and ill-treated. Another soldier of the same brigade, Reinhold Brenneisen of the 112th Regiment, at present a prisoner in England

wrote in his note book:—"The Brigade order is to shoot all Frenchmen who fell into our hands, wounded or not. No prisoners to be made."

5. Outrages on women were of course numerous, but for obvious reasons can neither be as easily proved nor do they furnish a suitable subject for this publication. Any one who requires evidence of them will find ample material in the documents published by Professor Morgan. Not even children were exempt. A prisoner of war in France gave a written deposition in which he said:—"Shots have been fired from a house. We broke into the house and we ordered a search of the house. But we found nothing in the house but two women and a child. But my comrades said that the two women had fired and we found some arms too, revolvers. But I did not see the women fire. We brought the women out and took them to the Major and then we were ordered to shoot the women. The Major was called Kastendech belonging to the 57th Regiment of Infantry. When the mother was dead the Major gave the order to shoot the child so that the child should not be left alone in the world. The child's eyes were bandaged."

A Private of the 2nd Royal Irish writes on the advance from the Marne to the Aisne in September:—"We passed through a village and saw a baby brought up at the window like a doll. About six of us went into the house with a sergeant and found the child dead, being bayoneted. We found a tottering old man, a middle aged woman and a youth all bayoneted and in another village our interpreter pointed out to us two girls who were crying and told us that they had been ravished."

Professor Morgan's book contains the record of scores more of similar sickening atrocities.

UP THE RIVER IN MESOPOTAMIA.

BY MR. HEMENDRA PRASAD GHOSE.*

ASIA is one. Mountains and waters divide only to accentuate the inherent unity which makes Asia one—and bring out, in the different civilisations which different peoples placed in different environments have developed, the flowering of the same genius. Whether in the plains of Bengal the fatal fertility of whose flood-stricken shores has so often made the tidal waves of conquest sweep over her, or in busy and bustling Bombay which is a hive of human life and labour or in the arid desert of Arabia where the date alone grows, breaking the dull monotony of the sandy waste, supplying the people with all they need like a loving aunt as their Prophet said, everywhere "East is East" and people take things with the same ease and stoic resignation. This fact is impressed upon one as one goes up the Shatt-el-Arab from the Persian Gulf crossing the Mud Bar at the mouth of the river. But one must pause at this Mud Bar as a ship must pause for the tide. It was this Mud Bar which had caused the Kaiser some uneasiness proving an insuperable impediment to the realisation of his dream of an Eastern Empire extending up to India. Germany had adumbrated and advanced a scheme of Empire-building in the East which she could not accomplish. Here the English had been before. They had already a Residency and a Political officer. This arrangement dates from 1778. "The first big Company to enter into trade here was that of Messrs. Lynch, for whom England wrested from Turkey the right to navigate the Tigris."†

The Baghdad Railway scheme was designed to

* Mr. Hemendra Prasad Ghose was one of the Indian journalists invited by the Government of India to visit Mesopotamia. His contribution, therefore, will be read with particular interest. [Ed. I. R.]

† W. M. Warfield.—*The Gate of Asia*.

bring the Persian Gulf into direct communication with Berlin, Sir Valentine Chirol had said years ago "The growth of German influence in Constantinople was one of the most remarkable political phenomena of the closing years of the nineteenth century".*

It began in 1880 but received an impetus in 1895. That was the time when the Turkish Government had been perpetrating atrocities upon the Armenian subjects and England was trying to lead the European Concert to demand a cessation of these atrocities. Germany said that the psychological moment had come and imposed its desired conditions on Abdul Hamid offering to protect him in return for a suitable reward. The bribe consisted in the concessions connected with the Baghdad Railway scheme designed to place the shortest and quickest routes from the North Sea to Karachi entirely under German control, and which was likely "by reason of the kilometric guarantees, the forestry, mining and other rights which appertain to the concessions, to eventually bring the bankrupt Ottoman Empire completely under the sway of Germany."†

The German engineers who completed the survey of the proposed Baghdad line to Koweit reported that Basrah was unsuitable as a terminus for the railway because of the bar which might prevent large shipping from entering the river. So they thought the line should go to Koweit. Koweit was nominally under the sway of Turkey, being merely a *Kada* or district in the *Vilayat* (i. e. province) of Basrah, but had long been under the influence of the British and the Sheikh had not neglected the opportunity offered by the weakness of the Turkish Government and the

* The Middle Eastern Question.

† Perfit.—*Twenty years in Baghdad and Syria*.

protection of the British to assume the dignity and arrogate to himself some of the powers of an independent prince. The Sultan now asked the Sheikh of Koweit to give a large piece of land to the Germans for the Railway. But Britain had been on the alert and concluded a treaty with the Sheikh who replied that the matter must be referred to the British. The Kaiser was wroth and the Sultan mobilised his troops at Nasiriyah to over-awe the Sheikh. The troops were subsequently disbanded, and an attempt was made by the Turkish Navy to "spring a surprise on the Sheikh". "A gunboat appeared one day with 300 soldiers on board, but the British warships were already in the harbour and the Turks were forbidden to land. The gunboat stayed all night in the hope of getting the men ashore, and raising the Turkish flag in the dark". But they had calculated without the British searchlights which were concentrated on the gunboat. So the Turks returned to Basrah to report that the expedition had failed and their hopes had miscarried. Then crooked diplomacy was resorted to and Ibu Rashid the Arab Chief was instigated to attack the Sheikh. But the Sheikh defeated Ibu Rashid dealing a serious blow to Turkish prestige in Arabia. The English had thus got scent of Germany's designs in Mesopotamia.

As one proceeds up the River one is reminded of India. The same blue sky and the same goldenshine. The muddy waters of the Shatt-el-Arab flow sluggishly depositing silt. The country is purely alluvial and dead flat save for occasional mounds. The banks are never more than a foot or two above water level. In April the country is under water. The banks are fringed with a belt of date palms varying from half-a-mile to three miles wide—the country beyond on either side being desert. In the date groves here and there one sees patches of green—signs of cultivation—the shoots obliterating the scars of the shovel-like implement with which the Arab of the

desert tills the land. Country boats called *Mahelas* full of merchandise pass, some with sails spread to catch every breath of the wind, some tugged along by men on shore. Then near the villages one finds the *Bullam*. "In shape it is a hybrid between a canoe and a punt, while it has a slight *soupeon* of the gondola added; that is to say it has the general lines of the first, the flat bottom of the second, with a graceful curl of the bow and stern reminiscent of the third."*

The passenger reposes in cushioned ease in the middle of the boat with a rower in front and one behind. But these "rowers" seldom row. They pole along near into the bank using their long flexible bamboo poles. Now and then a steamer passes troubling the sluggish waters which strike against the shore and spend up their force in foamy smile. There are fishtraps all along the river and on either side miserable little villages of reed huts where one finds Arab women clad in shapeless garments affecting a complete concealment of form and face, only allowing the eyes to appear—and Arab men in their flowing robes which exhibit their love of colour. Beyond the date belt one sees the desert and men passing it on donkeys. In the village miserable curs wander about and cattle not unlike the cattle of India.

The first place of importance up the River is Fao. A small town at the mouth of the Shatt-el-Arab where the British Expeditionary Force first effected a landing at the commencement of the Expedition after destroying the Fort there.

Proceeding up the River one reached Abadan where the Pipe Line of the Anglo-Persian Oil Co., Ltd., ends. "Rows upon rows of oil reservoirs, of the same familiar shape as the great drums at a gasworks stretch into the desert; along the bank in front stand bungalows, power houses and retorts for refining the oil, the whole linked together by a network of light railway along

* Hubbard.—*From the Gulf to Ararat*.

which little engines run clanking and shrieking. This turns out to be the Anglo-Persian Oil Company's refinery, the big enterprise which, like the Suez Canal, has the British Government as its principal shareholder. The oilfields are 150 miles away, near Ahwaz on the River Karun—from there the oil comes down in a pipe laid across the desert. In its refined state it is pumped into barges which lie alongside the bank—which, in turn, empty it into big tank steamers anchored outside the bar."

"The oil question, although it was one of the principal factors in bringing about the Mesopotamian campaign, is in origin a Persian rather than a Turkish affair. In 1901 an Englishman obtained from the Persian Government a concession, which gave him a monopoly of exploiting most of the oil-fields in the Empire. Eight years later the concession passed to a Company named the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, which started to work with great energy to develop its resources. Oil was opened in a number of different places and the first important wells were sunk at Kasr-i-Shirin, rather more than a hundred miles east of Baghdad. The transport of oil from these wells, situated so far away from any port, represented a serious difficulty, and their output has been only used till now to supply local needs; but when a supply was tapped at Ahwaz within reach of the Gulf, a pipe line was laid down to the Shatt-el-Arab and the great Abadan Refinery erected."

The Government acquired shares in the Company and a fresh pipe was to have been laid down in order to double the output when the war broke out. The old pipe was cut by the Turks.†

Early in 1915 (February 5th) but after the successful operations of General Forring's Column

* *From the Gulf to Ararat*.

† *Ibid.*

† According Lewin, the author of the *German Road to the East*, the pipe was cut by Persian tribesmen acting under German instigation.

from Ahwaz they were driven far from the neighbourhood of the line and it was restored to working order.

The next place of importance is Muhammerah where two large navigable rivers—the Karun and the Shatt-el-Arab meet. Here one sees the Arab of the desert and the Arab of the village, also the Marsh Arab as some of them are called, with the Persian and the English. The Arab of the desert—stately, calm and aloof is one of the last picturesque figures left to a civilised world.—

"A long cloak hangs from his shoulders, with broad sleeves which leave full play to his sinewy wrists and well-shaped hands. Open at the front, this reveals a long garment resembling the dressing gown of the Western world, gathered in the midst with a waistcloth into which are stuck a couple of silver-handled daggers. Over the head and drawn forward at each side so as to resemble a headpiece of old, is a gay coloured kerchief round which are twisted rings of camel hair. From under the kerchief stares out a dark sombre face, with keen dark eyes puckered at the edges with much watching against the desert sun, and well-cut features. Over his shoulder hangs a rifle by its sling, a full bandolier crosses his chest. Such is the Bedouin, the Spirit of the Desert made manifest in flesh*."

Compared with the Arab of the Desert the Arabs of the villages are a degenerate lot. They are largely agriculturists and many live and work for a livelihood in towns. The poor live in reed and palm leaf huts which can be put up in a few hours and abandoned without regret. The prosperous live in mud houses built like forts. All that they have to do is to cut a few canals and ditches to irrigate their land. The date palms generally do not demand much labour. They merely have to be fertilised artificially, the flower of the male (Fahal) being put into the flower of the female (Nakhla)

The Arab is a well-built, powerful and handsome man; and the shapeless garment of the women more often than not hides a beautiful form

* Fowle—*Travels in the Middle East*.

and face—fair complexion, brilliant dark eyes, black hair and graceful contour. Muhammareh was once a scene of war. But that was as far back as 1856. Persia had attempted to seize Herat and the British retaliated by despatching a force up the Gulf bombarding Muhammareh and sending a Regiment up the Karun to capture Ahwaz. The whole affair was shortly finished and "now a few bits of shell ploughed up from time to time on the outskirts of the town and some gashes in the trunks of the older palm trees are almost the only records of it left."

To-day "the Sheikh of Muhammerah is an important personage in this part of the world, for he controls powerful tribes in the neighbourhood, is married to a Persian Princess, and has a small navy for the maintenance of his prestige*."

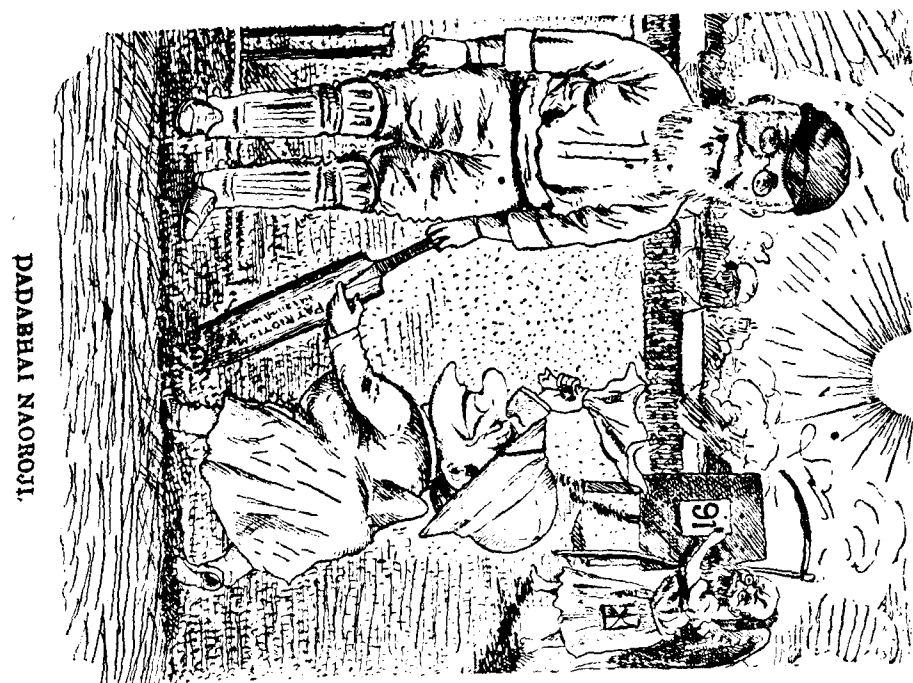
“The Sheikh of Muhammerah, Sheikh Khazal, K. C. S. I., K. C. I. E., has always been a loyal friend of the British, and his friendship has now stood the severe test of the war in Mesopotamia and the revolt of a large part of his subjects. He is a middle-aged Arab of liberal tendencies, though far too cautious to introduce any wholesale ready-made project of civilization within his domain. Progress has to be a gradual affair in Muhammerah. His authority extends over the two tribes of the Chaah and the Muhaisin which have, to a great extent, coalesced under their common ruler. These tribes are supposed to have immigrated from Arabia some 250 years ago and settled in Persian territory. Thanks to their remoteness from the centre of Government, their difference of language and race, and the incessant rivalry between Turkey and Persia, they have remained very independent of the Shah and his Government, and the present Sheikh having steered adroitly through the troublous waters of the Revolution, is now sovereign in all but name over the greater part of the Province of Arabistan, a country nearly as big as Belgium. He levies his own taxes and makes his own laws, and the Imperial Government has only a shadowy representative in the person of the *Karguzar* or Foreign Office Agent.”

The Sheikh has, however, surrendered the control of the Customs, though even here he is the *Ex-Officio* Director-General.

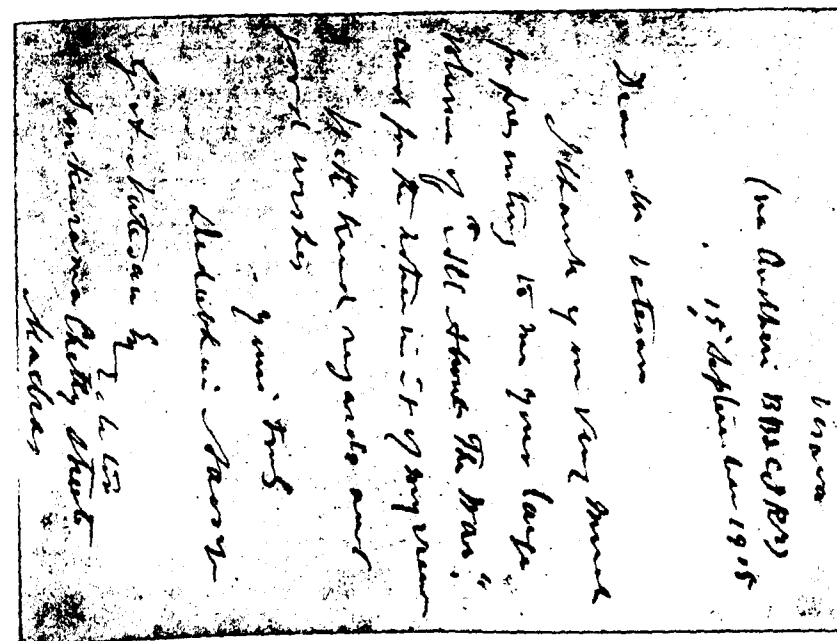
About half-a-mile up the Shatt-el-Arab from the place where the Karun joins it one sees the Palace of the Sheikh—an imposing edifice on the picturesque river front which looks like a castle. And in these places the rich have to construct castles for the purpose of defence against unexpected but violent attacks not unlike those sudden storms of the desert which cause such devastation. For more than a mile along the river front one sees a newly constructed road with neat little bridges over the irrigation channels and sandbag *bunds* built to protect the road from floods.

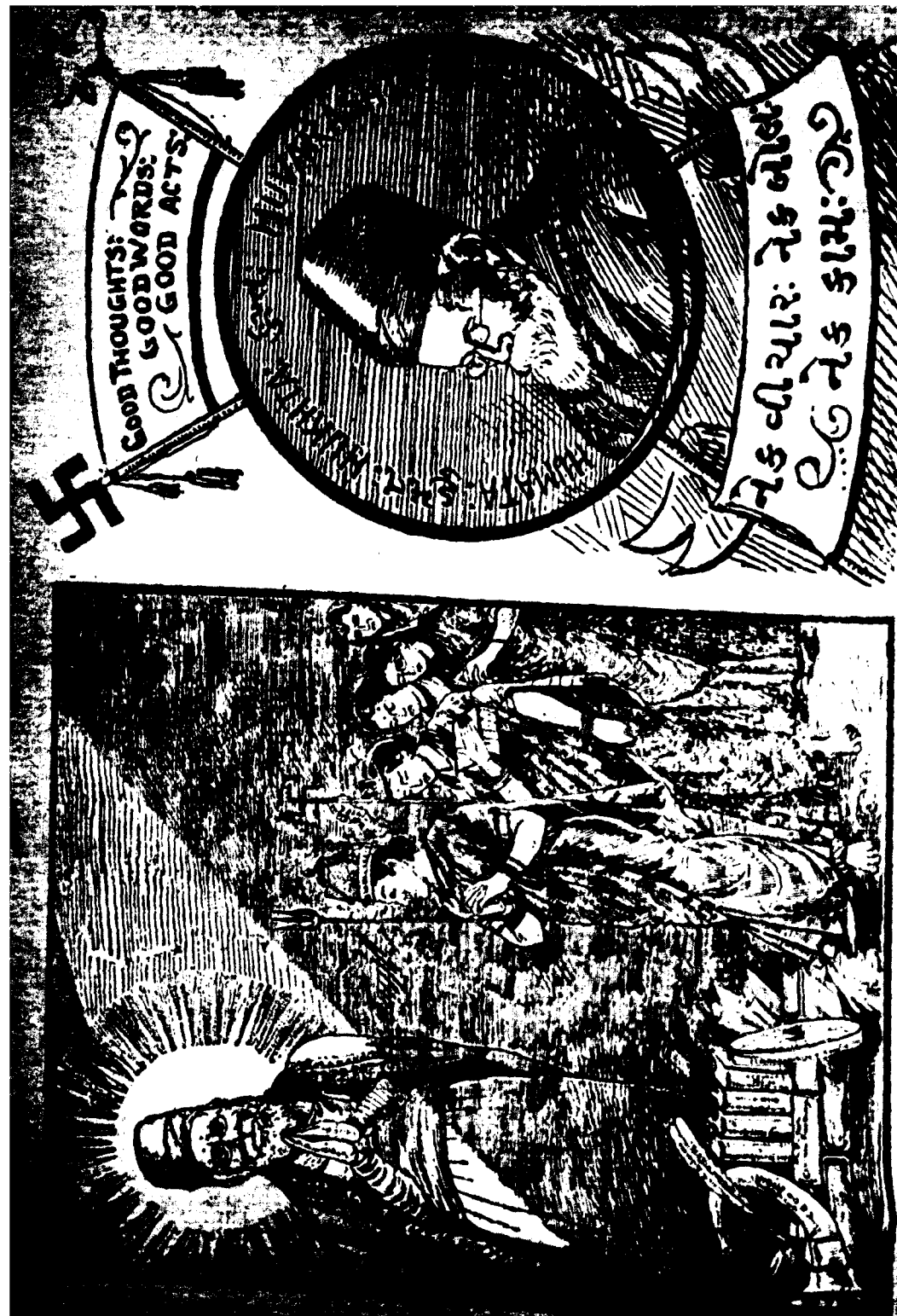
Near Muhammerah one finds the ships sunk by the Turks to block the waterway for British ships.

From Muhammerah to Basrah it is no longer a far cry—and the only beautiful building one passes is that of the opulent merchants—Beit Nama, standing in the midst of groves of palms and orange trees. This house cost the merchants £T90,000 one £T being now equivalent to Rs. 14-4. The cost may seem fabulous to people not acquainted with the conditions of the country. The local brick is brittle. The merchants got it from some place of the Gulf. The timber they got from Karachi, and the painters from Persia who blend the colours for carpet patterns were requisitioned to paint the walls and the ceilings. The house has been rented by the authorities for an Officers' Hospital ; the Government wanted the best house in these parts for an Officers' Hospital with 100 beds and here it was ready made with its spacious rooms more a palace than an ordinary house. Then one approaches Basrah or rather Ashar, for Basrah proper is not on the Shatt-el-Arab, being situated about two miles inland on a creek. Ashar is a comparatively new city growing on the river bank through which passes the trade and where the Turks had their barracks a long row of rather poor looking buildings now occupied by the British troops. Along the river the new city is growing up to Margil, with the inevitable busy bustle of steam launches and steam tugs, mahelas and ballams, the shouting of orders and the garrulous chatter of the workmen.



DAĐABHAI NAOROJI





Reminiscences of a Revenue Wallah

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BY E. H. B.

DURING my wanderings around this Presidency I have, as a Revenue official, heard many a curious tale that well bears repetition. And so, to enliven an idle hour, I set down a few of them. These are stories of the mofussil, where news is scarce, and where the vagaries of an individual are enjoyed by an entire district over camp, tables and in places where men meet. So far as I am aware, these anecdotes have never appeared in print before, and the human touch in them is so obvious that I need no further excuse for publishing them.

How small a matter can sometimes ruffle official serenity is evidenced by the story of the Treasury Officer and the Police-wallah. The Policeman was in charge of a rain-gauge, while the Treasury Officer, as is the habit of his kind, collated rain-fall statistics. One fine morning the guardian of the King's treasure, omitting to correct a careless draft prepared by a half educated clerk, signed a letter to the guardian of the King's Peace, asking for the "rain for the week ending" a certain day. To which the Police-wallah who was a stickler for the King's English, replied that he had no such article as rain in stock. Whereupon the Treasury Officer, after explaining that the word rain was a clerical error for *rain report*, added in a burst of indignation "The humour in your letter is poor." All the materials for a skirmish were now present, and a very pretty skirmish there was, to the intense delight of the district.

In quite a different vein is the story of the expansive Sheristadar. One Collector had just relieved another in a district which I may not name and as both of them, followed by the hero of my tale, passed a handsome tree that shaded a large part of the office compound, the new arrival casually let fall the words "What a fine tree!" To this the terror of the Tahsildars hastened to assent. "Yes, your Honour" said he "the parties are very fond of coming and taking umbrage under this tree!"

There is quite a good tale of a cynical Port Officer, who had been officially instructed to observe Empire Day in a fitting manner. He was a lonely Englishman stationed in an out-of-the-way Port, and so he did that which was right, in his own eyes. Having done this, he entered the following note in his official log. "Empire Day. Decked the flagstaff with all available bunting in three rows, Union Jack uppermost. Stood on

the steps in front of the office door, and whistled 'God save the Queen'!"

He was quite a character, that old sailor, and his conversation was distinctly interesting, being usually flavoured with a soupçon of cynicism. I recollect how he once told me of a servant of his who had bolted from him. He complained that the man had gone leaving all his *chits* (certificates) behind. These *chits* Captain X. had held on to as collateral security, but the misguided servant cut loose, abandoning them, to the great disgust of his deserted master, who unburdened himself to me thus: "I presume he'll get some fresh ones in the bazaar, in Madras. I believe you can buy a High Court Judge's *chit* there for two annas. I suppose you can get one written by a Port Officer for about a pie!"

Here is a story of an irate Presidency Port Officer and of a careless Port Conservator. This latter official is a cheap variety of Port Officer, and performs all the duties of one in a minor port. The particular Conservator of whom I write was both pugnacious and negligent. So that when on one occasion he had been informed that the Presidency Port Officer *might* arrive on a certain morning at the port in his little Government steamer, while the Conservator's wife would *certainly* arrive the same morning by train at a railway station several miles away, the careless one risked it, and rushed off to meet his wife, returning at ten o'clock in the forenoon. Meanwhile, as it usually happens in such cases, the Government steamer was sighted at daybreak. No boat went off to meet her till the Conservator returned with his wife, and it was not till near eleven o'clock that the port boat reached the vessel. The Presidency Port Officer in question was an old fashioned sailorman, whose language was 'frequent and free.' I accordingly draw a veil over that meeting.

The best of the story is to come. A few days later an official order came down to the Conservator directing him to explain his gross delay in boarding the Government vessel. The explanation was submitted, and it was delicious.

For in allowing that he was a *little lute* on the morning in question, the laggard Conservator went on to state that it was true that the steamer was sighted at daybreak, but as it was a misty morning, and as she was a small vessel, the people ashore took her for two catamarans! The blend of apology and impudence in this statement is sublime.

The same Conservator had charge of a casuarina plantation which was also supposed to be looked after by another minor official, who lived close by. But as the Conservator and the minor official were at loggerheads, the plantation was not a success. Rumour had it that while officer No. 1 saw that the plants were watered every morning, officer No. 2 did the same every evening. The only drawback to this excellent system, was that officer No. 2 used *boiling* water!

A Port Officer of my acquaintance who exercised magisterial powers once complained to me that he had been hauled over the coals by the High Court. "I had a case before me," he said "and the accused were almost certainly guilty, but there wasn't quite enough evidence, so I acquitted them, *with a warning*. And the High Court is quite cross about it." "The Judicial order of the Port Officer was certainly open to criticism. For in essence his verdict was "not guilty, but you must not do it again." And yet it is difficult to refrain from sympathising with the practical sailor, who had acted in all sincerity.

Another Special Magistrate of the same species found himself trying his own dhobi. The washerman had been charged with obstructing a road by placing thereon a charpoy covered with clothes set out to dry. They were quite possibly the Magistrate's own clothes, and the dhobi got off with a modest fine of four annas. The indignant surprise of the Magistrate may be imagined when the dhobi insinuatingly approached the Court and pleaded "would the Doragaru mind taking the money out of the next month's *Jeethum* (pay)?" A hasty threat of two days simple imprisonment in default and the four annas appeared as if by magic from a corner of the dhobi's cloth.

This Magistrate was once approached by a woman with a novel petition, which stated that the petitioner's husband was quitting India for Burma, and was leaving his wife behind. The prayer at the end of the petition was in the alternative. Would the Magistrate detain the husband, or if this could not be done, would he allow the petitioner to take another husband? This was distinctly embarrassing. I rejoice to record that the Court was successful in effecting a compromise.

It is not often that so uninteresting a matter as a Customs classification gives rise to a good story. But I recollect a case where a Customs Collector spent a very unhappy ten minutes because of a ludicrous error committed by one of his classifiers. In his *tappal* one day was a stern demand for an explanation as to how he came to

allow fireworks to be landed and cleared at his port. The Customs man was bewildered. The port was not one at which fireworks could be landed, except under very special circumstances. And so he feverishly hunted out the documents referred to in the order from headquarters. When he had found them, he hardly knew whether to laugh or to weep. For that which his classifier had labelled fireworks turned out to be an inoffensive consignment of *sparklata*, the well-known arators. The word had been taken by his subordinate in its apparently obvious significance, and what could be more clear than that little sparks should fall into the fireworks class?

One last tale, and I close.

The scene shifts to a Plague office in the days when plague passports were strictly supervised and when each passport holder was obliged to present himself for observation for ten days. Four individuals having absented themselves on a certain day were directed to explain the reason for their absence. Four absolutely identical replies were received. They ran thus "30th of January happened to be a Sunday and therefore as Christians, we are strictly prohibited from presenting passports. For authority, see Holy Bible, Book of Exodus, chapter 20, verses 8, 9, 10, 11."

DADABHAI NAOROJI.

By MR. N. GUPTA.

Thou hast crossed the bar and the crested foam
Beyond where the tumult of wind and wave is

O war-worn warrior, O white-souled knight!
Patriot and Prophet, the white flower of thy life
Shall bloom fadeless in the years to be!
Immortal by the crowded glory of thy stainless

O, mortal crowned immortal by the gods in
Godlike in life, deathless in death,
Time waits as a handmaid on thy fame:
Dowered child of the Motherland! Seer whose vision
Saw the future as a scroll unrolled.

O Rishi in the land of the Rishis, O Elect of thine
Rest, for, lo, the night passeth
And the dawning morn crowns the rugged heights.

THE BARODA CASTE USAGES BILL

BY DR. SUBRAHMANYA AIYAR, M.A.

(Senior Dewan Peishkar, Travancore.)

Have read the Baroda "Caste Usage Bill" which, it is said, is under the consideration of His Highness the Gaekwar.

The preamble to the Bill runs thus:—
"Whereas caste usages and practices are in vogue in this State which, in course of time have lost their social value and now, only hinder the physical, moral and material welfare of the people and whereas there exists a body of enlightened opinion in the castes whose usages and practices they are, which revolts against them but is powerless to throw off their yoke and whereas it is expedient in the public interest to foster such enlightened opinion and help it to assert itself it is hereby enacted as follows":—

I have not been able to lay hold of the statement of objects and reasons or any proceedings of Government or any speech which contain those objects and reasons. But to the unbiased student, the preamble suggests the following queries which, I am sure, His Highness, as the head of the State responsible to God and man, must have put to himself before drawing up the Bill. I will simply name them by way of foreword to this letter.

i. What was the social value of the caste usages and practices now proposed to be ruled out by the strong arm of the legislature? In other words "in what way or ways were they useful and valuable to the society?"

ii. How, when, and why was that value lost? (To say that all this occurred in course of time is not to say anything at all. Time is an inanimate thing and not an active agent. It only marks a succession of events. The question is, what in the opinion of law makers, are those events that led to those usages losing their social value.)

iii. Is the benefit of that value one that should not be surrendered, and if so, what is the alternative that is proposed to still secure that value?

iv. In what precise way do the caste usages hinder the moral, material and physical welfare of the people?

v. What are the grounds for believing that the opinion in the caste which revolts against their usages and practices is "enlightened"?

vi. Why is that opinion powerless to throw off the yoke of these usages?

vii. What steps have been taken either by the holders of the "enlightened" opinion or by Gov-

ernment to diffuse this opinion among the people and avoid resorting to a strong penal law?

viii. Has the proposed law any precedent in history, all other conditions being equal?

As if to make the outside reader realise how some of the caste laws obtaining in Baroda are ridiculous beyond measure, the drafters of the Bill give, as illustrations to section 3, of the following:—

Illustrations.

CLAUSE 1.

1. A does not observe the custom of lamentation and beating of breasts (by women) in public on the occasion of a death in the family, for which he is fined by the head-man of the caste.

2. A does not get the hair shaved off or the moustache and beard removed on completion of funeral obsequies and hence the invitation to caste dinner to A is stopped.

CLAUSE 2.

1. A is fined for giving or accepting a girl in marriage beyond the "ring" generally agreed upon.

2. A person belonging to one sub-caste marries a girl of another sub-caste for which he is excommunicated.

CLAUSE 3.

A is excommunicated for not giving the prescribed number of caste dinners on the occasion of marriage, funeral obsequies or consummation of marriage.

CLAUSE 4.

It is resolved that A should pay a certain fine for foreign travel or sea voyage and that he is to be excommunicated on failure to pay it.

CLAUSE 5.

A is excommunicated for not getting a girl married although she is past a certain age.

5. Now let us take example (2) where the nonshaving of the hair, moustache or beard on completion of funeral obsequies as prescribed by Smritis—not the caste law of a community, mind—means the non-invitation to the caste dinner. Under section 3, a suit shall lie to declare against this practice. Under section 6, a judgment may be passed to the effect that it is unlawful to omit such a man to dinner. Section 7 says that whoever omits to do an act which is unlawful to omit, viz., inviting persons to dinner, shall be punished with simple imprisonment which may extend to 6 months and shall also be liable to fine. Imprisonment is here a compulsory item of

punishment, though under the Indian Penal Code even offences like theft may be punished with fine only. This difference will speak for itself. But to show up the contrast, let me take a parallel instance from club life; for a village community is, in one sense, only a residential club. A number of Europeans are members of a club. A few of them believe that, for this hot country, the clothing of the ordinary Indian is most convenient. They take off their trousers and boots and put on dhoti and pugrie. To their eyes, a flowing tuft of hair on the back with the front part of the head shaved, impart a greater elegance to the person than a cropped round head; and lastly they think that chewing pan and supari is less harmful and more healthy than smoking a pipe. Such members, though Europeans, would be considered very odd by their comrades, and if they are not sent out of the club straight off to the lunatic asylum, they would be cut most unkindly by every other member. If any member gives a dinner at the club to all the Europeans of the station, these externally Indianised Europeans might be excluded from that dinner. These men may feel they have really a grievance. They have not offended against public decency or morals. They have only been doing what several estimable Indian brethren of theirs are doing and they feel that they should be helped to remain in the club and have as free social intercourse with their fellows as ever. Will it be the business of the State in its judicial department to entertain a suit for declaring that keeping a tuft, chewing a pan or supari, wearing dhoti instead of trousers is all lawful, that to omit to treat those that so act, just as they were treated before is unlawful, and that whoever so omits shall be punished with imprisonment with the additional liability of being fined? If individuals have a right to liberty of action, have not corporate bodies or associations a right to a similar liberty? And as an English weekly put it the other day, in reference to Irish Home Rule, "assuming both parties to be within their rights, the suggestion to apply coercion to one or the other must be distinctly immoral." This is what I understand to be the situation. While I am no defender of tyrannies, either in the name of caste or state, the proposal contained in the Bill to make penal the non-invitation of a person to dinner is passing comical. To keep a tuft or beard unshaven may not by itself be a crime. But to shave it if religious prescriptions or long-recognised custom requires it, and to do so, if not from conviction at least from deference to social conformity cannot be an offence either. In connection with the so called tyranny of caste law it

has to be remembered that the collection is well worth the sacrifice of the liberty or convenience of a few, and that the out-raging of custom and the breaking of conventionality without strong reason are everywhere considered anti-social. A caste or a community is really, by its very connotation, a number of people bound together by certain common customs, manners, etc. It is an association of people governed by certain common laws. And if in a community of association so formed, any persons, whether numbering 25 per cent. or not as specified in the Bill wish to throw off some or all of those customs or laws, they should either win the others through persuasion or they should leave them alone to form separate community or association for themselves if they please. But to ask that the dissentients should be allowed to remain in the community or association, and that with all the elements of commonness, such as common customs, common laws, etc., being allowed to be repudiated one by one, and to ask again for this repudiation being accepted by the others at the point of the bayonet i.e., through the intervention of the armed forces of the crown—if need be,—for, the ultimate enforcement of all laws, is by physical compulsion this is, to my humble thinking, a misuse of kingly power, especially, when the caste customs whose violation caste law seeks to punish do not, taken by themselves, constitute any crime under the general laws of the State.

Caste usage represents what was once the public will of the caste. It is admittedly still the will of the majority. The present Bill proposes to free the minority from that will, while ensuring to that minority the right to remain as part of that caste nevertheless. This is not to make caste government healthy and efficient, which can only be by creating an atmosphere of correct public opinion in the light of which all injustices and tyrannies will disappear. It is no less than killing caste government altogether and replacing it by State tyranny. All legislation means, in its ultimate effects, armed interference with private liberty, individual or corporate; and the policy of civilized legislatures is not to extend its power but to gradually let public opinion and social tribunals take the place of laws and law-courts in increasing measure. Of course, a certain section of modern public opinion, may support Bills of this kind and what is more; they may perhaps even serve as pegs on which to hang many a diatribe against other Governments for not having the same boldness and real love towards the people. But they are wrong all the same.

THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT

BY MR. M. B. SANT.

(Assistant Secretary, Indian Industrial Conference, Bombay.)

THE question of the Swadeshi movement has been so often and so thoroughly discussed on public platforms in newspapers, and other periodicals that very little now remains to be said. Yet living, as we do, in an age of short memories and numerous distractions, no subject however important or affecting the vital interests of a nation, it may be, will leave any permanent impression on the popular mind unless and until it is repeatedly dinned into their ears and its significance brought home to them by diverse methods and on different occasions. In the pregnant words of His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda, "This economic problem is our last ordeal as a nation, it is our last chance." It behoves, therefore, every son of India to study this question carefully and to persist in reducing to practice what we have all been preaching so long. Because practice is the school of mankind and it will learn at no other.

The first faint beginning of the Swadeshi movement was made in Poona, so far back as 1878 by an old veteran of that place, Mr. Ganesh Vasudev Joshi, who may be justly looked upon as its pioneer. He, however, failed to gather any adherents at the time, but like all truths which have the inherent property of manifesting signs of vitality, whenever there is the least favourable chance, this movement came to be revived in 1890 and was fostered by men like the late Mr. M. G. Ranade. For nearly 15 years the idea remained stagnant, until it received a sudden impetus in 1905. The credit of its revival, renewed vigour and vitality is largely due to Bengal. But the association of the movement with the Partition question and certain other incidents which happened in its earliest stages about a decade ago, brought it under disrepute. A dark cloud of suspicion hung over it, its advocates and martyrs for a time until the light of subsequent events dispelled the awful gloom to such an extent that the Government of India has itself become now an Indian Swadeshi by advocating in unmistakable terms the purchase of Indian goods even in preference to foreign articles by the different departments under its control, whenever possible.

Now what is the meaning of the Swadeshi movement or what does it connote?

Pure and unalloyed Swadeshi is a genuine sentiment that every son of India ought to do something for the industrial welfare of his Motherland

and as such this sentiment deserves to be cultivated in its intensity. By dint of self-help the movement honestly attempts.

(a) To conserve old existing industries of the country by introducing all possible and necessary improvements.

(b) To start new ones necessitated by the circumstances of the modern civilisation, to keep India as far as possible independent of foreign supplies of articles either of daily use or of luxury.

(c) To create within the country itself a permanent market for the home goods and raw products by observing a vow of self-help and self-sacrifice affording by these means a legitimate support and protection to the home industry.

If there is any non-controversial subject before our countrymen, which must appeal to the patriotic instincts of all communities, irrespective of caste, creed or complexion, inhabiting this vast Peninsula, it is this Swadeshi movement. The domiciled Anglo Indian, the Parsi, the Mahomedan, the Bohra, or the Jew is as much interested in its correct solution and its progress as the Hindu. In the earlier stages of the Indian History, when India was isolated and self-sufficient, the need of this question never arose. It is only owing to the impact of the Western civilisation heralding a new era of mechanical inventions and the subjugation of the forces of nature, that the conditions of Indian life have been entirely upset and the need for protection of home industry has naturally come to be recognised.

This question throws certain responsibilities on the producer and the dealer along with the consumer. It is within the knowledge and recollection of many of us that in the beginning of this movement, unscrupulous manufactures and dealers had a sole eye to illegitimate profits and were in a hurry to get rich by all possible means fair or foul. They exploited the movement by plugging off as country made goods articles of foreign make by using false labels, trade marks and other devices. Manufacturers put on the market unfinished, inferior and worthless goods taking thus an unfair advantage of the movement. In fact as one of our friends has happily put it, "this movement has enabled people to sell and produce candles that will not burn, soaps that will not wash, matches that will not light, and pencils that would not write." This picture may appear to be over-drawn. But it must be conceded that there

is much truth in this statement and it teaches us that any movement based on sentiment alone can never last long, unless it is nourished by other factors equally sound and encouraging.

Want of expert knowledge in the bankers, manufacturers, engineers and traders, low commercial morality, impatience to get rich at the cost of one's own countrymen, shyness of capital, starting of industrial ventures without proper and sufficient investigation, lack of advertisement of goods for the purpose of creating markets either in the country or abroad—these and many other causes, some within our own control and some beyond, contributed to the fall of Swadeshim and unless steps are immediately taken in the right direction, there is no prospect of an abiding success of the movement.

OUR DUTIES.

Our first and foremost duty is to organise and combine. Those who loudly complain of the industrial invasion of Japan since the commencement of the present titanic struggle, forget the fact that Japan does not believe in talk, platform speeches, lengthy discourses and discussions, more or less of an academical nature, but in action, pure and simple. It is a country of cottage industry, properly organised on the principles of combination and co-operation, without the aid of costly machinery and in most cases without bounties or other forms of government help. In Japan, the mill-owners and other big as well as small traders form combines and by united action succeed in underselling articles in foreign countries, in a way which makes it impossible for them to compete with Japanese goods.

To ensure success of the Swadeshi movement, it is necessary to patronise existing industries, and also to start new ones to suit various centres in India. There is ample scope in the country for the expansion of the hand loom and diverse other occupations.

The following measures should be adopted for the purpose of creating a market for indigenous products at home and in foreign countries:—

(a) For home market, shops should be opened in all important centres and in every town for the collection and sale of only country made articles. "The Directory of Indian Goods and Industries," compiled by the office of the General Secretary, Indian Industrial Conference, will afford much help in organising these shops.

(b) There ought to be standing exhibitions of indigenous goods and productions of art at least in the principal cities of India.

(c) It is necessary also to collect specimens of foreign goods of various description which should be kept on view for the instruction of artisans and others desirous of studying them for the purpose of producing similar wares. This system has already been adopted by Japan and has produced excellent results. The Commercial Intelligence Department of the Government of India has organised Museums for the exhibition of Indian as well as foreign articles.

(d) Determination on the part of the people to buy genuine Swadeshi articles in preference to foreign goods, even if the cost is slightly higher.

(e) To organise exhibitions of machinery large and small which is actually used in foreign countries for the manufacture of different articles of daily use. These exhibitions of the processes of manufacture will be of greater practical utility than the exhibitions of Indian articles organised now and then in the different parts of the country.

For the success of the Swadeshi movement and the diffusion of the Industrial ideal, there ought to be extensive schemes of Scientific and Technical Education undertaken either by private agency or Government departments. In addition to these, a nation bent seriously upon industrial advancement, must prepare its younger generation for manual work, which should not be looked down upon, but assigned even a higher place than that of the merely literary and unproductive careers. Unless there is a harmonious and genuine combination of capital, brain, earnestness and sincerity of purpose, there can be no Industrial progress.

These are only a few of the essentialities of modern industrialism, which cannot be lost sight of.

My remarks on the abuses of the Swadeshi movement and on the causes of its failure are likely to make some of you despondent in regard to the future of this activity. For their sake, let me at once make myself clear on the subject by stating that those remarks represent only one side of the picture. Let us not ignore the bright aspect of the movement and the marvellous transformation which it has made both in the ideals and the actual life of the people. About twenty years back, gentlemen who could afford owing to their affluent circumstances to send their sons or relatives to foreign countries for training, invariably selected the I. C. S., I. M. S., and Barrister's courses, but a change has since then come over the popular feelings; and wealthy persons or

public associations started in the various parts of the country choose mechanical, or electrical engineering, textile engineering, pure and applied chemistry, agriculture and other technical courses for their students. The Government of India has allotted a certain number of scholarships purely for technical education. As a result of this impetus, those places and posts which were formerly occupied exclusively by the foreigners, are now in the hands of Indians. The Society for the Advancement of the Scientific Education started in Bengal, has alone sent nearly three hundred students so far to foreign countries solely for technical studies. The commendable activity of this as well as other similar institutions all over India and the co-operation of the Government of British India and Indian States, have already borne fruit. There are now in the country experts in glass making, paper and paper pulp manufacture and some other industries and also men capable of undertaking geological surveys and mining industries. We possess a number of electrical and mechanical engineers trained here as well as in foreign lands. Our spinning and weaving mills are run by our own spinning and carding masters and dyers. In the forest research work, our chemists and experts are working on equal footing and side by side with European officials. In the agricultural department, we have got our own botanists, entomologists and chemists showing equal aptitude in research and organisation with their European confreres. I have seen Indian Engineers in charge of Steamships of the Indian Navigation Companies. Many of you who have not paid much attention to industrial problems, will be surprised to learn that high class gentlemen have chosen deliberately leather tanning and other despised professions and careers for their sons who are B. Scs., of Indian Universities. Can the Swadeshi spirit go further? Yes, there is yet in the country a portion of the younger generation which shows an aversion to any profession or avocation requiring manual labour. So long as this feeling lasts, do not dream of your economical emancipation. In other countries, sons of millionaires will not shrink from working as coal heavers in the mines owned by their own fathers. Let us take this lesson to heart.

The starting of Swadeshi shops, in principal cities, has given much impetus to this activity as each shop is a standing Museum of country made goods.

In the midst of the gloom cast by the regrettable failures of our banks, there are also several

features which are distinctly reassuring. The colossal enterprises started by the distinguished sons of the late Mr. J. N. Tata with the aid of funds raised in India, I mean the Steel and iron works and the Hydro-electric schemes of Bombay Presidency, are an emphatic answer to the charge sometimes laid at our doors, that we are inefficient in the capacity of organisation and combination.

According to some pessimists, we may not be able to show a distinct advance owing to the vastness of our country and the meagre information that we possess regarding our own activities. We may be moving in a circle, but that circle is continually widening and bids fair to encompass the whole world within the domains of its activities.

There was a time, not long ago, when our dhoties used to come from Manchester, boots from Dawson, socks and shirts from Whiteaway, Laidlaw & Co. But, now, thanks to the spread of this movement and the energy and enterprise of our Bombay and Ahmedabad mill-owners, a prince as well as a peasant can now be dressed from head to foot in an attire which can be purely Swadeshi.

If that is the case, may we not hope that captains of industry and all who attend future Conferences and Congresses, which include the Swadeshi in their programme, may set an example to their countrymen by appearing in a dress composed entirely of Swadeshi manufacture?

India occupies a unique position on the globe. Blessed with fertile soils, an equable climate, favourable for the production of an abundance of raw materials, with an inexhaustible mineral wealth, India was and is still capable of meeting her own wants by producing articles of every-day life. Yet it presents in the words of a well-known writer, the "strange spectacle of a country formerly rich, prosperous and civilised, but now with many of its industries on the border of extinction." The only way to solve our economical difficulty is by being Swadeshi. The right of civilised citizenship implies freedom of purchase and use of commodities and if Indians in their patriotic zeal for the revival and development of indigenous industries, prefer home made goods to articles of foreign origin, there is no cause for despondency.

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G. A. Natesan & Co., Sunkuram Chetty Street, Madras.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

June 26. Bombay Presidency Association's cablegram to Messrs. Lloyd George, Asquith, Chamberlain and Sir William Wedderburn against repression in India and the need for a statement of a definite policy.

June 27. The *New Times*, an Indian daily, started six weeks ago in Karachi, has been ordered to deposit a security of Rs. 500 under the Press Act.

June 28. The first United States contingents have arrived in France.

A new Greek Cabinet has been formed with M. Venizelos as Premier and War Minister, M. Repoulis, Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Admiral Condouriotis as Minister of Marine.

June 29. Accounts of the Mongolia disaster. Students prohibited from attending public meetings in the Punjab.

Punjab newspapers prohibited from reporting speeches against the Government.

June 30. Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji died this evening in Bombay.

July 1. Lord Ronaldshay's advice to students at the Calcutta University Institute.

Funeral of Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji.

July 2. Reuter cables that the terms of office of Lord Pentland and Lord Willingdon have been extended.

July 3. Air raids on aerodromes and air sheds in Belgium.

The French repulse serious attacks on Chemin-des-Dames.

The first Petrograd Women's contingent has been formed and presented with a flag.

Lord Hardinge's defence in the Lords in regard to the accusation of the Mesopotamia Commission Report.

July 4. Celebrations of the American Independence Day in Allied Countries' capitals.

July 5. Lord Ronaldshay's views on Self-Government in a speech at Dacca.

July 8. Mr. Bonar Law's Statement in the Commons on the air raid.
Vigorous Russian offensive.
Control of Neutral shipping.

July 9. Secretary of State's message to the relatives of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji.
Debate in Parliament on the air raid and Mr. Lloyd George's statement.

July 10. Success of the Russian offensive.
Panic in Germany and Hungary.
Conference of the Indian Student's advisory Committees at Simla.

July 11. Appointment of a Committee on Empire cotton growing with Messrs. D. T. Chadwick and L. J. Kershaw representing India.

July 12. Mr. Austin Chamberlain, Secretary of State for India, has resigned.

Indian papers express strong resentment at the censure on Lord Hardinge and express continued confidence in his Lordship.

July 13. Bengal Provincial Congress Committee proposes names for Presidency of the ensuing Congress.

July 14. The Admiralty announces that Count Von Bethmann Holweg the German Imperial Chancellor has resigned.

July 15. Reuter and the Associated Press report that Mrs. Besant has refused the Government's permission to continue her non-political works.

Death in Calcutta of Sir P. C. Chatterjee.

July 16. Swadeshi Day in Madras. No less than a dozen meetings in the City and numerous meetings in the mofussil were held in which Swadeshi vows were taken.

July 17. Mr. Montague becomes Secretary of State for India.

Change in name and title of the Royal family is announced.

July 18. Champaran Agrarian enquiry.
Meetings in Government House, Madras, re the ensuing Madras Exhibition.

THE HON. BABU BUPENDRANATH BASU



THE HON. SIR PRABHAKANKAR D. PATIL



TWO NEW MEMBERS OF THE INDIA COUNCIL.



THE LATE SIR P. C. CHATTERJEA

TOPICS FROM PERIODICALS

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An Indian in the Australian Army

Mr. Saint Nihal Singh writes a vivid sketch of "The only Indian in the Australian Army," Private Gurbuchan Singh, in a recent issue of the *Commonweal*. Gurbuchan presented himself to the writer like a true born Australian farmer in Khaki with his weather-beaten face and the soft "slouch" hat. And but for his Sikh salutation, could hardly be recognised as Mr. Nihal Singh's countryman. Gurbuchan had been through the Chitral and Tirah Campaigns and had served in South Africa in the siege of Ladysmith.

"We are willing to serve as mere privates in the expeditionary force that Australia was organising," said the Sikh soldier. "There was one Mussalman among us who owned a large number of camels in Western Australia, who was eager to raise a Camel Corps. There was a Sikh farmer with a large acreage who wanted to make himself responsible for raising two hundred recruits. There were thousands of Indians in Australia, and we hoped that a regiment might be recruited from amongst us and sent to Europe for service."

It was of course very very difficult to get the chance. Not being a "substantial European," he couldn't get in but the Punjabi's pertinacity stood him in good stead.

"I told the officers who examined me that I had fought for the King-Emperor in three campaigns. They seemed to think that I was too old to fight now, but I satisfied them that my age at that time was only forty-two years six-months, and that I was quite fit. My earnestness finally overcame all opposition, and I was taken in. My happiness would have been complete had I been passed for service at the front, but I was classed CI. I was, however, glad to be enlisted at all, and felt sure that sooner or later I would have my chance to fight in Europe."

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"Was that the end of your difficulties?" I questioned him.

"Not exactly," he rejoined. "Attempts were made later to shunt me off. But in my enthusiasm I had made a considerable sacrifice in leaving off my business, and I asked them to take my sacrifice into consideration, and let me stay in. I won my point."

But why are you so eager to fight, asked Mr. Nihal Singh. Here is the warrior's reply:—

"Well, you see," he said, "I am a Sikh—and fighting is in my blood. Besides, the Germans killed one of my people—Subadar-Major Sardar Balwant Singh Bahadur. Last and most important of all, this is a time of emergency, when every man who can fight is needed to fight for the King Emperor."

The prospect of facing the enemy in open battle is too cheerful for the Sikh patriot to think of the perils of war. "Death" says Gurbuchan, "has no terrors for us; soon the desire of my heart will be fulfilled when I cross the channel and confront the Germans." Mr. Nihal parted with the only Sikh private in the Australian army "with a heavy heart, and felt sorry that other Indian settlers in Australia had not been given the chance to fight for the King-Emperor."

The Commonwealth Government does not, however, stand by itself in this matter. "So far as I know," writes Mr. Nihal Singh, "only three or four of our settlers in Canada have been allowed to join the Canadian Contingent. The other day a friend of mine saw one of these Indians dressed up in the Canadian uniform, who was ready to go to the front, and told me that Indians in the Dominions are all eager to fight. Now that the Canadian authorities are planning to introduce compulsory service, it is to be hoped that our countrymen settled in Canada will be given the coveted chance."

The Indian Defence Force

The current number of the *Review of Reviews* (London), discusses the real reason why the Indian response to the Defence Force has been poor. The Editor writes in the course of a note: "A laconic telegram received here the other day told the people that only 300 Indians had come forward to join the Defence Force that the Government is creating. There was not a word to explain why the response has been so poor. If the correspondent had embarked on such an attempt, he would have had to make many damaging admissions. We would like to ask the authorities why they have failed to respect their promise of giving Indians the same terms as Europeans. How can Indians feel enthusiasm if they are not to hold commissions even in a volunteer force, let alone the regular Army, and if B.A.'s and M.A.'s are required to serve at less than £1 a month? The Indian Government does not even seem to realise that the success of volunteering depends very largely upon making training available for the patriotic volunteer near his place of residence. Let the authorities treat our Indian fellow-subjects generously, and we are sure that there will be a warm response from India's manhood."

Ceylon After the War

Mr. C. E. Corea, the Editor of the *National Monthly of Ceylon*, in the course of his notes in a recent issue of his journal makes in an impassioned plea for the introduction of free institutions in Ceylon after the War.

The Allies are unequivocally committed to the "principle of nationality." That principle has been admirably defined by Mr. Wilson, the President of the United States, as follows: "No nation should extend itself, in policy, over any other nation or people, but each little and great nation should be free to develop unhindered and unafraid."

If the Allies are sincere, then Ceylon after the War will be governed by His Britannic Majesty,

through "the principle of nationality." There must be no more dumping of foreign undesirables upon the land belonging to the nation; there must be no conserving of the nation's labour for the benefit of the planter, by the abolition of tobacco cultivation, paddy cultivation or any other national industry. And in the ~~Future~~ Service there must be no preponderance of any outside nationality, nor in Council shall there be any more official domination. Also, after the War, the term "Ruling Race" shall no longer be heard, here or elsewhere, for no more shall race rule over race, since the British Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George, has announced in regard to the future of the Empire: "We shall set to work to build up that ordered freedom and *fraternity* which is the only security for human peace and progress." All this shall surely come to pass if the Allies are sincere in the aims they have declared before God; for the realisation of those aims God will give them victory—but "God is not mocked."

English Education in Bengal

The Bengal District Administration Committee was appointed in 1913 to inquire into the administration of that Province and to report how far that administration was responsible for the indiscipline, unrest and seditious movements there. The report of that Committee holds that much evil has been caused by the loose management of educational affairs in Bengal, by the almost entire absence of adequate supervision and control particularly in the case of secondary schools and by the consequent mal-administration of public funds; and it lays a share of the blame for the grave defects of Bengal education at the door of the Education Commission of 1884.

Dr. Miller, writing in the *Christian College Magazine*, for June, repudiates this charge, and shows that if the report of the Education Commission had been acted on and its recommendations put in force, the evils which have grown up

might have been nipped in the bud. The Education Commission recommended that the Bengal educational authorities should inspect and supervise all schools much more strictly than was being done in 1882 and pointed out the necessity for the provision of an adequate supply of trained teachers. It also urged that periodic and frequent conferences should be held between officials of the Education Department and accredited representatives of private effort. So far no attention seems to have been given in Bengal to these during the last 34 years. Other points might also be mentioned to show that the recommendations and views of the Education Commission have been ignored and deliberately set aside in the educational administration of Bengal. There is no ground, therefore, for charging the Education Commission with complicity in bringing about the present regrettable situation in Bengal. In Madras, where a certain amount of real effect was given to the views and recommendations of the Educational Commission, a comparatively good state of discipline and general tone was well established. And Dr. Miller goes on to say that "those who know the people best ascribe this striking difference between the young men of Madras and the young men of Bengal, if not mainly, at least largely to the harmony between Government, and private managers, which was established and for a time maintained on the basis of the work done by the Education Commission."

There are two ways in which an official department of education can confer some real benefit on the people in the midst of whom it works. The one by means of sympathetic fellowship and wise guidance works out a larger and more lasting good; the other within much narrower limits may work out some amount of good of a less far-reaching and fruitful kind. Those ultimately responsible for educational administration in Bengal appear to have deliberately abstained from walking in either of those two ways. To this fact, not to any blindness or mistake on the part of the Education Commission, must be attributed the chaos of education in Bengal which the District Administration Committee has investigated so fully and described so powerfully.

Hindu Theory of Government

Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, I.C.S., writing in the current issue of the *Empire Review*, discusses the nature of ancient Indian polity based on the principles of Varnashrama Dharma. He points out:

The root of the theory of government which we find in Sanskrit Literature is the organisation of society upon the basis of caste, the essential feature of this organisation being that each of the functions required in a civilised community is discharged by a separate section of the people. The worship of the gods is the business of one caste, banking of another, shoe-making of another, and so on. By analogy the business of government is also assigned to one particular section, instead of being the common business of all as it is usually held to be in Europe. In India, this arrangement reacted upon the body politic in two ways. *Firstly*, the exclusion of most of the castes from politics left little room for the growth of feelings of common interest and public spirit; *secondly*, the efficiency of the governing section became of immense importance. Only if this section were strong could it perform its function of keeping each caste to its proper duties, and thereby combine the parts into an organic whole: while, if it were weak, society would fall apart into disconnected atoms. Anarchy is the peculiar peril of a society that is organised on the basis of caste, and the dread of anarchy naturally leads to monarchy as the strongest defence against it. Indian thinkers were well aware of the weakness of divided counsels, holding that one person should be appointed to one task, and not two or three. "It is always seen that several persons, if set to one task, disagree with one another." Desiring above all things a strong government, they insist over and over again upon the value of the kingship as a defence against anarchy, than which, it is said, "there is no greater evil."

Village Economic Surveys in Madura

Mr. A. J. Saunders, Professor of History and Economics in the American College, Madura, writing in a recent issue of the *Mysore Economic Journal*, tells us the results of his survey of three typical villages within the Madura district, made along the lines of Dr. Slater's valuable scheme for a survey of a Ryotwari village. The main outlines of the survey included statistics of the population, land, cultivation methods, stock, manuring, pests and diseases, living conditions, land values, industries village trade, rates of wages and prices, indebtedness, sanitary conditions, education, village administration etc. One of the villages was under the influence of the large and growing city of Madura; the second living its own quiet life and almost alone; and the third situated on the main railway line, a leading village and a large union. The following are the general conclusions arrived at by the writer.

1. "The old methods and implements of agriculture are still almost universally used. The average village ryot is quite content to do as his father and grand-father did before him. In theory he is not opposed to change and progress. But he is afraid to experiment. If a new way is plainly demonstrated to him, and its advantages shown he will accept it, but not otherwise. I therefore would urge the Agricultural Department to undertake a series of demonstrations in the chief centres of the District, and bring the results within the reach and study of the average ryot. I would suggest that the lines of demonstration should follow method, implements, seed, manure, rotation of crops, breeding of cattle.

2. Co-operation between villagers in the matters of production and exchange of commodities so as to save to themselves the middleman's profit is absent. The gospel of mutual trust for mutual benefit needs to be preached day and night in every village in South India.

3. The money-lender and his exorbitant rates of interest are the veritable bane of the poorer ryot. The average ryot cannot continue his cultivation without capital, but at a rate of interest which finally results in the ryot's becoming an agricultural slave to the money-lender. Happily for the Indian ryot there is a remedy and it is along the lines of Co-operative Credit Societies. The principle of co-operation is the only salvation for the Indian ryot and I would urge a policy of enlightenment along these lines in every district in the Presidency.

4. Indebtedness is an actual curse in every village. People seem more or less callous to it. They do not seem to understand the enormous rates of interest they are paying, how that cripples their working capital, and lessens their powers of production. Diminished production means less wealth and capital, and no country can become industrially and commercially great which has the great majority of its population continually in debt.

5. The Panchama classes are in a deplorable condition living in a state of abject misery and ignorance, far worse off than thousands of animals around them, and with no future, unless we are moved to bring to them liberty, education, and a chance in life. This survey has led me to see that what the average villager in South India needs is education, ambition, and enterprise."

Poetry and Education

Sir Henry Newbolt, writing in the June number of the *English Review*, on classics vs. science, points out that there is no necessary antagonism between the two methods, but that in a perfect, or even adequate, educational system they should be complementary. "By all means in our power," says the writer, "we must see that true generations which are to be touched by the great scientific minds shall be touched also by the great creative minds."

Co-operation in India

Mr. Crosthwaite, writing in the *Bombay Co-operative Quarterly* points out several interesting observations on the state of co-operation in India. He says that co-operation in Britain and co-operation in India are two very different things. In the matter of industrial co-operation England has always been *facile princeps*; but even a few years ago, it seemed as if a great deal of preliminary, educative and propagandist work would be wanted in rural England, before there could be a really popular move towards co-operation in agriculture. Education is more advanced and more easily to be had in industrial centres, and the town-dwellers are sharpened in their wits by the atmosphere of busy competition, and they use co-operation as a protection against the strain and stress of that competition. In India, he says, the first necessity is the improvement of the state of rural education and the formation of private organisation societies.

"The difficulty which strikes me is the backward state of rural education,—general education and enlightenment, I mean, not mere book-learning. And how is the cultivator to understand it? I plead for a campaign of rural education in India. If this great country is to be a self-contained unit of the Empire, then there must be not only a reform but a revolution in her system of agricultural economy. For most modern industries the raw material supplied by the fields is essential: and in many parent industries this material must be produced within a short distance of the factory if profits and efficiency are to be secured. Intensive cultivation is, indeed, a corollary of the modern factory: and I need not labour on the point that industries and agriculture, whether in the matter of labour or of markets or of material are inter-dependent. An examination of Japanese conditions will bring home the truth of this. But if you wish

to get money out of business you must first put money into it. A great deal of money is wanted for the improvement of Indian agriculture. The improvement of agriculture and the need of the cultivator for increased capital will progress together; and the ideal which some people appear to cherish of rural co-operative credit societies requiring no credit, can only be reached by means of economic stagnation and the stoppage of human progress. In Germany the rural societies borrow because they progress from one stage of improvement to another on the strength of their credit, and their credit depends upon their ability to progress. And that ability in turn is the result of the research work done by the scientific experts paid by the State. But the scientific expert is not expected to devote his attention to the organisation and supervision of co-operative societies. The co-operative societies eagerly assimilate and apply the discoveries of the scientists, and the mainspring of their enterprise is the thoughtfulness and vigour of their members.

Later he urges also very much the same warning. "Those who expect too much of co-operative institutions forget the limitations of environment and the unequal development of the many countries of which India is composed. The progress of co-operation depends upon progress in many other directions. It depends on the development of education, of railways, of roads, of markets. It depends upon the supply of workers, paid and unpaid, and most of all perhaps, on the degree of importance attached to economic development by those who are the elected representatives of their countrymen. *Ex nihilo nihil fit*. Bricks cannot be made without straw. And those who desire to see the co-operative movement go ahead in India, should do all they can to secure the general development of the country and should attach to co-operation that same degree of commanding importance which is attached to it in other countries."

China in English Literature

Mr. G. Currie Martin, writing in the May number of the *Asiatic Review*, deplores the remarkable ignorance of China, under which Englishmen labour and more than that, their mental attitude which betrays the distrust that arises from ignorance. He says that English readers had comparatively little excuse for their lack of knowledge of China, for there has existed for centuries in the English tongue very excellent accounts of the land and very just estimates of some of the finer qualities displayed by the Chinese. European travellers as early as the 14th century were busy in the far Eastern lands; among whom the most famous was Marco Polo. This traveller is particularly poor in his accounts of China proper. Among the great Elizabethan writers and playwrights, we have very few references to Cathay. One can only suppose that in spite of all that had been written, no traveller had told anything of China's history where there was any dramatic situation for them to choose. But, as it was, the inhabitants of China were for Shakespeare, only synonyms of cheating and chicanery. We are told that the great sailor Drake himself came into touch with a Chinaman who begged him to take him back to his own land.

The 'Voyages' of the industrious Hakluyt give us a wonderfully accurate picture of China as it was then known, wherein are described the Chinese wall, the dense population, the fertile soil, their system of graduation, their love of literature, the method of governmental postal arrangements and the variety of religions prevailing in the country. Robert Burton with his massive learning has many shrewd references to China in his 'Anatomy.' He quotes a Chinese proverb to the effect that they have two eyes, Europeans one and the rest of the world blind, and makes numerous references to their prosperity, customs, and superstition. Later in the 17th century, we have got Sir Thomas Browne. Milson

did not allow China to go altogether unnoticed in his epic and his brief, history of Moscovia. Defoe in his 'Robinson Crusoe' makes his hero find his way to China and visit Nanking and Peking. Defoe is evidently not favourable to the Chinese and writes of them in a very insular and parochial spirit. In Goldsmith, we find a gracious and imaginative use, made by an English literary man of the 18th century, of his knowledge of China. Gibbon deplores that, in the trade between Rome and China, there was no importation into Europe of the art of printing as it had been already practised by the Chinese. Cowper, and Lamb, Leigh Hunt, Coleridge and Byron have all some references to China; as well as Carlyle and Landor. De Quincey wrote a pamphlet in 1857 in support of the war against China which is full of the most atrocious mis-statements and prejudice. Books on China and Chinese affairs, accounts of travel in China, studies in her literature and ideas, have been written in ever increasing numbers within the last century, but what among them, will be reckoned as permanent additions to English literature, the future alone will decide.

Sir W. Wedderburn on Women's Education

The *Mysore Social Review* says that at a meeting in London Sir William Wedderburn, speaking on the question of education of Indian women, said that the ultimate success of Self-Government for India was closely connected with that of education of Indian women. In other words, they must have sound education for Indian women, if they desired to have satisfactory results from Indian Self-Government. After referring to the urgent need for trained Indian women teachers and what was being done in that direction and to Sir Sankaran Nair's circular to the local Governments on women's education following Mrs. Fawcett's deputation to Mr. Chamberlain, Sir William referred to the Gokhale scholarship and appealed for more donors.

The Economy of an Indian Middle Class Home

Mr. G. A. Chandavarkar, writing in the June number of the *Wealth of India* warns the middle class people of the financial crisis that is bound to occur very soon and that will affect their position very seriously. The middle-class man depends for his maintenance upon his intellect and brain-power and the sources of his income are either public and private service, or the so-called independent professions and private enterprise. The resources from all these directions tend to become extremely limited; and from an economic standpoint there is no other conclusion for him to draw than that for a long time to come he must, in order to continue to live, either cut down his expenditure by rigid economy, or by ingenious means supplement his income. There has been a steady increase on the expenditure side so much so, that on an average, within the last ten years, the cost of living has risen almost 50 per cent. The writer proposes a few methods to better the position of the middle-class man. Of these the most important is life-insurance the premiums of which regularly enforce and teach economy, and become a compulsory form of saving. The starting of home industries on a small scale, which would supplement the income of the family is another device; and the making of socks, neckties and woollen comforters on a systematic basis by the housewife is bound to lighten the financial burden. The adjustment of expenditure on a co-operative basis seems also economical. Purchasing articles, foodstuffs and even clothing at wholesale rates and then distributing them between 3 or 4 families may also be economical. And lastly, rigid economy, even at the cost of some present day comforts, deserves a trial. A few luxuries may be dispensed with, and some injurious habits of food and drink may be given up. The methods thus suggested may easily better the economic condition of the middle-class man.

The Nation

Sir Rabindranath Tagore, contributing an article to the *Modern Review* (July), contrasts the hidebound organisation of the present day nations which are merely huge machines for production and destruction with the natural peoples who are living beings each with its destructive personality. The present day methods of nation organising crowd away into a corner the individual and the living man. He says that with the unchecked growth of nationalism the moral foundation of man's civilisation is unconsciously undergoing change, that the ideal of the nation like that of the professional man is selfishness which leads to a hopeless moral blindness confusing the religion of the people with the religion of the nation, and that the spirit of national selfishness is the brain disease of a people, which for the time being, shows itself in red eyes and clenched fists, in violence of talk and of movement, all the while shattering its natural system of healing. This moral alienation of peoples decked with the showy title of patriotism passes abroad as high moral influence and has its own inflammatory contagion. The material prosperity of the nation not only feeds the selfish instances of the people continuously, but impresses men's minds with the idea that for a nation, selfishness is a necessity and therefore a virtue. It is this emphasis upon the idea of the nation growing in strength that is the greatest danger to man, both in its direct activity and in its power of infection.

The idea of the nation is the professionalism of the people, which is becoming their greatest danger, because it is bringing them enormous success, making them impatient of the claims of higher ideals. The greater the amount of success the stronger are the conflicts of interest and jealousy and hatred which it arouses in men's minds and thereby makes it more and more necessary for living peoples to stiffen into nations,

The Imperial War Cabinet

The June Issue of the *Round Table* contains an interesting article about the Imperial War Cabinet which included representatives from all the Overseas Governments and India, except that of Australia. The primary object with which this was summoned was to convene a series of special and continuous meetings in order to consider urgent questions affecting the prosecution of the War, the possible conditions on which, in agreement with our Allies we could assent to its termination and the problems which will then immediately arise. This invitation was accepted by all the Overseas Governments except that of Australia, and the delegates including three representatives from India assembled in London in the middle of March.

Almost, at once, under stress of necessity, these meetings seem to have changed their intended character. The original idea had clearly been that the Overseas representatives should sit as members of the ordinary War Cabinet, enlarged for the time being to include them. But, in practice, while the special series of meetings of what came to be called the Imperial War Cabinet were held as originally intended, the pressure of facts made it necessary to hold during the same period, meetings of the ordinary British War Cabinet for the transaction of urgent War business and for the consideration of the domestic affairs of the United Kingdom, and also meetings of an Imperial War Conference for the consideration of other Imperial business not immediately connected with the War which were not attended by members of the War Cabinet proper.

Thus there came to be differentiated not by design, but by the necessity of the time, 3 bodies, viz., (1) the ordinary War-Cabinet of the British Isles, (2) An Imperial War Cabinet, consisting of the British War Cabinet and the Prime Ministers or other Plenipotentiaries of the Dominions under the chairmanship of the British

Premier, and, (3) An Imperial War Conference consisting of the representatives of the Dominions with certain British Ministers, but not the members of the British War Cabinet, sitting under the chairmanship of the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

The constitutional significance of this new position is very great. The Prime Minister declared in the Commons that meetings of the Imperial War Cabinet should be held annually or at any intermediate time, when matters of urgent Imperial necessity require to be settled. The institution, in its present form, he declared, was exceedingly "elastic." But this has been very fruitful in better understanding and in bringing about a unity of purpose and action that it ought to be perpetuated. Its existence will raise a number of new and difficult problems which will have to be solved later on. But it may be stated with certainty that in this we may discern the birth of a new and greater Imperial Commonwealth.

INDIA IN INDIAN & FOREIGN PERIODICALS.

THE INDIAN REPRESENTATION ON THE IMPERIAL WAR CONFERENCE. By Sir Robert Lethbridge, K.C.I.E. ["The Asiatic Review," May 1917.]

HINDU FUNERALS AND HINDU FAKIRS AT BENARES. By Axel Dane. ["The Occult Review," June 1917.]

THEORIES OF THE EVOLUTION OF KINGSHIP AMONG THE INDO-ARYANS. By Narendranath Law, M.A., B.L., P.R.S. ["The Modern Review," July 1917.]

AN INTERPRETATION OF DAYANAND. By Prof. T. D. Gajra, M.A. ["The Vedic Magazine," May 1917.]

THE EDUCATIONAL PROBLEM IN INDIA—SOME CONSIDERATIONS. By Mr. Sarada Prasad, M.A. ["The Hindustan Review," May—June 1917.]

ENGLAND AND INDIAN WOMEN'S EDUCATION. By Mrs. Blair. ["The Mysore Social Review," June 1917.]

CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES FOR THE SALE OF COTTON IN THE SOUTHERN MAHRATTA COUNTRY. By R. B. Ewebank Esq., I.C.S. ["The Bombay Co-operative Quarterly," June 1917.]

THE WORLD OF BOOKS

[ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION.]

A Diversity of Creatures :—By Rudyard Kipling. Messrs Macmillan & Co. : Ltd., London.

A collection of short stories and poems contributed to various magazines between 1911 and 1915. The stories are choice specimens of the author's best vein, and the subtle association of pure idealism with the practical problems of every day life, which is his distinguishing feature is in evidence everywhere. The latest obsession of humanity in leaving dull earth alone and fighting for supremacy in the air forms the interesting material of more than one contribution. The pieces are written in the best manner of the author's vigorous individuality of vision and utterance. The publication in book-form of stories and sketches contributed to magazines and periodicals has, no doubt, become one of the recognised methods of the art of book-making in modern days, but there is perhaps no other author for whom there is truer justification for this method from the point of view of the reading public, as even the lightest touches of Kipling deserve preservation in a permanent form.

Zarathushtra and the Buddha :—By Miss D. T. Stephen, C.L.S.I., Madras.

This small book contains interesting studies of the founders of Zoroastrianism and Buddhism respectively, and institutes instructive comparisons of their teachings. The lives of the two founders, the nature of their surroundings, and the central doctrines of each are set out in clear, and discriminating language. The authoress, as a Christian, considers that neither religion has fulfilled the intentions of its founder, for want of a due realisation of the value of personality. In the case of Zoroastrianism, absence of faith in the founder, and in Buddhism, absence of the idea of personality in the religion itself, are said to be the real causes of the failure of these religions in the world.

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Sapta Bhangi Naya or the Pluralistic argument :—By Kannoomal, M.A. Atmanand Jain Pustak Pracharak Mandal, Agra.

Syad-Vada or *Ankanta-Vada* is the special tenet of the Jain philosophy which is the butt of attack of all other philosophers in India. This small pamphlet of Mr. Kannoomal contains a National exposition of this doctrine, according to Jain view. It is explained as the doctrine of the relativity of knowledge. In viewing anything, this Nyaya adopts seven alternative standpoints called the *Sapta Bhangi*, which are explained in this treatise; what other philosophers consider as a doctrine of doubt and inconsistency is maintained by the Jains as a liberal and useful doctrine necessary for full understanding of all phases of a subject. If the question were whether a pot exists, the complete truth of the answer is contained, according to this doctrine, in the totality of seven positions of which some are "The pot, may be, exists," "The pot, may be, does not exist," etc., the assertion and negation being both truth, as referring to different times, places, qualities, etc. All this is explained in the pamphlet to which we refer our readers far from the information.

Handbook of Arya Samaj :—By Pandit Vishnu Lal Sharma, M.A. Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, Allahabad, United Provinces.

This is a useful tract explaining the growth and progress of the Arya Samaj, and containing an exposition of the theology and beliefs of this Samaj. It is said to have over 700 branches and is active in the fields of education, social reform, relief of distress, and other philanthropic work. The pamphlet contains a biography of the renowned founder, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, who upheld the belief in one God, and the Divine origin of the Vedas, but strenuously opposed the worship of images, and advocated social reform.

The Olivant Orphans:—By Suez Haynes
Gillmore. Methuen & Co., Ltd., London.

This story centres round a family circle of three boys and girls of the modern type before they emerge into the world, each to fight his or her battle. Various incidents in which the youthful energy and spirits of the actors mould their outlook on life are related with sympathy and insight. The book is full of vivacity and juvenile spirit from end to end, and will make a healthy appeal to those for whom it is intended.

Jainism:—By Herbert Warren, Central Jaina Publishing House, Arrah (India.)

This manual of Jainism is a presentation in excellent English of the Jaina doctrines, as gathered by the author from the late V. R. Sandhi's talks and lectures. As Professor Jacob says in his opinion on the book, "Jainism is an ethical religion calculated to improve morally those who obey its commands." Jainism does not accept a creator, and is not materialistic either. It considers each individual soul the master of its own destiny, and capable of reaching the highest bliss and immortality, by right knowledge and conduct. The author explains the doctrines of this religion in four chapters dealing respectively with the Universe, man as he is, man as he may become, and the means to that end. In the last of these he explains the successive stages of development that have to be reached. The innumerable divisions and sub-divisions are somewhat staggering to the non-Jain reader, but the Hindu readers will see the common standpoint with their own religion, in the insistence on pure life, control of the senses, and love for all.

Constructive Thought:—By Benjamin Johnson.
L. N. Fowler & Co., London:

A brochure intended to show the force of thought and the vitality of faith, based on the familiar idea of thought-waves, and the success of intense faith in achieving the objects desired. The subject is presented in an attractive manner.

BOOKS RELATING TO INDIA

PERSONALITY: LECTURES DELIVERED IN AMERICA.
By Sir Rabindranath Tagore, Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London.

SANDHYAVANDANA. By B. V. Kamesvara Aiyar, M.A., Dewan Peishkar, Pudukkottai.

THE BASIS OF LEGISLATIVE POLICY IN MODERN STATES. By Sir N. G. Chandavarkar, Kt. The Indian Liberal Club, Servants of India Society Home, Bombay.

COMMUNAL RIGHTS. By C. E. Corea: Pearl Press Office, Dehiwala.

AS WE SOW, SO WE REAP: A NEW DRAMA IN TAMIL. By Rao Sahib P. Sambandam, B.A., B.L., Madras.

THE STUDY OF JAINISM; THE SAPTANGHI NAYA; LORD KRISHNA'S MESSAGE. By Kannoomal, M.A., Published by Atmanand Jain Pustak, Pracharak Mandal, Agra.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE APPOINTED TO ASCERTAIN AND ADVISE HOW THE IMPERIAL IDEA MAY BE INCULCATED IN SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES IN BURMA, Government Printing, Rangoon.

BOOKS RECEIVED

THE LIFTED VEIL. By Basil King, Methuen & Co., Ltd., London.

THE PRINCIPLES OF HEALTH CONTROL. By F. M. Walters: Messrs. Harrap's and Heath's Indian Agency, P. T. I. Book Depot, 4th Rd. Chamarajapet, Bangalore City.

DREAMS: WHAT THEY ARE AND WHAT THEY MEAN. By J. W. Wickwar, A. and F. Denny, London, W. C.

THE OXFORD BOOKS OF ENGLISH MYSTICAL VERSE. Chosen by D. H. S. Nicholson and A. H. E. Lee, Oxford University Press, Bombay.

THE BRONZE BELL. By Lewis Joseph Vance;
THE SLAVE OF THE LAMP. By H. Seton Meriman;
LOVE GIVES ITSELF. By Annie S. Swan.
Hodder & Houghton, London.

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

Indian Political Situation

The Hon. Sir Dinsha Elulji Wacha, President, Bombay Presidency Association, has, by the direction of the Council of the Association, sent the following cablegram to the Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George, to the Secretary of State, India, to Mr. Asquith and to Sir William Wedderburn, after sending it to the Viceroy at Simla with the request that his Excellency will be pleased to cable it officially to the Secretary of State. He has also cabled separately to Sir William Wedderburn requesting him to arrange for the publication of the telegram in the British press:—

The Council of the Bombay Presidency Association draw the earnest attention of the Prime Minister and the Cabinet of the United Kingdom and of the Secretary of State to the grave situation which has arisen all over India owing to the internment of Mrs. Besant and Messrs. Arundale and Wadia by an arbitrary and unjustifiable application of the Defence of India Act by the Madras Government. The step taken by that Government has produced an unprecedented ferment throughout the country which is bound to increase in volume and intensity unless it is immediately retraced.

The Council regret that the policy of repression which has never been successful anywhere in suppressing national aspirations for political freedom, should have been resorted to by the authorities in India at this juncture when India, having spontaneously rallied to the help of England in the cause of the Empire, was pouring forth her money and shedding her blood on the various battlefields along with the rest of the Empire in the cause of liberty, justice and righteousness for which England and her great Allies were carrying on the present war at such a heavy sacrifice of life and wealth. Statesmanship would dictate for India a policy far different from this at such a time. The Council therefore deeply deplore the

entire lack of imagination and of political foresight and judgement which is responsible for this policy of repression and earnestly appeal that the Imperial Government may lose no time in ordering its reversal. The Council trust that considerations of upholding official prestige will not be allowed by the Imperial authorities to influence their decision and embitter the situation.

The Council feel constrained to point out that this policy of repression is being construed as an attempt on the part of the authorities in India to force the Indian public to accept without demur such post-war reforms of a minor character as the Government of India are believed to have formulated, without giving effect to the essential features of the scheme of reforms which the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League have conjointly framed and adopted as a definite step towards Self-Government for India within the Empire which they desire the Government to take at the close of the war.

The Council pray that in order to allay the acuteness of the present situation and to prevent its becoming still more critical the Imperial Government will be pleased besides directing forthwith the rectification of the blunder which the Madras Government has committed in internment Mrs. Besant and her two co-workers, to announce authoritatively and unequivocally that it is the aim and object of British policy to confer Self-Government on India within the Empire at an early date and to direct the Government of India to publish immediately for public discussion the post-war reforms which they may propose as a substantial and immediate step in furtherance of this policy. The publication of such proposed reforms for public criticism before they are finally shaped and promulgated would be in consonance with the precedent established in Lord Minto's regime when Lord Morley was the Secretary of State.

The Council fully appreciate the great strain which the exigencies of the war impose on the time and energies of the Imperial authorities but having regard to the gravity of the situation at the present moment in India and the need for immediate consideration and prompt action with a view to assuage the intense public feeling which has been aroused, the Council pray that the Imperial Government will be pleased to deal without delay with the situation in India in a spirit of courageous and true statesmanship.

Hon. Mr. Basu and the India Council

Interviewed by a representative of the Associated Press, Mr. Basu who has been appointed a member of the India Council said that the main reason for his accepting the offer of the Secretary of State was his belief that he might be of some use to his country and the Government in the carrying out of a scheme of Indian reform which would satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people and give them a sense of oneness in the Government of India. He does not overlook the difficulty of the task but he believes that the war has so accelerated the march of events that a satisfactory and honourable solution of the question at issue does not seem to him to present any insuperable difficulty. In the first place the democracies in England and the Dominions realise that the present system of administration in India is incompatible with that free partnership of the component parts of the British Empire which the Imperial Conference seems to point out as the only means for preserving the integrity and unity of the Empire and co-operation between the various Governments included in it in peace and war. The official mind in India has also come to recognise that, though the present system of administration has achieved great results, much more has yet to be done to give Indians legitimate scope in the direction and administration of their own affairs. He

believes that the bureaucracy has come to realise the truth of the old saying that a man cannot live by bread alone and they are anxious to assure the Indian public that they are willing to advance. At this juncture all that was needed was courage and statesmanship. The recent utterances of the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for India show that in the reconstruction of the Empire a courageous outlook will not be wanting and, therefore, Mr. Basu feels that the presence of men at the centre of the Empire with first-hand knowledge of the aspirations of the people of this country and of the difficulties that undoubtedly stand in their way—but which there is a tendency to make too much of—will, to a great extent, help the solution of the problems now awaiting the Empire so far as India was concerned. It is this feeling which has induced him to accept the office, in spite of great personal inconvenience and difficulties. He is keenly alive to the fact that it should not be said of the people with whom he has been working, and who have been pressing for the reforms which enabled the Secretary of State to offer a seat to Mr. Basu in his Council, that they were unwilling to face the difficulties and inconveniences of accepting office in England when the call came for them.

About his Indian colleagues Mr. Basu said that he knew Sir P. D. Pattani personally and he had a very high opinion of his tact, courage, and judgment. He did not know Sahebzada Aftab Ahmed Khan personally, but from all that he had heard about him from friends in the United Provinces. Mr. Basu felt sure that he would be loyal to the cause of Indian progress.

In conclusion Mr. Basu said that he and his colleagues had an arduous time before them, requiring the exercise of great judgment and perseverance, and he felt that they would have the support of all India, of all her communities and creeds.

The Hon'ble Mr. Wazir Hasan on our Destiny

The Hon. Mr. Sayad Wazir Hasan, Hon. Secretary to the All-India Muslim League, in a letter to the Press, writes :—

Let the truism be once more stated that our destiny lies in our own hands and no sacrifice is too great in the cause of freedom. . . . Shall this War have been fought in vain? The whole of the civilised world has given its answer to this question, and India is called upon to give hers in a plain and unequivocal language. One word more, and I have done. What should be the method of our work? The answer to this question is, to my mind, very simple. I have always held that nothing which is noble can ever be illegal. Let our course of action, therefore, be consistent with the law, with constitution and the fundamental ethics of British connection with India.

Sir Subramania Iyer on Home Rule.

Sir S. Subramania Iyer, in a letter to the Press replying to Lord Pentland's speech, says :—'Before I was raised to the Bench I was a Congressman and to me Home Rule is no new thing. I believe and have long believed that its early establishment is vital for the welfare of the country and the stability of the Empire and that it is therefore necessary to carry out a constitutional and educative agitation for it as ordered by Congress at its last session. Believing this I gladly accepted the Honorary Presidentship of the Home Rule League for India—honorary only because my health forbids active and strenuous work. I cannot retrace my steps. I will not resign my office even if the League be declared unlawful. I am ready to face any penalties which may follow on my decision. In the words of the Congress, in the reconstruction of the Empire after the war, to defend Home Rule is to me a civic duty and this duty I will discharge. I call on you my countrymen to do the same.'

India's Man-Power

In order to organise the man-power of India more effectively to meet the growing demands made upon it, the Governor-General in Council has constituted a central recruiting board of which (at the request of His Excellency the Viceroy and His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief) the Hon'ble Sir William Meyer has accepted the Presidency. The other members are His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Punjab, Their Highness the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior and the Maharaja of Bikanir (who have been specially appointed as recruiting will extend to Native States), the Hon'ble Sir Claude Hill, the Hon'ble Sir William Vincent, the Lieutenant-General H. Hugson, Adjutant-General in India and the Hon. Major-General A. H. Bingley, Secretary to the Army Department. The Board's functions may be summarised as follows:—(1) Consideration of our requirements in military "personal" of every description, combatant and non-combatant, and how these requirements can best be met. (2) Consideration of how the quotas required can be best distributed among the several provinces. (3) Co-ordination of recruitment so as to ensure that the demands for military services shall conflict as little as possible with essential, industrial and economical requirements. (4) Close scrutiny of the progress of recruitment and consideration of schemes for meeting necessary or potential demands for recruitment in regard to which the present system may seem inadequate. (5) To ensure in short that the prosecution of the war is not hampered by any avoidable deficiency in man-power.

The Local Government have been asked to form provincial recruiting boards containing a large civilian and non-official element in the shape of landowners, businessmen, and leaders of public opinion.

UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

Mr. Fisher on National Education

Mr. Fisher, Minister of Education, addressed a meeting recently on the Educational outlook in England which is equal interest to us in India also.

Mr. Fisher said:—Is it not in itself a remarkable fact that, in the third year of this great exhausting war, at the very hour in which a critical battle is being waged by the biggest British Army which has ever been placed in the field, a large audience of men and women should be gathered together to consider the future of education? That is a fact full of brightest augury for the future. I do not claim that education is the most interesting subject in the world, but I do claim it is most important: and when I use the phrase "education," I am not merely thinking of learning from books, I am thinking of the whole moral, intellectual, and physical development of our race. Efficiency depends upon the teacher, upon the managers of our schools, upon members of our local educational authorities, upon the Board at Whitehall, and all these various agencies must work in cordial co-operation as partners in a great patriotic enterprise.

But behind these agencies there is a dark sinister figure. There is the figure of British rate-payer, and I am told that the education rate is an unpopular rate. People accept the rate for gas and water as an inevitable though a disagreeable factor in a dismal scheme of Providence, but when it comes to the education rate their groans become audible. (*Laughter.*) If this is so it speaks very much for the intelligence of our community, and the primary duty of every good citizen is to convert the reluctant rate-payer to an intelligent view of his duties in respect of the education rate. After all, the country cannot afford to allow its children

to grow up undeveloped in mind, body, and character. (*Hear, hear.*) I hear people say, "Why should I pay for the education of somebody else's children? That is their affair, not mine." But is it not everybody's affair that the Army and Navy shall be efficient, that industry and agriculture shall flourish, that crime and intemperance shall be diminished, that our men and women shall be brought up knowing the sanctity of civic duties, temperate in habit and possessing something of our previous heritage of culture; and how can any one of these great objects be obtained unless people are ready to spend money, and to spend money freely, upon the education of the great mass of the population, upon whose well-being the future strength and power of this country depend? Depend upon it that England will never realize the full measure of her human powers until the education rate becomes the most popular rate which can be imposed, and until the rate-payers insist, and vehemently insist, that the children who live in their locality shall have no worse an opportunity for obtaining education than the children who live in any other part of the country. (*Cheers.*) There is no difference in kind between profound knowledge and superficial knowledge. We are all superficial. The knowledge of Cabinet Ministers is superficial (*laughter*); the knowledge of Oxford and Cambridge professors is superficial and even the knowledge of the schoolmaster is superficial. If we are going to be deterred from giving education to the poor on the ground that it is superficial, by what right can we claim education for ourselves? Every little scrap of knowledge, however superficial, however it may be collected, like the food the birds pick up in the forest, is worth something. And in the fierce light of this war we know this to be so.

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Mr. V. S. Sastri on "The One Propaganda"

The Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, in the course of his address at the protest meeting at Poona, against the internments, said:—

It is remarkable that in the speeches of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Lord Pentland what is condemned is a certain Home Rule propaganda. The scheme of reforms advocated by the Congress and the Muslim League is not specially named but we have got to remember that now there is only one movement and one propaganda in the country, namely that which promotes the scheme of reforms above mentioned. Whatever schemes there were before the public prior to the adoption of that scheme by the Congress have been superseded by it. Lord Pentland stated in precise terms the descriptions of Home Rule which he condemned. It is as follows: "Nothing less than at a very early date the placing of the Executive Government in all its departments under the direct and full control of Legislative Councils containing a large majority of elected members." This is what is technically known as Responsible Government except in one particular, viz., that the Legislature is not to be wholly elected. Now even a cursory reader of the Congress Scheme will see that it is much below Colonial Self-Government and Irish Home Rule, and in the resolution of the National Congress it is described only as a distinct step towards Self-Government. Leading Congressmen in their expositions have also dwelt on this feature of the scheme as a proof of our moderation and willingness to accomplish stage by stage the journey to full Responsible Self-Government. Lord Pentland's definition, therefore, cannot apply to our scheme, and I find it difficult to believe that even a less instructed person could have fallen into the error of so materially misconceiving the scope of the Congress and League scheme. I should think His Excellency was indulging, at the end of a tiresome Council session, in the

recreation of constructing a political phantom of his own and demolishing it. At the same time we cannot admit that it is improper or treasonable to advocate the establishment of Responsible Government all at once. It might be impracticable; it might require the scrapping of the existing administrative machinery; it might also presuppose the existence of two well-defined and mutually opposed schools of political thought. These are matters for consideration and friendly discussion. The holding of advanced views and earnest advocacy is no crime calling for condign punishment. Even within her British Empire there are examples of States that obtained Responsible Government before they knew how exactly to use it. After a few years of bungling and mismanagement they understood it thoroughly and have since prospered exceedingly.

Gen. Smuts on the Mission of British Empire

In the course of a recent speech in England General Smuts dwelt upon the mission of the British Empire and concluded with the following stirring appeal to the British nation:—

I think the British Empire has only one mission, and that is a mission for liberty and a mission for greater self-development. You represent the only system in history in which a large number of nations has been living in unity. You talk about a league of nations. You are the only league of nations that has ever existed. If the lines I am sketching here are correct, you are going to be even more a great league of nations in the future; and if you are true to your old traditions of self-government and freedom and are true to those views of your future you must exercise far greater and a far more beneficial influence on the history of mankind than you have ever done before. I pray that we may have the clearness of vision and of purpose and the strength of soul in the coming days which will be even more necessary than the strength of arms.

Sir K. G. Gupta on Post-War Problems

Presiding at the Naoroji condolence meeting on July 12, at Calcutta, Sir K. G. Gupta, in concluding a lengthy speech, said :—

There is no longer any question of postponing the Post-War Problems. Great Britain, the centre and heart of the Empire, has taken the lead, and private individuals, responsible statesmen and authoritative bodies are earnestly discussing every conceivable question relating to the social, industrial and political rearrangement of the Empire and of its component parts. The Self-Governing Colonies are doing the same, but it is only in India that in some quarters we are seriously admonished to keep quiet and not to disturb those who are actively prosecuting the War by discussing problems that vitally affects us. Why should we, of all people, be marked out for silence. We are all passing through critical times. Any mistake, any indiscretion on our part may cost us dear. There is no use shutting our eyes to the fact that our young men all over the country and, for the matter of that many elderly men, too, are showing signs of impatience. Can we say that they are wholly wrong? The Government, unfortunately, have been sitting too long on the fence. It is time that they made a clear declaration of their policy. Such a course has been advocated everywhere, and even the *London Times* strongly supports it. The declarations of policy should be followed by such measures as will give heart to the people and bring hope to them. Distrust must give place to confidence. But, however great the provocations, we must not swerve from the straight course we have laid down for ourselves. We must persist in our constitutional methods. The teachings of Mr. Naoroji, of Mr. Hume, of Mr. Gokhale and of a host of our leaders, dead and alive, should hold us on to the right path. We must carry the vessel of our sacred aspirations safely to port. The young men

are with us as the driving power, and they naturally want us to go ahead, but for a successful voyage it is not enough to have powerful engines and expert engineers. There must also be wise and experienced men on the bridge. The vessel must be steered from the bridge and not from the engine room. A tempestuous sea lies ahead full of breakers and whirl-pools. The men on the bridge should be trusted to give the direction to regulate the speed and even sometimes to go astern. In that way only can we ensure the safety of our vessel and the accomplishment of our voyage.

A Civilian on Self-Government

Addressing a large gathering of students at Palamcottah Mr. A. G. Galletti, I.C.S., said :—

If you think that we, the civil bureaucracy are in any way opposed to Indian aspirations, you are very much mistaken. We should not be gentlemen, we should be cadets, if we did not identify ourselves with Indian interests. If it is a case of a conflict with a Colony, as happened in South Africa we unanimously take the Indian side. If it is a case of a conflict with an English district such as the conflict with Lancashire over the cotton duties, we unanimously voice the voice of India. We are all in favour of the ultimate self-government of India, it is only a question of time and methods. When the Madras Government were incubating their views on the scheme of reforms, afterwards known as Lord Morley's Reforms, I had to work in the Secretariat with a Member of Council who was the most slow-moving and conservative gentleman that I have met in the Indian Civil Service. He was not in favour of some of the proposals I put before him. But when I asked him what his attitude towards Indian aspirations was, he did not hesitate at all and he received with entire approbation my quotation :

We want India for Indians altogether some day.
And for that day to come we'll aspire and we'll pray.
Continue to aspire and to pray.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

Mr. H. S. L. Polak on South African Indians

In an interview which the Editor of the *Mahratta* had with Mr. Polak recently, the latter gave the following information and opinions regarding the position of Indians in South Africa :—

Of the Colonies constituting the South African Union, the Cape is the most liberal to Indians and the Free State the most illiberal. The Indians are better off in the Cape than in any other province. In the Cape the Indians possess the political and the municipal franchise on the same terms as Europeans. I know of an Indian who is a member of a Municipal Board in the Cape, who is highly thought of by his colleagues and would have been chairman but for his modesty.

In the matter of trading licenses, Indians in all the Provinces have a very real grievance. New licenses are scarcely issued. The renewal of old licenses and the transfer of licenses from one trader to another has also become a matter of very great difficulty. Municipalities in the Transvaal have recently been empowered to restrict the issue of certain classes of licenses and this power is largely employed by the municipalities to the serious prejudice of the Indian trader. It is, of course, the European retail dealers and small traders who come into competition with the Indian trader and it is they who are intensely hostile to the latter.

The terms of Mr. Gandhi's Settlement had no direct reference to trading licenses. Still there is a provision in it that the existing vested rights of Indians are to be maintained. In the matter of these licenses, the Union Government has no power of direct interference. That power where it exists rests with the Executive of the particular province.

Mr. Gandhi's Settlement related to all the provinces and, speaking generally, it has been maintained and carried out in spirit and in letter except for certain difficulties arising out of the folly of particular officials here and there or out of the Union Government's inadequate notions, in certain matters, of what the Settlement had provided for.

Regarding the present attempt in Natal to take away the municipal franchise of Indians, Mr. Polak said :—

It was in 1896 that the Natal Government passed a measure taking away the political franchise of Indians. But at this time positive assurance was given that their municipal franchise would not be interfered with. However, in 1905, when Lord Elgin was the Secretary for the Colonies, an attempt was made to disfranchise Indians, but it failed as the Imperial Government was firm. The present draft Ordinance proposes to restrict the franchise to those who are already on the voters' roll and to prevent any Indian from being elected to a municipal Council.

Referring to the Johannesburg incident of the young Indian who was recently thrown out of a tram-car by a European and died as a consequence, Mr. Polak said :—

In Johannesburg Indians were not allowed to use tram-cars. After our Passive Resistance Movement was over, we took a case to the Supreme Court and got its decision to the effect that Indians had the right to use the tram-cars. Not to exasperate the feelings of the lower orders of Europeans, a private understanding was arrived at that only top seats and back seats should ordinarily be used by Indians. The recent unfortunate incident is a testimony to the colour-hatred of the lower orders of Europeans. The Government are, of course, taking steps to bring the offender to justice. I may say that the incident should not be taken as an index of general European feeling with regard to Indians. There are many Europeans in South Africa who are sympathetic towards Indians residing there, though no one wants more Indians to come to South Africa.

Q.—Has the War affected the relations between Indians and Europeans in South Africa?

A.—During the War Indian community has raised no difficulties and rendered what help it could. Two Volunteer Bearer Companies have been raised and sent to East Africa, where they have done splendid work. This restraint and this service have, no doubt, been appreciated by the Europeans.

Q.—What is the position with regard to the Natives of Africa?

A.—The Natives have no ancient civilisation behind them. The masses are just beginning to develop, though there undoubtedly are some individuals among them who possess great capacity. There is no special policy followed with respect to Natives. Very few persons have yet cared to study them and their institutions. Things are left to take their own course.

Q.—What about the new demonstration of republican feeling in South Africa?

A.—The feeling is likely to spread amongst the more ignorant section of the Dutch population and if it does, it will probably cause trouble. The republican cry is a very artificial one. The Dutch are even now practically controlling the whole South African policy and through the Imperial Conference they also have a big share in shaping the policy of the Empire. They ought to be satisfied. Generals Botha and Smuts have done splendidly. They have had more trouble with their own people than with Indians, who have been very quiet during the War.

Q.—What is the condition of Indian education in South Africa?

A.—How the Indians are going to be educated is a great problem. In regard to higher education, they have to do what they can by private tuition. They can appear at University examinations but no Government institution is open to them for that purpose.

It would be well for some Colonial-born Indians to come out here, to study and to go back and work amongst their brethren. This would, of course, require a system of scholarships, a Fund and a good organisation. But the thing is worth doing.

There are about 150,000 Indians in South Africa. Their position there depends on the courage and capacity for organisation which they will be able to show. But in any case they need support and encouragement from the people of India, from the Indian Government and the Imperial Government.

Natal Indians' Patriotism

An inspiring instance of Indian patriotism that would not be denied has come to light in South Africa, says the *Indiaman*. A Natal-born Indian named Thomas, who has been working as a waiter at Umtalo, East Griqualand, made various but ineffectual attempts to enlist in South Africa for active service in a British military force against the enemy. As a last recourse in South Africa, he sought to join the native labour contingent for France. Not being an African aborigine, he was, of course, ineligible.

Unlike his Scriptural prototype, the Natal Thomas was still not a doubter, and, obsessed with the desire for British military service, he set about saving sufficient money with which to pay his passage to England, in order to accomplish his purpose, where he hopes soon to arrive and offer himself for enlistment.

Mr. Polak

Mr. H. S. L. Polak has informed the Chairman of the Indian Colonial Society, Madras, that he regrets that owing to illness he is unable to carry out the task of inquiring, in company with Mr. G. A. Natesan, into the conditions of Indian cultivators on estates in Ceylon. Mr. Polak expects to be going to England about the beginning of September.

FEUDATORY INDIA

Prohibition of drinking in Bhopal

The action of Her Highness the enlightened Begum Sahiba of Bhopal, in making punishable by law the use of intoxicating liquors by Muhammadan subjects of the State, has already elicited the warmest appreciation of all concerned. But thinking that a similar action in case of her Hindu subjects, however called for and desirable, might be construed as a coercion, and to avoid even the least resistance on their part, the Begum Sahiba has moved the Kayastha Central Sabha to take necessary steps in that direction. We congratulate Her Highness on such a prudent but the most desirable of steps, and hope that her wish about her Hindu subjects too will have been successfully carried out before long.

Orissa Chiefs and the War

The Chiefs and Feudatory States of Orissa have contributed a sum of Rs. 54,000 for the purchase of two aeroplanes for presentation to the British Army for use in the war. The aeroplanes will be named "Orissa Feudatory States" and it is expected will shortly be commissioned. The fund was raised on the initiative of the Maharaja of Sonapur State, and the following Chiefs and States contributed largely to the fund: the Raja of Bamra, the Maharajas of Sonpur and Patna, the Rajas of Dhenkanal, Seraikela, Beramba, Rempur, Khondpara, Kharasawan, Tigiria and the States of Keonjhar, Kalahandi, Baud, Nayagarh, Nilgiris, Daspalle, Pal-Lahera, and Narsinghpur, which are at present under the administration of Government during the minority of their Chiefs. These two aeroplanes are in addition to the one presented to the British Army by the Mayurbhanj State at the desire of the minor Maharaja.

Local Self-Government in Mysore

The main object of the new Bill Amending the Mysore Municipal Regulation VII of 1906 is, says the *Hindu*, to increase the elected popular element in the Municipal Councils and to give them greater control over their funds, and with this end in view, provision is made for a higher percentage of elected councillors. Under the Amendment Bill, there are three classes of Municipal Councils according to certain well-defined principles viz., Minor, Town and City Municipal Councils. The Government have power to declare any Municipal Council, not ripe in their view for Municipal Administration, a Minor Municipal Council and to except the same from the operations of any of the provisions of the Regulations found unsuitable and to frame rules for the guidance of the Council in matters governed by such provisions. Room is made for the appointment of paid non-official Presidents and chief Executive Officers wherever necessary to secure continuity of policy and administrative efficiency and for the enhancement of taxes on houses and sites, wherever it was found necessary to increase the financial resources of the Municipal Councils. On the recommendation of the Local Self-Government Committee, the Government can vest selected Municipal Councils with the control of elementary education, medical relief including vaccination and Muzrai institutions.

Ruling Chiefs' Conference

His Excellency the Viceroy proposes to hold an informal conference of Ruling Princes and Chiefs at Delhi from the 5th to the 10th November, to discuss certain matters connected with the Native States and their rulers.

The Maharaja of Gwalior

The Willingdon Technical School for disabled Indian Soldiers, Byculla, Bombay, was visited recently by His Highness the Maharajah Scindia of Gwalior, who, in a letter enclosing a cheque for Rs. 5,000 as a first donation towards the school, says:—"I am very pleased with all the arrangements I saw, and I am sure that the institution will be a great boon to those of whose interests you have so wisely thought."

Her Excellency Lady Willingdon has handed over to the Willingdon Technical School for disabled Indian Soldiers, Byculla, a donation of Rs. 1,500 made by Miss Dinoo S. Bastavala, being the net proceeds of the sale of her booklet called "A brief narrative of the Great War."

Mysore and the Cauvery Power Scheme

The confirmation by the Government of India of the award of Arbitration Committees presided over by Sir Lepel Griffin on the question of the Cauvery River water impounded by the dam above Seringapatam has enabled the Mysore Government to proceed with the second stage of the project. Good progress has been made, the dam having been raised to a height of 80 feet in the river bed and to 75 feet at the flanks. The water stored and available at present has rendered it possible to guarantee a supply of power under the first three installations as well as the power promised under the fourth installation of the Cauvery Power Scheme without recourse to the costly channel conservancy operations hitherto carried on in the summer months for the past eight of nine years. In the direction of the extension of irrigation, which is another important purpose, the reservoir is intended to serve the development of sugar cane. Cultivation under existing canals is receiving due attention. The storage available now is sufficient to guarantee a supply of 9,321 electrical horse power to the Kolar Gold Mines under the first three installations and about

5,000 h.p. under the fourth installation carried out last year. It has thus become possible to dispense with channel conservancy operations previously resorted to for securing the requisite flow of water for the power works at Sikasamudram at an annual cost of nearly half a lakh of rupees.

The Bhavnagar State

One noteworthy feature in the administration of this State, observes a contemporary, is the complete separation of the judicial from the executive functions, a reform which in many other bigger States and in British India has not yet been introduced. The title of Maharaja was made hereditary in the family in New Year's Day Honours this year. We note from the Administration Report for the year 1916-17 that the rainfall and general prospects were not very favourable and necessitated a liberal system of remissions and suspensions in the revenue collections. The revenue collected during the period under report was Rs. 23,14,442 out of a total demand Rs. 38,80,925 and a large amount of over 15 lakhs had to be suspended. With regard to the large arrears the Report mentions that a general concession is being granted every year for the remission of 25 per cent. of the arrears of those cultivators who pay off the whole of their arrears. To improve the economic condition of agriculturists in the State, a beginning was made during the year in the starting of Agricultural Co-operative Societies in villages in the State. The rules for these societies are similar to those of the Co-operative Credit Societies elsewhere but they are more simple and less complicated than the latter. We are told that already 312 societies have been formed with a total of 10,795 members and a capital of Rs. 37,407. The results for the first year seem to be very encouraging and the Durbar naturally expected that the remaining villages will soon adopt this useful institution.—*Extract.*

INDUSTRIAL & COMMERCIAL SECTION

Export of Hides

It has been brought to the notice of the Government of India that the tanning of hides for War Office purposes is likely to be seriously prejudiced by the large demand for tanning barks for the purpose of tanning goat and sheep skins. They have accordingly decided to make the prohibition on the export of tanned skins absolute, and are, by notification, prohibiting the export of tanned skins to the United Kingdom. As to all other destinations, certain relaxations of these orders in respect of existing commitments are under consideration, but otherwise no licence to export tanned skins to any destination whatever will be issued for the present. Would-be exporters should furnish full details of their commitments to the Collector of Customs concerned with the least possible delay.

Indian Cotton Mills

The officially issued statistics of cotton spinning and weaving in Indian Mills show that during March the total quantity of yarn spun amounted to 53.7 million lbs. and that of woven goods to 31 million lbs., as compared with 57 million and 25 million lbs., respectively in the corresponding month of the preceding year, or a decrease of 6.3 per cent. in the case of yarn, and an increase of 23.3 per cent. in the case of woven goods. In the seven months, September, 1916, to March, 1917, i.e., from the beginning of the cotton year 1916-17, the quantity of yarn spun amounted to 397 million lbs. and that of woven goods to 208 million lbs., as against 814 million and 224 million lbs., respectively, in the corresponding months of the preceding year. In the twelve months, April, 1916, to March, 1917, the quantities produced were 680 million lbs. of yarn and 877 million lbs. of woven goods.—*Empire.*

The Origin of Blanket

According to a writer in *The Daily Chronicle* the cold winter of 1340 was the cause of the production of the blanket. "So, at least, says tradition, which ascribes its invention to Thomas Blanket, a Flemish merchant, who settled in Bristol, and fell from affluence to want. Suffering from the intense cold by reason of scanty bedding and lack of fuel, he searched for something to put on the bed to increase the warmth, and hit on a piece of rough, unfinished cloth that had been thrown to waste. Its success as a warmth-giver suggested the manufacture of special bedcovers from the same material, and these articles, to which he gave his own name, won him wealth and immortality."

Empire Cotton-Growing Committee

In the House of Commons Mr. Stanley, announcing the appointment of Sir H. Birch as Chairman of the Committee on Empire cotton-growing on July 11, stated that the Committee would investigate and advise the Government as to the necessary measures by which the industry could best be developed. The names of the committee includes cotton spinners, manufacturers, merchants and operatives, representatives of the British cotton growing Association, Foreign, Colonial and India Offices, the Government of India and the Indian cotton industry; also the Government of the Dominions, where cotton-growing could be developed, would be invited to send representatives.

Messrs. D. T. Chadwick and L. J. Kershaw will represent the India Office and the Government of India respectively. One representative of the Indian spinners and one of the merchants will be nominated.

Coffee Export to United Kingdom

A deputation of the United Planters Association of Southern India waited on the Committee of the Mysore Chamber of Commerce and requested the Chamber to represent to the Government the difficulties of coffee planters regarding the result of the Government restriction on coffee export to the United Kingdom. In reply to the Chamber's representation, the Chamber has now received from the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore a copy of the telegram dated the 12th May from the Government of India, Department of Commerce and Industry, Simla, to the effect, that the Home Government have agreed to allow importation of half the coffee crop on the basis of a total crop of 4,000 tons, Madras; 4,210 tons, Coorg; 4,200 tons, Mysore; half of which is 6,210 tons. From this amount the 1,100 tons shipped by the "Clan Macintyre" has to be deducted. Local allotments are to be calculated from the above figures and its distribution is left to the Chief Commissioner of Coorg. The Customs authorities of Madras and Bombay have been instructed to allow out consignments as certified by the Chief Commissioner. Certificates will be issued to the limit above indicated.

Bengal Home Industries

Countess Ronaldshay opened the Bengal Home Industries Association on July 2. Sir R. N. Mukerjee, in asking Her Excellency to open the depot, said:—The objects of the Association are primarily to promote and develop home and cottage industries and arts and crafts in Bengal. It was considered that one lakh of rupees would be sufficient to give the work of the Association a good start. The people of Bengal have subscribed half a lakh, and the Government made a grant of eighteen thousand. Small industries are a most important part and exercises a most important influence on the economic and political life of the people of Bengal.

An Indian Engineer in England

We are glad to learn, says the *Tribune*, that Mr. Bidhubushan Roy, Imperial Engineer, has been awarded the diploma of Associateship of the Institution of Naval Architects, London. Mr. Roy is the first Indian who got a training in a British naval yard as he is also the first to have got such a high distinction as their associateship stands for. We congratulate him with the *Tribune* on the recognition he has earned.

The Exports and Imports of Raw Cotton

The exports of raw cotton from Bombay by sea to foreign countries for the official year 1916—17 amounted to 2,011,037 bales of 400 lbs. each as against 2,002,408 bales and 2,173,836 bales in the official years 1915—16 and 1914—15, respectively. The arrivals of raw cotton into Bombay by rail and sea (foreign and coastwise) during the week ending the 21st April, 1917, were 26,790 bales of 400 lbs. each, as against 54,090 bales and 124,359 bales in the corresponding period of 1916 and 1915 respectively. The arrivals from the beginning of the present season (1st September) were 1,939,257 bales, a decrease of 53 per cent. as compared with the figures (2,508,354 bales) of the corresponding period of 1915—16, but an increase of only 1 per cent. over the figures (1,919,081 bales) for 1914—15.

A Burmese Industrial Enterprise

The Government of Burma proposed to grant Messrs. Jamal Bros. certain areas in Meiktila, Myinayan, Sagaing and Shwebo districts and to undertake not to give similar leases to any other applicants, provided the Company permit the collection of soap sand by villagers for household cleaning within these areas. The monopoly will be for a term of years to collect soap sand for the manufacture of alkali.

AGRICULTURAL SECTION

A Mango Tree Pest

A very destructive caterpillar does immense harm to mango trees, eating the leaves and also attacking the fruit. The Burma Agricultural Department has pointed out how the pest can be combated. Small fires in plantations at night will attract and destroy a certain number of moths and prevent the laying of eggs. When these are hatched it is comparatively easy task to clear the leaves of them. But when they attain full size they attack and destroy every green thing within their reach, and to get rid of them is a much more difficult operation.

Soldiers and Agriculture

Lord Milner, in a recent speech, told the House of Lords that the Army had lent 40,000 men for spring agricultural work and promised 17,000 for the harvest. The 40,000 were at work in the fields more than a month ago and Sir R. Winfrey, in an official statement in the Commons said that they were lent by the War Office on certain definite conditions as to return for military service. Sixteen thousand Class A men were accordingly recalled on May 10; 16,000 of the remaining 24,000 are liable to recall not before July 25, while it is expected that the remainder will be kept much longer. Colonel Yate asked if Government would take steps to replace these 16,000. Among others of a lower category as early as possible. Sir R. Winfrey said that the President of the Board of Agriculture was making the strongest representations to the Government as to the necessity of finding more men to put upon the land and Lord Milner's statements show that an agreement by both official departments has been reached and that the Board of Agriculture have obtained at any rate a large part of their demands.

The British soldier is not only helping to raise crops in his own land, but is cheerfully lending

the French a hand in the same kind of work. A pleasant tribute is paid in the *Matin* to hand by the new mail to the work done by the British Army on the Somme in reviving agriculture in the country devastated by the war and by Boche depredations. Unhappily, large tracts are ruined almost irretrievably, and some 45,000 acres will remain unproductive for at least a century to come, but in other parts, British officers themselves agriculturists and landowners, and British soldiers are doing admirably useful work, for which the French countryfolk are keenly grateful. England supplied four powerful ploughing machines, and men back from the trenches "rest" by working in the fields. One English Army alone has put in 50,000 hours' work in the Picardy fields, and restored 30,000 acres to cultivation. "England is not content with wresting back our soil foot by foot from the invader; by a refinement of courtesy she gives it back to us, cleaned, healed, and fruitful again."

The Indian Wheat Crop: A Record

The third general memorandum of the wheat crop of 1916—17 issued by the Department of Statistics shows the figures of both area and yield were the highest on record. The total area is estimated at 33,000,000 acres as compared with 30,143,000 acres at this time last year, or an increase of 10 per cent., and the total yield is estimated at 10,160,000 tons as against 8,518,000 tons reported at this time last year, or an increase of nineteen per cent. The present estimate of the yield shows an increase of 128 per cent. in Rajputana, 63 per cent. in Hyderabad, 37 per cent. in Central India, 20 per cent. in the Central Provinces and Berar and also in Bombay, 19 per cent. in the Punjab, 14 per cent. in the United Provinces, 13 per cent. in the North West Frontier Provinces, 9 per cent. in Delhi, 7 per cent. in Sind, and 3 per cent. in Bihar and Orissa.

Improved Agricultural Implements

The demand in India for improved agricultural implements has arisen within the last decade or so. It is increasing every year as may be gathered from the Annual Reports published by Government. It can safely be said that the number of such implements now sold is ten times as great as it was ten years ago and that the rate of increase henceforth is likely to be progressive. This is largely due to two main causes: (1) to the new spirit abroad consequent on the active measures taken by Government to develop the agricultural resources of India and (2) to the growing shortage and increased cost of manual labour.

Motor Ploughs

The opinion of those responsible for the organisation in connection with motor tractors, says the *Motor Traction*, is understood to be that they have generally exceeded expectations. There are now at work in Lancashire, under the auspices of the Country War Agricultural Committee, about a dozen motor tractors, and it is expected that more will shortly be available. On one well-known estate, one of these machines, in addition to ploughing over fifty acres, has been utilised in sowing oats, a corn drill of Canadian design being employed.

One of two ladies, who started to drive a motor plough early in the year, thus recently described their joint experiences. They had experience in motor driving but none in ploughing; neither of them can work the tractors and get into and out of the furrows without slowing down very much. Screws and bolts are always coming loose, and spanner and wire are often needed. The most onerous part of this task has to be the refilling with fuel, which has to be done twice a day, involving lifting a ten-gallon can of paraffin to the top of the tank. This is done in two stages, and is finally achieved by one of the ladies, whilst the other holds the can steady. They are now able to

plough from two to five acres a day with a three furrow plough.

The Ministry of Munitions owns a very extensive tract of fertile agricultural land in connection with one of its factories in the North, and to ensure the cultivation of the maximum area is using four Mogul tractors of 18 h.p. with Cockshutt Canadian threefurrow ploughs to assist the tenants.

India's Oil-yield Seeds and Nuts

India's cultivation and trade in oil-yielding seeds and nuts is likely to expand in an extraordinary manner after the War. The great upheaval has brought many sources of wealth to the surface and among them the oil-seeds of India is one that forces itself on the attention. The ground-nuts and cotton-seeds take precedence because of increased cultivation during the last few years, but there are many others, including castor-seed, copra, linseed, mowra-seed, sesamum, poppy and the soya bean, which will have a great influence on the industrial activity of India.

The great possibilities of cotton-seed are very well-known, but it is surprising to find only one mill working satisfactorily in India, with the adjustment of tariffs, the cheapening of freights, and State encouragement to Indian manufacturing after the war, this solitary Mill should quickly find itself surrounded with companions. Margarine making will undoubtedly develop here with the expansion of the cotton-seed industry and be a serious competitor to the butter-making firms of Guserat. India is realising fully of exporting her oil-seeds to Europe when there is so much wealth to be extracted from them, and she too is taking notice of the waste going on in India in the crude consumption of two-thirds of her output for cooking and toilet purposes. It is computed that 85 % of the oil-seeds consumed locally is wasted because of our inability to scientifically extract and separate its wealth-producing parts. *Indian Industries and Power.*

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Literary.

MR. EARDLY NORTON AS A JOURNALIST.

Mr. Eardly Norton was for sometime a journalist in London. Of his experiences, he writes in a recent issue of the *Looker-on* :—

I loved the light and glitter. I gloried in the *Veure Clicquot* and the choice samples of tobacco from West, the camaraderie of the Press was infectious, the liberality of our hosts a seductive solvent. The theatres were free to me. I had but to ask for a box or for stalls and, as by a magician's wand, the open Sesame to every play-house in London lay upon my desk. For two years I followed and described the Oxford and Cambridge Boat Race from Boat. Police Passes secured me the freedom of the streets when London thronged to welcome some distinguished foreigner and endless lines of soldiers, pressing back the unenfranchised public, confined them to the limits of a strict cordon. I hobnobbed with great journalists, exchanged chatter with the critics of the great London Press, reviewed first nights and with unfailing confidence freely expressed my personal opinions on theatrical stars of both sexes and the merits of the latest novel. Andrew Lang received his earliest fees on a London daily by a cheque I signed. Men much older than myself accorded me an attention which not even my vanity could refer to my personal merits. Pretty actresses smiled—I know not whether at or with me—and for a time I felt I was not an insignificant member of the Fourth Estate. Under Hamber's teaching—and he certainly was a leader of men—I learnt enough of newspaper editorial work to take charge many years later of the *Madras Mail* for a week and to earn from its editor and owner, Charles Lawson, the tribute that I had mistaken my vocation. So time passed, and the paper's reputation grew. But not its exchequer. Then came the crash."

BOOKS BY THE INTERNET.

The Madras Government recently resolved to relax the orders issued against Mrs. Besant and Messrs. Arundale and Wadia by permitting the publication or republication of purely theosophical or religious writings or speeches composed by them, provided that such writings or speeches have been previously examined and passed for publication by the Governor-in-Council himself, or by such officer as he may appoint to make such examination. Mrs. Besant and Messrs. Wadia and Arundale have declined to avail themselves of this concession.

THE EDITOR'S FUNCTION.

An Editor contributes to the *March Chamber's Journal* a very readable article on the above subject. The public, says the writer, have curious conceptions about an editor's functions. A deep-rooted fallacy is that the editor is in perpetual want of things "to fill-up." The writer observes :—

No, Editors do not live on casual manna in the wilderness like that. They are not in want of copy, not even in what used to be called the "silly season" till the war had reduced all the months of the year to a dead-level of wisdom. . . Well-conducted news-papers do not have odd corners.

Another erroneous conception of the Editor is largely entertained by ladies on charitable committees, to whom an Editor is a nice old gentleman who sits at a desk with a pen behind his ear, waiting to write down nice little paragraphs for every caller with an axe to grind, especially for every caller who is grinding gratuitously. The sober fact that in most large newspaper offices the Editor either does not write at all or writes less than almost anybody else on the staff is one which they flatly refuse to credit. So they would know the fact that as soon as their backs are turned he passes over their "story" to the junior reporter, probably with imprecations, and certainly without any trace of the enthusiasm which would be expected of one in his position,

Educational.

COMPULSORY EDUCATION IN BOMBAY.

The Hon. Mr. V. J. Patel's Bill for the extension of municipal powers for compulsory primary education is published in the Bombay Government *Gazette*. The object of the Bill is to enable the municipalities to make elementary education compulsory within their areas other than the city of Bombay. The provision of the Bill is a permissive one and not obligatory. In the case of several municipalities in the Presidency, it has been found that the number of boys in elementary schools is little more than half of the total number of boys of school-going age.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY CORPS.

At a meeting of the Senate of the Calcutta University, on July 14, a resolution of the committee regarding the formation of University Corps came up for consideration. The Vice-Chancellor pointed out that, as there were legal difficulties, the matter was referred to the Faculty of Law, and the latter reported that, under the existing law relating to the Calcutta University, the University had no power (1) to organise the formation of a University Corps to form part of the Indian Section of the Defence of India Corps (2) to spend the University funds for the purpose of forming and maintaining a University Corps, and (3) to raise funds for such purpose. The original resolution was withdrawn and the following resolution was adopted: "That the Senate in Committee, while regretting its inability under law to sanction the proposal of the Syndicate, record its opinion that it is desirable to form a University Corps to be part of the Indian Section of the Defence of India Force and a Double Company for the Bengali Battalion, without throwing any financial burden on the funds of the University." A small committee was formed to take up the work, and Sir Rash Behari Ghose offered Rs. 10,000 for this purpose.

HOME RULE AND STUDENTS.

The following is the text of the letter written by the Government to the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, dated the 16th May last:—

"The Governor-in-Council has had under consideration the action to be taken in connection with the association of College students and school pupils with the recently inaugurated Home Rule agitation and I am directed to convey the following instructions on the subject:—

"Apart from the aspirations and ideals underlying the formation of the Home Rule League, its immediate result has been the initiation of an active political propaganda, with which it is undesirable that youths pursuing their studies at school or college should be associated. His Excellency in Council, therefore, considers it necessary to direct that no boy attending a Government or aided school, and no student in a Government or aided College, whether studying for a degree or engaged in post-graduate studies, should join the League "either as an associate or as a member." Under the rules of the League, school boys are ineligible for membership, but students can apparently be admitted as associates for the purposes of study etc.,

"IMPERIALISM" IN BURMA SCHOOLS.

About a year ago, a Committee was appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor of Burma to ascertain how the Imperial idea might be inculcated in schools in the province. The Committee has issued a report making 101 recommendations. Amongst them are the following: that the principals of all Government Anglo-Vernacular High Schools should be officers of the I. E. S., and that every Normal and European School should have on its staff a proportion of British subjects trained in the United Kingdom, and a first rate training college, manned by British trained professors and teachers, be instituted, in connection with the Burma University.

Legal.

THE LEGALITY OF THE INTERNMENTS.

Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, has contributed a special article to the "Times of India" in reference to questions put on the 2nd July in the House of Commons whether the Home Rule movement headed by Mrs. Annie Besant was supposed to be outside the constitution. Sir Narayan deals with the constitutional aspect of the order of internment and shows after consideration of the principles underlying British constitution, how a similar use of a summary and absolute power was made in 1879 by Lord-Lytton and how it was characterised by his Law Member, the Hon. Mr. Whitley Stokes, and by Sir William Harcourt, a great constitutional lawyer, as a fraud on the power, because the intent of legislature was that the power in question should be exercised only in some specific cases. The Law Member's argument was in effect, says Sir Narayan, that where legislature confers an exceptional summary and absolute power on the executive in the widest of terms, the executive is not warranted in taking advantage of those terms and using the power in its absolute discretion for cases beyond the more limited intent which the legislature had in conferring that power on the executive. Sir Narayan is careful to explain that the word "fraud" in this connection was not used in its ordinary ignoble sense of equity and law as an exercise of power, honestly and unselfishly but still arbitrarily for purposes not within the real intent of the power. Sir Narayan ultimately comes to the conclusion that the Government, in regard to these internment orders, have gone beyond the object and intentions of the legislature in the matter of the Defence of India Act and has acted unconstitutionally and he has come to this conclusion even after assuming for the sake of argument that the political agitation headed by Mrs. Besant was carried on by "mischievous methods likely to be prejudicial to public safety as contended by the Government.

AN APPEAL TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

Sir P. C. Banerjee and Mr. Justice Ryves, at the Allahabad High Court, heard an application made by Pertab Misser for leave to appeal to His Majesty in Council. The suit originally was brought by Pertab Misser in the court of the Subordinate Judge, Benares, against Rajah Munshi Madholal claiming Rs. 20,000 as commission for having secured a loan of Rs. 10,000,000. The Subordinate Judge decreed the suit and Rajah Madholal appealed to the High Court which reversed the decision, dismissing the plaintiff's claim. The plaintiff, as a broker, procured a loan of Rs. 10 lakhs from the Maharajah of Benares and claimed two per cent. commission. Rajah Madholal repudiated the claim, stating he did not employ the plaintiff. Their Lordships granted a certificate to appeal to the Privy Council as the case fulfilled the requirements of Section 110 of the Civil Procedure Code.

THE LATE SIR P. C. CHATTERJI.

We deeply regret to record the death of Sir Pratul Chandra Chatterji, which occurred at his Calcutta residence on the 15th July. Sir Pratul Chandra was one of the ablest Judges that ever adorned the Chief Court Bench at Lahore. His judgments, said Mr. Shafi, were intellectual treats and showed not only a surprising command of the English language, but a masterly grasp of the legal principles and customary law. Mr. Shafi then referred to the various activities of the illustrious deceased on the Panjab University of which he was twice the Vice-Chancellor, and representative on the Panjab Council, and expressed condolence to the bereaved family. Mr. Justice Shah Din, Acting Chief Judge, replying on behalf of the Bench, associated himself with the sentiments expressed by Mr. Shafi and said that the legal learning of their deceased friend was as profound as his judicial experience was extensive.

Sir P. C. Chatterji was an esteemed contributor to the *Indian Review*. We offer our condolences to the bereaved family.

Medical.

KING EDWARD HOSPITAL, POONA.

Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Willingdon, performed the opening ceremony of the King Edward Memorial Hospital and Sardar Mudaliar Dispensary, two buildings forming part of the same institution, in Rastas Peth, Poona City. Rao Bahadur B. V. Mudaliar, Vice-President of the hospital committee, read a short account of the progress of the hospital. This showed that the Chief of Bhore was donor of Rs. 50,000, out of which Rs. 31,000 had been utilised in building a maternity hospital which was named after the Chief. An Indian lady doctor Mrs. Sunderabai Kirtana, L. M. & S., was in charge and 192 in-patients and 56,921 out-patients had been treated up to the end of last March. The annual income of the hospital was Rs. 9,600 which Rao Bahadur Mudaliar admitted did not place the hospital on a sound financial footing. He, therefore, trusted that the association of their Excellencies' name with the hospital would help to place it on a permanent footing, especially as it was well-known that their Excellencies' sympathies were always extended to the relief of the sufferings of others.

Lady Willingdon next expressed her pleasure at being asked to open the hospital. It was a very great honour to her to feel that she had been appealed to in order to help to raise funds for the institution and she promised to do her best to collect more money in order to put the hospital on a sound footing.

TRAVELLING DISPENSARIES.

The Government of Madras have approved of the proposals of the Surgeon-General to open, as an experimental measure, three travelling dispensaries in charge of selected Civil Assistant Surgeons for the treatment of patients in specially malarious tracts in the districts of Cuddappah, Nellore and Bellary.

VERNACULAR MEDICAL SCHOOL IN BURMA.

His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Burma has appointed a committee, with Colonel P. C. H. Strickland, I.M.S., as President, to consider the question of establishing a vernacular medical school for the training of medical practitioners in Burma, and make recommendations on the following, amongst other issues. The location of the school with particular reference to the facilities for practical training, the number of students, the cost of the necessary equipment, the methods of control, the period of training and other points incidental to the establishment of the school. The object of the school is to extend the benefits of Western medical science to the poorer classes of the community.

REST AFTER MEALS.

A writer in an English contemporary pleads for more rest after meals. He says:—

We need to take more leisure over our meals. In these times, when many young men and women have to put three days' work in one, something has to go short. Mealtime is usually the sufferer. This is a great mistake. Everyone should make it a habit to rest, at least for a few minutes, after every meal. Let the work go. The body must be thought of first. We live in nerve-destroying times. The only manner in which to keep the nerves fit is to nourish them well. This can be attained if the stomach is in proper order. We are not ostriches that can devour glass bottles. Therefore we must assist the natural workings of our bodies to the fullest extent of our power. It has been suggested that in one part of England dinner-time should be cut down to half an hour. If carried out, this will prove a dangerous policy. The human machine, like all others, cannot go on for ever. It requires rest, and the more it gets—with a full supply of work—the healthier it becomes.

Science.

THE HUNS' "MEBU."

The new German type of machine-gun position, the "Mebu," as it seems to be called (M.E.B.U., which appears to stand for "Machine Eisen Betun Understand"), built of reinforced concrete, as its name implies, is a very carefully designed and elaborate structure, writes the special correspondent of *The Times*. It is, of course, entirely subterranean, generally a group of three pits for a like number of guns, connecting in a chamber below, from which concrete steps go up a concrete lined shaft to the actual positions above. The roof of each pit is circular, protected with a lid or covering of steel and concrete, with a narrow observation slit in front, and the orifice through which the gun fires is only a few inches above ground level. The target which each pit offers, therefore, to hostile guns is about equivalent to that of the opening to a coal cellar in a London pavement with the lid propped a few inches above the ground. Our guns, however, as soon as these pits are accurately located by observation, do, in fact, knock them out with direct hits—and nothing but a direct hit is of any use—as most remarkable evidence of the quality of our artillery. For the defence of open country and bare slopes these "Mebus" are the enemy's favourite device. The ruins of villages, woods, and other silent points are filled with machine-gun posts adopted to the confirmation of the ground, and in places, as in the chemical works above Roerux, there are positions as strong and complex as the Schwaben on Staff Redoubts. Besides the infantry garrisons of the positions in wood and villages, numbers of scattered but unconnected trenches, with which there is communication only across the open, and therefore in the dark, are disposed about the ground wherever suitable positions offer.

THE CHEMIST'S TASK.

Mr. Francis Mills Turner writes in the *Canadian Magazine*:—

By the introduction of the use of borax in glass, glass-chemists have been able to produce glasses which expand when heated and contract when cooled so little that pie-plates which can be used for backing in ovens can be made of them. Of course such glass is far superior for lamp-chimneys, and as those glasses were much more easily worked than the old, chimneys of much better designs have been made. It is not generally appreciated that ordinary glass is by no means insoluble in water, and although this solubility is insufficient to be noticed in everyday life, it becomes a matter of grave import in the chemical laboratory where small quantities of materials have to be taken care of. Quite recently special glasses, very highly insoluble, have been made. Other achievements have been the making of special glasses for X-Ray tubes and telescope lenses and the production of artistic glasses, such as the beautiful Tiffany or Aurene glass.

AMERICAN SUBMARINE CHASERS.

Germany is supposed to have about 250 boats in service to-day, and an American naval expert argued the other day that if, with these, she is able to send to the bottom from 100,000 to 400,000 tons of shipping per month, it is a matter of simple arithmetic to calculate that, unless we find some more effective means of combating these attacks, the losses of merchant ships, when Germany has from 500 to 1,000 boats in operation, will reach an alarming figure. He added:

The most effective contribution of the United States to the defeat of the submarine will be a vast fleet of 'chasers,' and the immediate arming of every ship in our merchant marine. So deadly is the rapid-fire gun in the hands of a trained crew that no U-boat will dare to accept the challenge to a gun-fight. It would have to rely on the torpedo, and that would greatly decrease its opportunities of attack.

Personal

MODEST ORIGINS OF GREAT MEN.

Sir William Robertson, the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, and the greatest strategic organiser that Britain has ever produced, was the son of a village shopkeeper.

He enlisted as a private in the 16th Lancers—"Alfonso's Own"—thirty years ago, when the Army was generally regarded by people in his walk of life as the last refuge for the destitute.

Lloyd George, again, was born of quite humble parentage, and got no more education than was provided at the village school in the remote Welsh hamlet where he was brought up.

Then there is General Alexeieff, often and aptly described as "The Sir William Robertson of Russia." Barring the Tsar himself, no man wields greater power, or shoulders responsibility, than does the Chief of Staff of the Russian Field Armies. He it was who conducted the great retreat last autumn, extricating our gallant Ally's forces from an impossible position, and he it was, too, who organised the splendid offensive of the summer just past.

Yet General Alexeieff comes of peasant stock, and began his army career as a conscript with his group in 1877. His father was serving at the time as a sergeant in a line regiment; and his mother had been, prior to her marriage, a washerwoman in the big municipal laundries at Odessa.

General Smuts, who is engaged just now in wresting from Germany her last remaining and most valuable colony, spent his early years tending cattle on his father's farm near Stellenbosch, South Africa. With the money obtained by the sale of two cows, presented to him by his lad in lieu of wages, he paid for the first quarter's "schooling" he ever had.

General Joffre's father was the village cooper at Rivesalts, in the extreme south of France. Sent to the little school there, the lad developed a remarkable talent for mathematics, won a couple of scholarships, and eventually worked his way up, until, at the early age of sixteen, he was able to enter the "Ecole Polytechnique," the famous French preparatory school for both civil and military engineers.

Eventually he was given his commission as lieutenant by MacMahon for his work on the fortifications of Paris after the war of 1870-71, in which he had served as a private soldier.—*Pearson's Weekly*.

THE LATE SIR GEORGE BIRDWOOD.

Sir George Birdwood, writes the *Pioneer*, was the son of General Christopher Birdwood, and was born at Belgaum in the Bombay Presidency. He was educated at Edinburgh University, where he took his M. D. degree. Entering the Bombay Medical Service in 1854, he served in the Persian war of 1855-57, and afterwards became Professor at the Grant Medical College. His work on the *Economic Vegetable Products of the Bombay Presidency* brought him considerable reputation and reached its twelfth edition in 1818. He also interested himself in the municipal life of the city of Bombay. Returning to England in 1868 on account of ill-health, he entered the revenue and statistics department of the India Office. While engaged there he published important volumes on the industrial arts of India, the records of the India Office and the First Letter-book of the East India Company. He wrote valuable monographs on various aspects of Indian art. His researches on the subject of incense are a good example of his mastery of detail, and have made his botanical and historical account of this subject a classic. He was created a K.C.I.E. in 1887.

Political.

CHAIRMAN OF THE CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

The election of Rai Baikunta Nath Sen Bahadur of Murshidabad as Chairman of the Reception Committee of the next Congress at Calcutta must be gratifying to all Congressmen. The Rai Bahadur is a veteran political leader and has been for many years one of the most prominent figures of the moderate party in Bengal. He has been connected with the Congress movement since its very inception and his independence and patriotism are known all over the Province. He was elected President of the Indian Association only recently.

RUSSIA'S STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM.

General Smuts, in an address delivered at the Russian Exhibition on May 30, expressed the sympathy of the people of the British Empire with the Russians, and said:—"There is a great future before democratic Russia; but liberty, like young wine mounts to the head. There must be more than an idealist, noble sensation of freedom pervading a people. There must be organisation and discipline. That is what the Russians are learning to-day. They are learning the greatest lesson of life, which is that to be free you must work hard and struggle hard. Russians feel the intoxication of this new experience; but they live in a very brutal world which is not governed by cleverly constructed formulas. Unless brute force be smashed liberty cannot live. Germany will swallow all the nice formulas and swallow Russia herself. There is no doubt that this is a case for very hard fighting. Germany was founded upon blood and iron, and she must be smashed in the same way."

SIR JAMES MESTON'S EXTENSION.

It is understood that Sir James Meston will be given an extension of service as the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces until the 15th January, 1918.

LORD RONALD SHAY ON SELF-GOVERNMENT.

Replying to the welcome addresses presented to H. E. the Governor of Bengal at Dacca on June 5, His Excellency, referring to Self-Government, said: With regard to a greater measure of Self-Government to which you look forward, I think it only right that I should utter a word of caution, lest you be encouraged to cherish hopes which are not destined to be fulfilled. I should, indeed, be a false friend to you, if I were even seem to give consent by my silence to the belief, which some of you express, that this aspiration can possibly be realised within the brief period of my rule. Those who seriously hold any such belief, if indeed there be any such, can have given no thought at all to the immense practical difficulties which stand in the way. I would commend to their attention the informed and considered opinion of the President of the National Congress held in Bombay, two years ago, that the path is long and devious, and that we shall have to tread weary steps before we go to the promised land. Self-Government within the Empire will some day be achieved, but it will come as the crown of much patient and sustained endeavour, and by no conceivable possibility can it be brought about by a mere stroke of the pen. That is not to say that a steady advance towards the goal will not be made. I hope, nay, I assure you that it will, but I am firmly convinced that no jerry built edifice will stand, and that what is required is a solid structure raised with thought and care upon a firm and well-laid foundation. And in all your efforts directed towards that end, you may count upon my warm encouragement and my sympathetic support.

LORDS WILLINGDON AND PENTLAND.

It is officially announced that in view of the restrictions in force at the present time the Secretary of State for India, with the approval of His Majesty, has invited Lord Pentland and Lord Willingdon to serve on in India and that they have consented to do so.

General.

SIR JAMES MESTON ON INDIA.

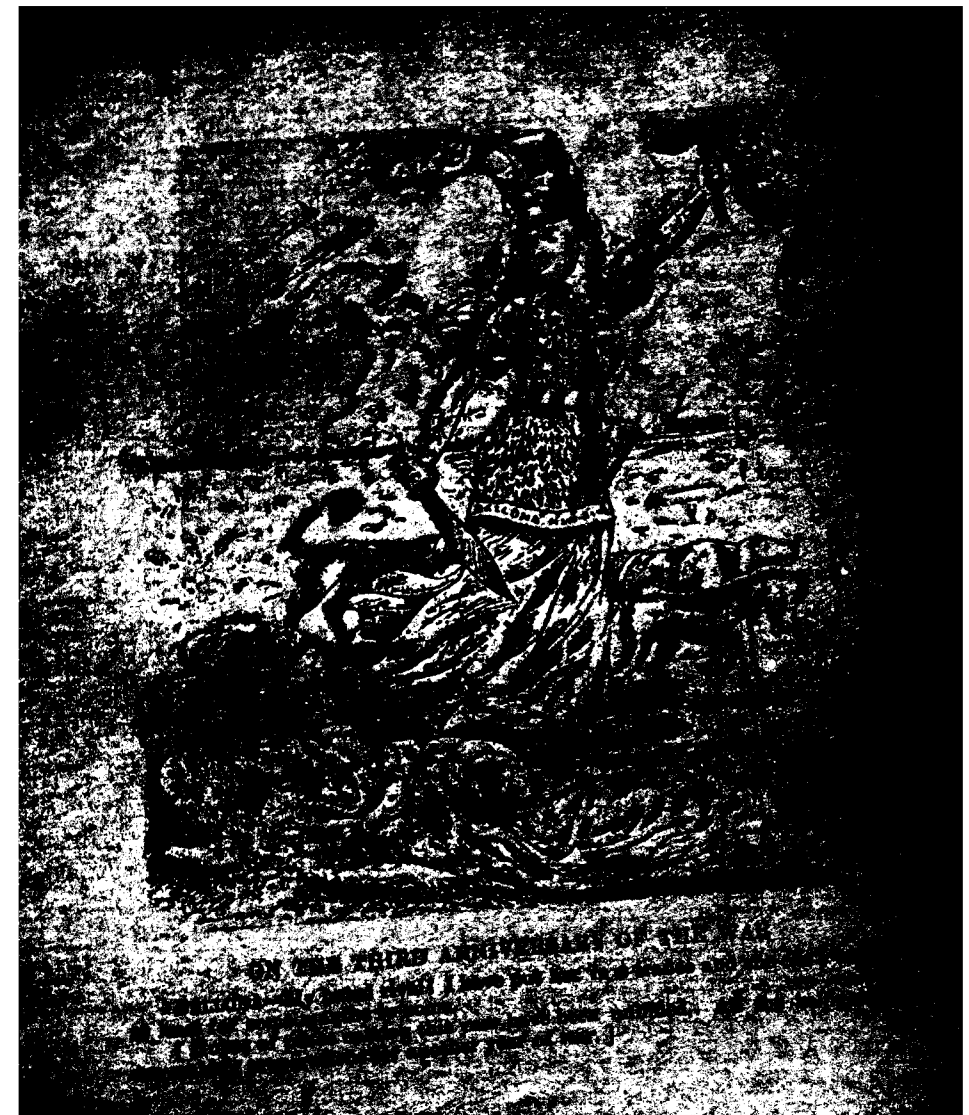
In acknowledging the "Freedom of the city of London" Sir James Meston said.—

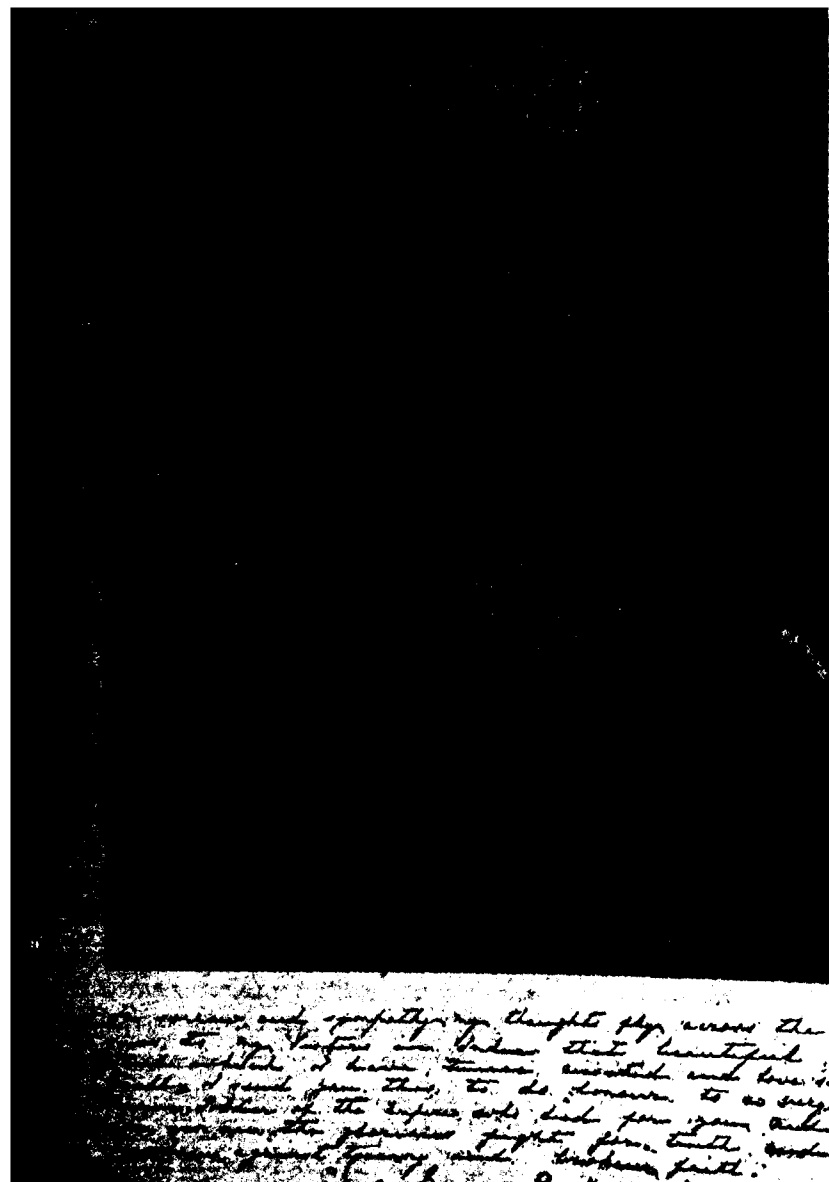
India's position to-day is, indeed, curious. The youngest member of your Council board, she is yet by far the most ancient of the great possessions of the British Crown. When Boadicea stormed the rude fortalice which stood near where we are to-day and filled the land with her fierce revenge, India was a settled continent with a matured civilisation, with wealthy cities and monastic orders, and institutions which still have something to teach us. Three centuries before the Roman invasion of Britain, the Emperor Asoka was summoning his great council of a thousand elders, and was sending out missionaries into the rest of the world to convert it to that gentle and lofty faith of which he was the chief disciple. At a time when our ancestors were primitive dwellers in the woods, India was a highly developed and cultured land. Then came along agonies of confusion and decline; and India plunged into the darkness of mediævalism about the very time when England began to emerge from it. When London was first building this glorious hall in its present form, India had just been ravaged by the barbaric Tamerlane; and though in the succeeding centuries there were purple patches of glory at the Mogul Court, much that was best in the old life and thought of India passed into the dust.

And now India is in the throes of rebirth. You have recently heard much about the fidelity and the aspirations of India. If we have been faithful and if our aspirations are just, what we ask of the British people—and your great courtesy fortifies us in asking—is their help in our regeneration. The process may be slow, it often will be painful; in the course of it there will be disappointments both for you and for us; but in the upward path to a higher plane

of national life we need the hand of fellowship which you are giving us to-day. You have often helped us before; no gifts could have been more generous than those which your predecessors have organised time and again when India was visited by famine and plague; and without the goodwill of the City of London that sound financial system which is the backbone of Indian administration could not have been possible. The encouragement which we need for the future is wider and even more generous; the gifts which we ask for are your sympathy and guidance while India strives to fit herself for fuller citizenship and greater political freedom. (*Cheers.*) Her association in the Imperial War Cabinet, and your gracious acclamation of her representatives to-day make India feel that your assistance will be hers.

You have placed your laurels on the brows of great statesmen, of soldiers and sailors of renown, of eminent scientists and divines but this is probably the first time in which a member of the permanent Public Service of India has received the distinction during his term of office. Here again I beg your leave to accept the distinction as a representative rather than as an individual:—as one of the rank and file of the Indian Civil Service who, along with the sister Services that share with us the heat and burden of the day, have to interpret between the Government and the people. On us lies the direct responsibility for the quiet and contentment, the prosperity, the progress, of the country. It is a task which has to be carried out in an inhospitable climate and often in solitude and anxiety; but the reward which comes to most of us—and it is the highest reward that any man could earn—is the trust and affection of the people among whom we work. Our course will not grow easier, as we launch out from the familiar waters or paternal rule into new and unchartered seas; and there may at first be mistakes in the navigation. But there will be no faltering, the civil services of India will sail the course.





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No. 8.

AFTER THE WAR CONFERENCE—WHAT?

BY MR. H. S. L. POLAK.

THE Imperial War Conference, at its fifteenth meeting held on April 27 last, passed the following resolution :

That the Imperial War Conference, having examined the memorandum on the position of India (Indians?) in the Self-Governing Dominions, presented by the Indian representatives to the Conference, accepts the principle of reciprocity between India and the Dominions, and recommends the memorandum to the favourable consideration of the Governments concerned.

From a perusal of the memorandum, which, with all respect to its sponsors, is, in some respects, a most disappointing document, it seems clear that the reciprocity therein mentioned has reference only to the question of immigration, for no suggestion appears to have been made that Transvaal Europeans, for example, settling in India should be refused the right to own fixed property in their own names, or should be denied the municipal franchise ; or that Natal Europeans should be required to make application for the issue of trading licences to Municipalities which should have the unappealable right to refuse them without giving reasons. Even as regards immigration, it remains to be seen whether the Government of India will proceed to legislate on the lines of the Union Immigrants Regulation Act, which empowers the Minister of the Interior to exclude any persons or classes of persons as being undesirable on economic grounds, and in terms of which he has declared all Asiatics to be undesirable immigrants. Will the Government declare all South African colonists to be similarly undesirable ? Is it probable that they will issue a resolution, declaring that no Canadian will be allowed to land in India unless he comes by direct passage from his native

land ? Will they legislate to prohibit the entry into India of an Australian, unless he can pass an education test prescribed by the Immigration Officer at the port of arrival, and will that officer be instructed to set the test in, say, Sanskrit or the Toda tongue ? We must "wait and see" what form the policy of reciprocity takes, before coming to any conclusions as to its appropriateness or its efficacy. Meanwhile, we can only regret that the Indian representatives should have committed themselves to some of the sentiments contained in the memorandum without consulting expert opinion in this country more closely than they would appear to have done.

The memorandum recommends, to use Mr. Chamberlain's expressive language, that Asiatics of British nationality should at least not be less favourably treated than other Asiatics. The negative form in which he framed the recommendation is significant. Without raising the question of unrestricted immigration, which, as General Smuts has pointed out, was definitely and finally dealt with by the Union Act of 1913, why should not preferential treatment within the British Empire be boldly claimed by the Government of India for British Asiatics ? Let us, however, take the recommendation as it is. Are the Government of India going to claim that Indian business-men should be granted the same facilities as to landing at South African ports and carrying on their businesses as are apparently being granted to Japanese traders ? And if they do make this claim, are the Union Government at all likely to admit it ? The extension of Japanese trade in

South Africa, since the war, has been enormous, and no-one acquainted with Japanese commercial methods would, for a moment, suppose that it has been created by European agency. A few weeks ago, two Indian graduates from Cambridge were refused permission to land at Cape Town, whilst permission was freely granted to European and Japanese passengers; these last were, presumably, not desirous of landing for the good of their health. But it is foolish to expect the Indian or the Imperial authorities to insist upon better terms for British Asiatics, within the British Empire, than are accorded to alien Asiatics. In the territories of Zanzibar and East Africa, which are directly under the control of the British Government, and where a Portuguese consular officer may be found, Portuguese Asiatics are allowed to land where British Asiatics are refused. Of course, in times of war, all kinds of restrictions may be deemed to be necessary, but that does not explain why a Portuguese Asiatic may be allowed to land on British soil, where permission is refused to an Asiatic of British origin, who has, of course, no consul to whom to appeal.

The memorandum expressly refers to the special privileges that are granted to Japanese immigrants, in respect of the admission of their wives and minor children, by the Dominion of Canada, over Indians who are already settled there. Here it would seem that, whilst urging the claims of British Asiatics to equal treatment with, for example, the Japanese, the Indian representatives have gone out of their way gratuitously to bring into discredit a perfectly legitimate demand. As is well known, by an Order of Council, the Dominion Government have prevented, under the "continuous journey" requirement, the introduction of Indian wives and minor children. "Much has been made in India," say the Indian representatives, "of this grievance, though it is very improbable that, in practice, more than a dozen or so Sikhs of the labouring classes would wish to bring over their wives, especially since the Indian

community in British Columbia has become so much smaller. The efforts made to do so were probably inspired by political agitators, who wished to, and did, produce cases which aroused sympathy. But the average Sikh, ready to travel all over the world to make money, does not in the least wish to be hampered by a helpless wife." Anything more cold-blooded than this can hardly be imagined. Elsewhere the Indian representatives speak of resident Indians introducing "women of their own race," as though it were a matter of importing cattle for breeding purposes, or Indian women were to be introduced for other purposes than marriage. The Secretary of State for India and his colleagues do not appear to regard it as a matter of ordinary human nature for a resident Indian to want his wife and family to join him in his new life. Nor do they apparently realise that the population of British Columbia has diminished probably just because of this domestic difficulty, among other reasons, which is, no doubt, exactly what the Dominion Government were counting upon. It would be interesting, too, to inquire what proportion of these disgruntled Sikhs, returning to India, may have joined the ranks of the disaffected. The Indian representatives do not seem to have understood that if every Sikh in Canada, and not merely a few, wished for the presence, help, and comfort of wife and family, he would be entitled, as a matter of inalienable human right, to have them. Nor, again, do they seem to appreciate that if, in fact, only a few Sikhs really do so desire, there is all the less reason for refusing it. What have "political agitators" to do with the matter? Is it to be understood that the removal of this disability, shameful alike to the Dominion that has imposed it and to India that has had to suffer it, has not been made the burden of repeated representations and protests by the Government of India? That is incredible. But would the right be any the less had the "political agitators" alone "agitated"? Are the Indian

representatives so unacquainted with the circumstances of the case that they are unaware that the right has been claimed, as it should have been claimed, for Indians resident in Canada, not only by "political agitators" in India—and Sir Jamshedjee Jeejeebhoy, who presided over the famous Bombay meeting in 1912, at which a representation claiming this right was publicly and unanimously endorsed, can hardly be so described, nor can Sir Rabindranath Tagore, who refused to enter Canada, because of the treatment accorded to the Indian colonists there—but also by European citizens of the Dominion, who are not politicians or agitators in any ordinary acceptance of the terms.

The next recommendation is that the freest possible facilities should be given to educated Indians for travel, study, or visits for any purpose, as apart from settlement. That is reasonable requirement, but why should not *educated* Indians be free to enter and reside in any British Dominion? What harm can they do to the social order of the Dominion concerned, to which Sir Robert Borden, the Canadian Premier, eloquently referred? It is extremely unlikely that any number of educated Indians would desire to settle in any Dominion. They would have to depend for their livelihood upon such support as they could obtain from their own countrymen or Europeans resident in the particular Dominion. In either case, the number would be strictly limited by economic considerations, and would not arouse any fear of an Asiatic invasion, such as General Smuts referred to. At any rate, where there is any considerable body of Indians resident in any Dominion, as in South Africa, they are surely entitled to the leadership of educated men of their own race. And in such cases, rights of permanent residence are an absolute necessity, for provisional or temporary residential rights for educated Indians will place them in a clearly inferior position to their less well qualified countrymen, whilst they would, if they happened to oppose any given policy of

the Dominion authorities, be in jeopardy and liable to the withdrawal of their residential privileges.

Lastly, it was asked that a kindly and sympathetic consideration should be given to those Indians who had already been permitted to settle in the Dominions. In his speech on this occasion General Smuts somewhat cleverly confused the issue. He made it appear that the difficulties in South Africa had been overcome. He spoke as though they were only administrative, whereas the outstanding grievances of the Indians in the different Provinces of the Union are of a fundamental and a legislative character, and in dealing with them, the Union Government will often reply ordinarily, as they have already done in the Transvaal, that the matter does not lie within their jurisdiction, but that authority to deal with it has already been delegated to some other authority, such as the Provincial Councils or the municipalities. Exactly the same reply, in essence, has for many years been given by the Imperial Government, who say that they cannot interfere with a Self-Governing Dominion. Take, for example, the old sore of the East London location bye-laws, which require Indians to reside, in certain circumstances, in a location. An Indian trader residing in the East London location may give his South African native servant a pass to be out until any time of the night. But he himself is forbidden to remain out after 8 p.m. as no-one can give him a pass. The old Cape Government and the present Union Government have been appealed to procure the removal of this racial bye-law, but they reply that the matter is one for the municipality to decide. In the Transvaal, municipalities have been granted the right to control the issue of certain classes of trading licences. The Provincial Council, to whom had been granted the power, by the Union Parliament, to confer such rights upon municipalities, did so on alleged grounds of public health. Certain municipalities have not only refused to issue new

licences to Indians, but have refused to renew existing ones, or have renewed a licence to an Indian applicant for one of his stores, presumably on the ground that he is a desirable person to possess one, and have refused to issue to him a similar licence for another suitable store within the same municipal area, on the ground that he is an undesirable—i.e., that he is an Indian. These municipalities are composed almost entirely, as they are throughout South Africa, of the Indian's business rivals, and that Province has disfranchised him, municipally, as well as politically. When the Union Government are referred to, they reply that the matter is outside their jurisdiction. When the Transvaal Administrator is appealed to, he replies that he cannot interfere with the legal action of a municipality acting within the powers conferred upon it by an Ordinance of the Provincial Council. When the Transvaal Municipal Association is approached, it refers to a private letter of Mr. Gandhi's to the Secretary for the Interior, dealing with quite other matters, and interprets it as a declaration that the Indian community agrees not to demand any fresh licences, in other words, that it has been so foolish as to tie the hands of posterity, in the shape of the Indians born in South Africa itself. Similarly in Natal. The Supreme Court says that it cannot interfere where a municipality refuses a licence to an Indian applicant, but has conducted its proceedings according to the forms that the law requires. Authority has been delegated to those whose direct interests lie in the ruin of the Indian community and who have deliberately and all but avowedly determined upon the destruction of independent Indian enterprise throughout South Africa. And nobody can interfere. These are not, as General Smuts would have us suppose, merely administrative details, but matters of law. Or if they are, then the Union Government have, in spite of their professions to the contrary, been a party to the policy of Indian *elimination* that has

been followed unofficially for years. Then, again the refusal to Indians of the right to own fixed property in the Transvaal is not an administrative matter, but a legislative prohibition. Is General Smuts prepared to introduce into the Union Parliament remedial legislation? And will he be able to carry his own party (not to speak of the Nationalists) and a considerable portion of the Unionist party and the Labour members with him? Whilst direct ownership by Indians of fixed property is prohibited in law, they are legally enabled to own it indirectly, as, for example, through their being members of a private limited liability company. But already a movement is on foot to deprive Indians even of this right. Take again, what is happening to-day in the "British" colony of Natal. The great bulk of the members of the two Indian Double Bearer Companies, with their supports, that the South African Indian community has placed at the disposal of the military authorities, and who have served with splendid courage, devotion, and distinction in East Africa, were born in Natal. Their reward is peculiar. In 1896, Natal Indians were politically disfranchised, but the Government spokesmen declared that their possession of the municipal franchise would never be interfered with. Since then, they have exercised their right to the municipal vote with intelligence and moderation, whilst they have carefully refrained from taking an active part in municipal controversies. To-day they are threatened with the deprivation of the municipal vote and their right to be represented upon a municipal council by a member of their own community. Such things as these are not administrative matters at all. They indicate a deep-seated intention to make South Africa impossible for free Indian residence. It is not merely a question of asking South Africa to extend kindly and sympathetic treatment to Indians. The trouble lies deeper than that. Large numbers of the white inhabitants of the Union are unable and unwilling to

distinguish between Indians and the semi-barbarous natives of the country. Almost as many are determined, not only not to admit Indians to equality of treatment but to deprive them of existing rights, and to compel them, if they wish to remain in the Union, to serve as hewers of wood and drawers of water to the white population.

General Smuts is reported to have said that he, for one, did not consider that, among the multitudinous problems which confronted them in South Africa, the question of India would trouble them much in the future. Perhaps, in spite of

appearances, his breezy optimism may be justified. Perhaps, in conjunction with those South Africans who may be said to represent the better mind of the country, he may be able to bring about, not merely administrative changes, but a change of heart throughout the Union. But his efforts and theirs, and those of the Indian residents, will need the constant support and encouragement of public opinion in India, before the disabilities set forth above, and others which proceed from a similar spirit of racial exclusiveness and intolerance, are finally removed.

Three Years of War—Some Reflections.

BY "A JOURNALIST."

It is related of the Speaker of one of Queen Elizabeth's subservient Parliaments that, being asked by her what had recently transpired in the House, made reply: "Your Majesty, five weeks." A war-weary world may be excused if it refuses to regard the happenings of the war since August 1914 as anything more than three years of warfare—a period of continuous slaughter, of enormous waste of wealth laying strong the foundations of bankruptcy for the belligerents and of the complete dislocation of industry and the vast edifice of international commerce. A rough calculation would put the number of killed alone in this war at little short of five millions. It is easy to gather, when to this are added the disabled, that the drain on the manhood of Europe has been terrific. Equally enormous has been the waste of wealth involved. The combined total war expenditure of the belligerents must be nearing twenty-thousand millions and this unfolds a vista of crushing taxation, to meet the interest, upon generations yet unborn. These are concrete facts that he who runs may read. They represent the cost to Europe of three years of warfare. When the man in the street turns to the credit-side he

is faced by blank columns. If he enquires, how far are we nearer the end of the war, nearer that victory for which we have paid so much, he is met by the entire absence of any decisive achievement on either side so far. The war continues and the tale of the dead grows ever longer but so far he can see no prospect of any other ending to the war than that of the famous duel between the Kilkenny cats which fought each other till only their tails were left. The stoutest heart may well blanch at such a prospect. It is no wonder that war-weariness should have reached such a pitch that counsels of peace fall on willing ears in an increasingly large section of the people of the belligerent countries.

Such an estimate of the course of the war would, however, be entirely erroneous. While it is true that nothing decisive has happened yet which would assure victory to one side or the other, it must not be forgotten that in a war of this magnitude no single decisive event is possible. The time is gone by when victory or defeat could be decided by the issue of a single battle. Perhaps the most crushing defeat sustained by either side in the war was that inflicted by Hindenburg on the Russians at Tannenberg. And yet

it meant no more to the Russians than a retreat of a few miles and the loss of so many thousand men and so many guns. Perhaps the only single battle that could be called decisive was the Battle of the Marne. Even that battle was decisive only in the negative sense. It was the death-blow, to the German strategy of over-coming France before the Russian mobilisation was completed and then turning on the latter. By foiling that strategy it rendered victory in the war impossible for Germany.

No estimate of the war situation can be correct which takes no account of the essential factor herein involved. Time fights against the Central Powers. Germany lost her chance of victory when her advance was stayed at the gates of Paris and her armies flung back to the Aisne. Since then she has played for a draw, with infinite patience and skill, hoping that her opponents would weary of the war before she did, knowing all the time that the odds were against her and were increasing as one neutral country after another threw in its lot with her opponents.

Mr. Churchill has stated that this is a war of tendencies, by which cryptic phrase he meant that the deciding factors making for success or defeat were not at any given moment to be found on the surface but under it. Broadly speaking the two vital factors essential for victory, are first, the will to war and secondly the ability to war. Put into terms more familiar, victory depends firstly upon morale and secondly upon resources.

A war of this magnitude cannot be continued except upon the basis of the concentrated efforts of all the peoples of the belligerent countries. The side in which such effort is lacking is doomed to defeat. The Dynasty started the war, but even the vast preparations made by Germany for a European war did not suffice to carry the war beyond the first few months. It was only by appealing to the people, by representing the war as Germany's fight for freedom, that her rulers have been able to continue the war so

long. It is a striking tribute to the powers of persuasion of the German militarists or to the capacity for self-deception of the German people that, in spite of the clearest evidence that the war was prepared for and forced upon Europe at their chosen moment by the German rulers, the people of Germany should have been so long content to accept without question what they have been told regarding the origin and meaning of the war. For, it is essential for the morale of a nation to be kept up that it should have a firm belief in the justice of its own cause. Without such conviction the spirit of self-questioning comes into play and wreaks havoc on the national will to war. Now in a comparison on this question of morale between the Central Powers and the *Entente* group there cannot be any doubt that the balance of advantage lies with the *Entente*. We have no means of knowing the exact state of opinion in Germany and Austria, but what information does leak out, making all allowances for the natural tendency towards exaggeration of the enemy's difficulties on the part of our own parveyors of news, undoubtedly points to a steady disillusionment of the German people as to the righteousness of the cause for which they have suffered so much. That some such feeling lies at the bottom of the recent political crises in the two countries, though by a clever *coup d'état* they have been taken advantage of by the militarists to strengthen their own hands, cannot be gainsaid. There is no parallel to this feeling among the *Entente* countries. In France, Britain and Italy, with the exception of a small minority of pacifists the people as a whole are firm in their support of the war. In Russia it is true the morale underwent considerable deterioration and by its reaction upon the army exposed the latter to defeat and nearly brought about a disaster. The causes for the deterioration in Russia's morale are far apart from those in the Central Empires. The former had no connection with the justice of the cause. They had reference rather to the futility

and wickedness of war in general, as well as to a natural desire that the fruits of the revolution should not be thrown away by giving an opportunity to autocracy to raise its head again. If anything were wanted to convince the *Entente* peoples of the justice of their cause, they have found ample argument in the adhesion to their side of one important neutral after another, notably the United States.

Apart from belief in the righteousness of their cause another important determinant of the morale of a people is their belief in the victory of their own side. Now, it is obvious that no group of human beings can, after three years warfare on such a colossal scale, retain unimpaired their original confidence as to ultimate victory. From this point of view it must be acknowledged that both sides have suffered a deterioration in morale. That this war-weariness, however, is much more pronounced in the Central Empires than in the *Entente* countries is capable of easy proof. The vigour of the blockade imposed by the British Navy has raised the spectre of starvation and the spectre is rapidly materialising. The only answer to this that the German leaders have been able to make *viz.*, the submarine campaign, is now acknowledged even by them to touch barely more than the fringe of the problem it was meant to solve, *viz.*, to so reduce the shipping resources of the Allies as to seriously affect their military power while at the same time cutting off their overseas supplies of food. A decisive victory in the field the Germans have long since ceased to hope for. The German people have found that in spite of resounding and sedulously advertised victories, they are no nearer towards convincing the *Entente* peoples that they have been beaten. The great campaign against Russia in 1915 did not succeed in inducing the Russian people to acknowledge defeat by a separate peace any more than the crushing of Serbia and Rumania succeeded in crushing the war spirit of these two peoples.

It cannot be denied that the *Entente* peoples have had disappointments to bear too. These disappointments have mainly centred around Russia whose tendency constantly to get into trouble seems to be rivalled only by the powers of reconstruction she displays. The Russian collapse in 1915 was a great disappointment. The hopes raised by the concerted offensives of 1916 under which the enemy front was beginning to erect were dispelled by the Russian Revolution and the debacle in Galicia. Thus Russia is even yet an incalculable quantity, though at present there is a fair hope that she will emerge from her troubles to take her part in next year's campaign. The entry of America, however, has helped to sustain the spirits of the *Entente* peoples and it can confidently be asserted that at the present moment the morale of the *Entente* peoples is vastly superior to that of the Central Empires.

Coming to the second of our two factors, the ability to war, this as we have explained resolves itself into a question of resources. It is an obvious fact that the resources of the Allies are much greater than those of the Central Empires. The latter however had the advantage of a good start in the utilisation of these resources, which enabled them to secure some initial successes and very nearly to achieve victory. At the beginning of the war they had the advantage both in numbers and material and it took the Allies two years of war to overtake and outpace the enemy in both these respects. The accession of America has deepened the odds greatly in favour of the Allies and the latter now await the recovery of Russia before bringing to bear upon the enemy their whole strength with a pressure that shall be irresistible. Meanwhile by vigorous attacks at definite periods they are keeping the enemy busy, adding to his losses and preventing him from taking advantage of the helplessness of Russia. The important points to bear in mind here are that the Germans are in a distinct position of inferiority both as regards men and munitions; secondly that this disproportion tends to increase because the German losses are remarkably larger than those of the Allies; and lastly that the accession of America will next year convert the superiority of the Allies, which is now considerable in both directions into an absolutely overwhelming one. That this is not a state of things which justifies pessimism will, we think, be readily granted by the most ardent of pacifists.

Lord Hardinge's Trust in India

BY MR. RUSTAM B. PAYMASTER, B.A., LL.B.

"I have trusted India, I have believed in India, I have hoped with India, I have feared with India, I have wept with India, I have rejoiced with India, and, in a word, I have identified myself with India. India's response has been a wonderful revelation to me and sometimes I feel as if she had in return confided her very heart to my keeping."
—(Lord Hardinge on the eve of his retirement from India.)

O! grateful Indians, let me now declare
My views to you entrusted to my care.
How well I've trusted Ind thro' thick and thin,
Believed in her, with faith to love akin,
With her I've hoped, and feared with her as well,
On varying fortunes one could scarce foretell.
I've wept with Ind, all sorrows hers I knew,
Rejoiced with her in her rejoicing true!
She, in return, did make my sorrows hers,
Dispelled my grief and made its clouds disperse.
Aye, in a word, I made her cause my own,
Her life my life, her comfort mine I've known.
My heart-strings bound with hers as if from birth,
My land of hope, my paradise on earth!
I knew not my existence save in her,
I drew not breath save with her own to stir.
To her with thread of gold myself did bind
In her did my true salvation find.
The kind response she 'as made so cheerfully,
What wondrous revelation 't was to me!
I've seen with pride, how grateful, in return,
For me ev'n now, her weeping soul doth burn;
Confiding ev'n her inmost heart to me,
Unasked, ungrudging and unstingingly
How I have ruled her, time alone can tell,
But sympathy hath won her heart full well.
There is the key, in it the secret lies,
Of my success, my guerdon and my pride!

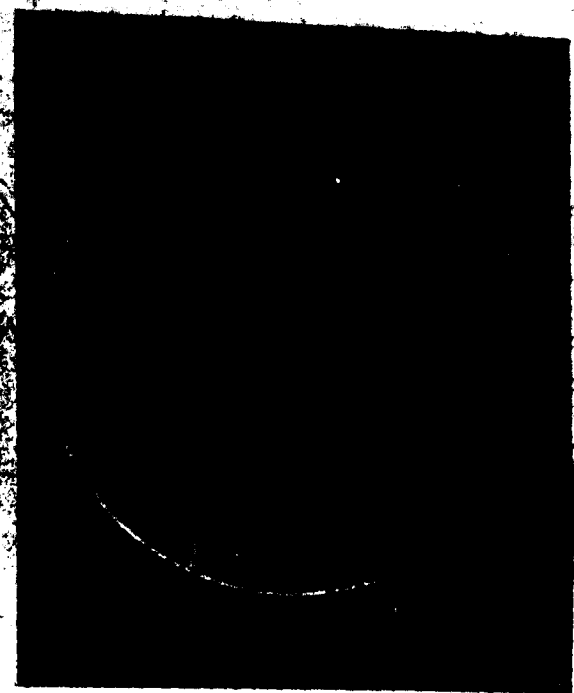


Taken on the occasion of the recent Imperial War Conference in London.

EUROPEAN ARTISTS IN INDIA.

513

BY THE REV. ARTHUR R. SLATER.



MR. A. HENDERSON
Who has resigned the Cabinet.

ILLUSTRATED papers and magazines have done much in recent years to popularise Indian scenery and customs in the West; innumerable descriptive books finely illustrated are finding their way on to the market; the amateur photography of the many visitors to this country has served to give the people of the West such an account of the Picturesque East as was not possible when the artist had to depend solely on his pen for conveying impressions. Before the advent of those pictorial aids, most important of which is the half-tone process of printing, the number of illustrated volumes on India was very small. The heavy expense involved in their production also precluded other than wealthy individuals from purchasing them. But the few artists who visited India, and produced their work in those volumes which are now very rare rendered a splendid service in educating the people of England in the very varied and interesting features of India. India has never attracted to any serious extent, the artist or the writer, though several outstanding instances may come to the mind, and creditable though much of the work done, was, few of their productions can be laid to rank in the first class. Unfortunately many of these who came from Europe, devoted themselves to portraiture work for the simple reason that it was by far the most lucrative. They were welcomed at the courts of the Native Princes, who commissioned them to paint the members of the Royal Family, and if satisfied, were ready to give them an adequate return for their labour. Had there been an opportunity of disposing satisfactorily of paintings descriptive of Indian scenery and customs, there is little doubt that more attention would have been given to the subject. But it was not an attractive prospect to devote several years of one's life to labour in a country which was then a much more trying and dangerous clime than it is

now to the European, and at the end to receive only a small pittance in return. While it is true that the majority of those European artists who came to India toward the end of the eighteenth century, and the beginning of the nineteenth, devoted their energies to the more lucrative pursuit, the painting of portraits, there were several who found their inspiration in the Indian life and its setting.

The names of several of these painters have become well-known through the books they have published. Perhaps the best known is that of Daniell, several members of which family, after residing in India for a term of years, returned to England, to give to the public in books of engravings, the fruits of the labours. Thomas Daniell was the son of an inn-keeper at Chertsey, and in company with his nephew, William Daniell, he started for India in 1784. Previous to this he had gained distinction in England with his work in flower pieces and landscapes. The uncle and the nephew published views of Calcutta in that city, and some idea of the prices charged for engravings, may be obtained from an advertisement which offers "Views of Calcutta, 15 inches by 11 inches in size, printed from copper plates, at twenty-five rupees each view, or eighty rupees for a set of nine views." The uncle and nephew visited various parts of North India, including Agra, Lucknow, Elephanta, and the Ellora Caves. After spending ten years in India they returned to England where they continued to paint pictures dealing with oriental subjects. The great work associated with their names is the splendid publication of six volumes which goes by the title, 'Oriental Scenery' which comprised one hundred and forty views. William applied himself with great earnestness to the production of this work and it is said that out of the six volumes, five were engraved in mezzotint

by his own hand or under his immediate superintendence. There were twenty-four plates of the excavations at Ellora, and the picturesque voyage to India. William later painted a panoramic view of Madras, and another of an elephant fight at Lucknow. But William is probably known to a wider public by his work in a series of volumes published between 1834 and 1838, called the *Oriental Annual*, a series of books which stood out for the beauty of their finish and workmanship. Occasionally copies of these are seen offered for sale in second-hand catalogues, but they are now becoming rare. Samuel Daniell, the brother of William, also found his way to the East after several exciting adventures in the wilds of Africa. He made Ceylon his headquarters, and from that place made journeys to India, the most important being an extensive tour in Bhutan. He was only thirty-six when he succumbed to fever in Ceylon, but his brother has preserved some of his best work in a publication he brought out after his death.

The name of John Zoffany is probably the most notable of the European artists who came to India. He came with a considerable reputation, for he had received early recognition from the Royal Academy of which he was a member. His early career was one of hardship, but he set himself with determination to his task. He succeeded in attracting the attention of Sir Joshua Reynolds, then the most famous painter in England, and, as a result of his encouragement, he gained Royal patronage. He travelled on the Continent for a few years, after which he sailed for India, arriving in Calcutta in 1780. From Calcutta he went to Lucknow, where he lived for three or four years, using his time in making pictures of the court life. "The Cock-fight at Lucknow" is an interesting picture, containing twenty-four clear portraits of the important officials present. They include Asoph-ud-Daula, the Nawab Vizier of Oudh; Mr. Edward Wheeler, a member of Coun-

cil, Captain Mordaunt, whose cocks were matched against those of the Nawab; General Claude Martin, and other celebrities who were present in Lucknow at the time. His largest piece of work was "The Embassy of Hyder Beg Khan to Warren Hastings" a canvas containing over one hundred figures. The name of Zoffany is kept alive in India by the fact that one of his finest paintings still hangs in the Calcutta Cathedral. It is an admirable altar-piece representing the Lord's Supper. The artist is said to have painted each of the twelve apostles from living models, prominent men in Calcutta, Tulloch, the auctioneer, sitting for Judas, while he was allowed to believe he was sitting for the Apostle John. The authorities were anxious to make him a substantial gift for his work which he had presented, but, had to content themselves with a testimonial which set forth their appreciation of the favour he "had conferred on the settlement by presenting their first place of worship so capital a painting that it would adorn the first Church in Europe, and should excite in the breasts of its spectators those sentiments of virtue and piety so happily portrayed in the figures." While in Agra, Zoffany painted the picture of Mahdajee Scindia, and it is of interest to note this portrait became the object of worship. In an account of his visit to Poona, Sir James Mackintosh says, "Near the monument which is being erected in the memory of Mahdajee Scindia is a sorry hut where the ashes of this powerful chieftain were deposited for a time, and where they may now lie long undisturbed. It is a small Pagoda where, in the usual place of the principal deity, is a picture of Scindia by Zoffany, very like that in Government House in Bombay. Before the picture lights are kept constantly burning, and offerings daily made by an old servant of the Maharajah, whose fidelity rather pleased me, even though I was told that the little pagoda was endowed with lands which yielded a small income,

sufficient for the worship and the priest." Zoffany painted a number of portraits of the officers of the Company, and on his return to England in 1790 had amassed a considerable fortune from the money received. After his return his hand seems to have lost its cunning, and, though he continued to paint, his work had lost its quality. He died in Kew near London in 1810.

While the Daniells and Zoffany were making their names by painting Indian scenes, the eminent miniature painter, Ozias Humphrey was on a visit to Bengal. He was born in Devonshire in 1742, and at the age of 43 set out for India. As a painter of miniatures he was most successful, and executed several commissions for the Royal Family, but he decided to try higher walks. He attempted several large canvases; but his efforts were received rather coldly, and it is said, that, through this disappointment he determined to try his fortune in India. He visited Calcutta, Moorshe-dabad, Benares and Lucknow, and devoted himself to that branch of art in which he had gained such signal success in England. He executed miniatures of the native princes and the persons of eminence in these cities, his work being marked by excellent drawing and sweet colour, all being signed by a Roman O with an H inside it. He remained only three years in India when ill-health forced him to return to his native land where he continued that kind of work for which he is justly famous.

Arthur William Devis, is another of the artists who came to India, but in his case, not with the object of painting, but because, as the result of a shipwreck, he was forced to land at Calcutta. He too, was in India, about 1790. His fame rests chiefly on a number of paintings depicting the important events connected with the taking of Seringapatam. Though his name is associated with these events he does not appear to have been an eyewitness, but rather to have painted from

material given to him by an officer who took part. The storming of the Fort of Bangalore on the night of March 21st, 1791 was the first of the series; three years later he painted "The Reception of the Hostage Princes," a scene representing the handing over of Tipu's two sons, Abdul Kalick and Mooza-ud-deen as hostages for the due performance of the treaty made on the 26th of February, 1792. The picture is thus described;—"The two young princes have long white muslin robes, red turbans, several rows of large pearls round their necks, their manner imitating the reserve and politeness of the age. In the background are their attendants, howdahed elephants, camel haccarras, and standard bearers carrying small green flags suspended from rockets, besides pikemen and the guard of British sepoy, all depicted with great care and precision even to the caste marks. Lord Cornwallis is shown full of grace and good nature, receiving the Princes, who are being introduced to him by the head Vakil, Gullam Aliy. Among the other figures are Sir John Kennaway, the Political Officer, and Colonel John Floyd, 19th Light Dragoons, commanding the Cavalry. The artist Devis has painted himself in the left hand corner of the picture with a portfolio under his arm, contemplating the scene which he subsequently represented exactly as described in the graphic account given by Major Dirom in his narrative." Thirty pictures stand to the credit of Devis, twenty of which represent Indian trades and manufactures. His pictures were better known than many of his abler confreres because the subjects he dealt with, notably Tipu Sultan, were familiar to the people of England. He had a great reputation in his lifetime, not only for his Indian subjects but for a number of vivid and interesting historical events in connection with English history which he portrayed on large canvases. The name of Mr. Hicky, who resided in the Madras Presidency, is also associated with several pictures

connected with the Mysore Wars. "The storming of the Breach at Seringapatam." "The Interview with the Prince in the Palace," "The finding of Tipu's Body," "The First Interview of the Commissioners of Mysore with the family of the Rajah." "The Funeral of Tipu," "The Reception of Lieutenant Harris with the Colours of Tipu in Fort St. George." "The placing of the Rajah on the Musnad of Mysore" are the chief of his pictures, most of which were later engraved, copies of which are still occasionally to be seen. He executed a full-length portrait of the Earl of Mornington on the anniversary of the capture of Seringapatam. This work was done at the request of the principal people of Madras, and in the background is seen the steeple and flag-staff of Fort St. George, with the English Union Jack flying over the standard of the late Sultan. The name of Smart is also associated with Madras. John Smart landed there in 1788, and spent a part of his five years' sojourn in India in that city.

He visited Lucknow and Calcutta where he executed some very valuable mininatures. His son, also called John, tried his fortune in Madras as a painter. Here he died in 1809. The names of William Hodges, Tilly Kettle, Robert Home, (who also painted several scenes relating to Tipu) George Chinnery, are also found among these European artists, but there is very little of their work that is known. These men had a splendid field for their activities, for India was an unknown country in those days. There was a romance which greatly appealed to the Westerner, and it is a matter for regret that these early artists did not put on record some of the striking incidents they witnessed. But they came to India to make their fortunes, and that object seems to have been before most of them during their limited stay. It is difficult to blame them, yet at the same time, one cannot but regret that more examples of their skill in the painting of important historic events, have not been left to us.

British Empire or The Commonwealth of Nations?

BY PROF. S. G. PANANDIKAR, M.A.

THE World War has brought in its wake a whole series of revelations of the deepest significance, in rapid succession, and not the least remarkable of them has been the supreme and vital need of re-organising the British Empire. All political thinkers, who are not utter separatists, now seem to be agreed in holding that the Empire requires re-organisation and development along lines that will be more conducive to its safety, and that will afford its component units, richer, quicker, and more favourable opportunities of resorting to a common concerted action on matters of common interest. But while there appears to be little difference of opinion as regards the object to be achieved, there is considerable divergence of views as to the methods to be adopted to

accomplish the common purpose. Broadly speaking, two schools of thought may be distinguished, and the issue between them, in General Smut's terse and highly suggestive words, is whether the Post-War Imperial reconstruction should be directed to the formation of a Federal Empire or of a Commonwealth of Nations. One set of thinkers, deeply influenced by the examples and analogies of history, and profoundly impressed by the remarkable success of the German Empire and the United States of America, pin their faith on a system of federation which will bind together the various parts of the British Empire by explicit ties. With this object in view, they advocate that while each unit should be left to itself to direct its own internal affairs according to its own choice without any let or hindrance,

the problems which affect the Empire as a whole, and in which all units are directly concerned, ought, in justice to all of them, to be solved only after common deliberation in which all units should possess a voice. This is especially true of the momentous questions connected with Imperial defence, finance, commerce, citizenship, and foreign affairs. It is difficult to exaggerate the supreme importance of organising a powerful, efficient, and well equipped Army and Navy so that the Empire may be saved in the future from the terrible danger of being forced to plunge into the greatest war in the world's history, although totally unprepared; and such Army and Navy cannot be thought of unless they are adequately financed by means of an equitable distribution of the burden of their maintenance among the component units of the Empire. There is no less need of close co-operation and cordial harmony among the various parts, for the development of the resources of the Empire, and of inter-imperial commerce, so that the Empire may become self-contained and self-sufficing, and may not be exploited by and rendered dependent upon the Central Powers in the future, as it was in the past. It is equally urgent that if the units are to be dragged into a war, the inevitable Nemesis of European political complications, they should have an adequate share in directing the policy of foreign diplomacy, so that in the future they may not be forced into a terrible war, the circumstances leading to which are shaped by a foreign policy, over which they have not the slightest control. There is need also for a clear, consistent, and statesman-like determination of the rights, duties, and status of Imperial citizenship, of the status for instance of an Indian citizen in the Self-Governing Dominions. For the solution of all these manifold, intricate, and far-reaching problems, and for the continuous, consistent, systematic, and yet broad-minded control of all the affairs constantly cropping up therefrom, the

first set of thinkers advocate a definite, clear-cut system of federation based on the establishment of an Imperial Cabinet, responsible to an Imperial Parliament or Council, consisting of representatives periodically elected by the popular assemblies of the component units of the Empire.

This scheme is not accepted by the second group of thinkers, who hold that such an explicit tie is neither desirable nor possible, and contend that the aims and objects of the first set of thinkers with which they have no quarrel, can only be attained by methods savouring more of diplomatic than of political connection. General Smuts, one of the most brilliant representatives of this school of thought, recently delivered a number of characteristic speeches in England clearly setting forth the views of his school, which maintains that the self-governing units must be bound by ties rather of alliance than unity. In support of this view, it is argued that the history of the development of the British Empire has rendered impossible, the adoption of any other course. In bestowing self-government upon her Colonies, England completely neglected to provide for an identity of economic interests by means of commercial ties, such as in other cases have led to political union. It was the establishment of the Zollverein or the Customs Union in Germany in the early years of the last century that firmly laid the foundation of the Modern German Empire. The close commercial connection between the Colonies of North America contributed materially to the political solidarity of the United States of America. Again this complete commercial independence of the British Colonies was combined with their complete dependence upon England in matters of defence and foreign policy over which they had no control whatever and about which the Mother Country was bound, by no definite responsibility towards her colonies. The natural result has been strengthened neither by profit on the one side nor by responsibility on the other. These circumstances have not

only prevented the growth in the colonies of a sense of identity with the Mother Country, but on the other hand have fostered the growth of a separate nationality, with separate tradition, character, and corporate existence in each self-governing dominion.

The question, then, that naturally arises is whether these different nationalities can be induced to accept all the discipline and loss of separate national existence, which are involved in the organisation of a common central government, even though it be for external matters only. The second group of thinkers give the answer that it is not possible to harmonise Federation with the national genius of the Dominions at their present advanced stage of development. They maintain that while the ideal of Federation is to produce a single homogeneous state, the self-governing dominions have already grown beyond the possibility of conforming to such an ideal. "This British Commonwealth of nations," says General Smuts, "does not stand for standardisation or for conventionalisation, but for the fuller, richer and more various life of all the nations comprised in it." This view naturally raises the objection that if the individual interests of the nationalities forming the Commonwealth are refractory to the control of some form of central government, the continued existence of the Commonwealth would be rendered impossible. General Smuts does not consider this difficulty to be insuperable. "For too much stress" he says, "had been laid in the past on the instrument of government. People were inclined to forget that the world was growing more democratic and that public opinion was going to be far more powerful than in the past. Where they built up a common patriotism and a common ideal, the instrument of government would not be a thing that mattered so much as the spirit which actuated the whole."

This is, indeed, a startling innovation in the recognised principles of political science. But

before it is accepted, we must enquire whether the close harmony of purpose and the cordial co-operation of action engendered by the stress of war between the units of the Empire can be preserved permanently and secured for the future, even if some definite central machinery of government is not established to grant to the Dominions a share in the management of Imperial affairs, from which they were hitherto excluded, but which their unstinted sacrifices in the war have richly deserved. The natural answer is that it is hard to imagine that the units which have freely poured out their blood and wealth in the vigorous prosecution of the war will not demand, when this colossal struggle is ended, share in those decisions, which are to yield the fruit of the present memorable sacrifices, and which will in the future determine the conditions under which war itself arises and is prosecuted. And yet it is difficult to conceive how such decisions could be arrived at if a central machinery of government is not established, or how such a central government can conform to the ideal of democracy, unless it directly represents and is responsible to the peoples of the various parts of the Empire. Imperial citizenship and democracy are indeed incomplete so long as the Imperial affairs continue to be managed only by England. The most that is proposed to solve this difficulty is that the Imperial Conference should continue to meet once in every year. But this suggestion is obviously incomplete, because for many imperial affairs mere annual consultations cannot suffice, and continuous deliberations and quick decisions are necessary. However it would be extremely unwise to set aside lightly these views of the second school of thought, which holds some of the most distinguished statesmen among its ranks. They must be carefully weighed, and the judgment of the Dominions themselves must be secured when the work of Imperial reorganisation is taken up at the close of this war, especially as

the Imperial War Conference recently held in London seems to attach, so far as can be ascertained from its resolutions, no inconsiderable importance to these views.

However, although the exact form which the reconstruction of the Empire would assume after the war is a subject of much controversy and therefore of pure speculation, it appears certain that when accomplished the form will be conspicuously different from that of any Empire existing now, or recorded in history, at least in three important aspects. Firstly, while in these Empires the component units are politically homogeneous, in the British Commonwealth, the United Kingdom, the Dominions, India, Crown Colonies, and Protectorates differ radically in political capacity, and have reached different milestones on the path of democratic development. Thus the development of India must proceed on its own lines which will be quite different from those of Canada, Australia or South Africa. Again the British possessions in Africa except South Africa must remain at least for some generations in a condition of dependence. Secondly the component units of any other Empire do not possess that fiscal autonomy which is the most jealously guarded privilege of the Dominions, and towards the possession of which India hopes to make a rapid advance after the war. The limitation of this privilege that is involved in the system of inter-imperial preferential tariffs, that has been recently proposed, is possible only with the free consent of the Dominions. Thirdly the units of the British Empire are almost the only ones in history, with the possible exception of those of mediæval Switzerland, to possess their own colonies and dependencies. New Guinea belongs to Australia, and South West Africa will probably be held by the Union of South Africa after the war. Thus the re-organisation of the British Empire will proceed along altogether new lines, hitherto unknown in the constitutional history

of the world, and will mark a bold departure in the theory of government. The time for its political re-organisation, however, has not yet arrived. The Imperial War Conference referred to above, refused to commit itself on the matter, and merely recommended that a special Imperial Conference should be held to deal exclusively with this subject.

Something, however, may be done, and urgently requires to be done, for its better economic organisation. There are not a few peace-loving citizens who really believe that after this war the various parts of the Empire can afford to turn their swords into ploughshares and enter on an era of profound peace. They could commit no greater error. Whatever the result of this war may be, it is sure to lead to an equally intense economic war. All the Powers will struggle for new and greater markets for their goods. The aggressive Powers ready for war may even use force to capture the markets, and the coveted lands will be exposed to danger far more terrible than armed attack, namely a condition of commercial subordination established through the threat of attack which they are powerless to resist. Hence even a child can easily understand that if the future of the British Empire is to be progressive and prosperous, it is a matter of the highest moment, that not only the Empire as a whole, but every part of it should be fully prepared to play its full part in the difficult task of organising quick and effective defense. The recent development of submarinism has disturbed the very foundations of sea-supremacy and it is not certain that the Power which possesses the most powerful fleet would necessarily remain supreme at sea. This situation clearly demands that not only the Empire as a whole but also each of its component units should so develop its latent resources as to become self-contained and self-sufficing to the highest degree possible. It is a matter of considerable satisfaction that the

Government in England, in spite of all its concentration on the war, is directing its energetic attention to this matter of paramount importance for the future of the Empire, and that the various committees which it has appointed to formulate schemes for the development of the economic and industrial resources of the Empire, and the boards which it has created, to carry them out, have already been crowned with a substantial measure of success. However we must not be led away by any unreasonable optimism, but must

remember that only the fringe of the problem has been touched, and that what has been done is merely an infinitesimal fraction of what remains to be done. The future demands from every unit of the Empire and every citizen of the unit not an easy relapse into somnolent quiescence but continuous and zealous efforts for the intensified and scientific development of the Imperial resources. This and this alone is the path of future security and ultimate salvation.

TO AN INDIAN BABY.

E. G. S. COYLE.

Oh, little brown babe with the diamond eyes,
How sternly you stare at my whiteness!
Your satiny skin has a charm of its own,
The sun-god has lent you his brightness.
He has gilded you o'er with the glow from his

[smile

Which he spreads o'er your Land in such generous

[style,

And your little red heart is still free from all

[guile,

And your crisp body curls with its tightness.

Your tiny arms creep round your Mother's brown

[neck.

You glare at me over her shoulder,
You draw up your leg till it touches your chin
To make of your wee knee a boulder,
In case I should touch you and do you some hurt
When I wish but to handle and play and to flirt,
Twitching your infinitesimal shirt,
'Till I make you a little bit bolder.
Doubt not, little babe, that deep down in my heart
There's a play place for you little darling,
Where children of rose may with golden ones

[laugh

And heed not old Prejudice snarling.
All barriers are down, you can use them for sport,
Or join them for toys and build up a Fort
Of Love, which embraces all Life, as it ought,
From a Hindu right down to a starling.

Dear little babe you have caught at my hand,
So willing I give you a finger,
Aye, bite if you will and pay off some old scores,
Then anger will no longer linger.
If quite eye to eye we cannot all see,
(Little birdies in nests cannot always agree)
All are fruit of Creation's great Family Tree,
And Love is the gracious Peace-bringer.

If you are pure East and I am pure West,
Why clamour the gods re-arrange us?
And to say that all men should be patterned our

[way

Is folly enough to derange us,
The scribbles cry loudly the West cannot reach
The East, so barred off in ways, colour and speech,
Ah! you've jumped to my arms! Now, now we

[will teach.

Coming Ages they shall not estrange us!

TUKARAM.*

BY MR. K. V. RAMASWAMI, B.A., B.L.

TUKARAM was born in 1608 at a little village called Dehu, not far from Poona, on the banks of the river Indrayani. By caste, he was a Sudra; his ancestors were *Wanis* or shop-keepers by trade. But they were all pious men, given to devout exercises and charity. They were also good servants of the Fatherland for which two of the family at least had devoted their lives in battle. They were devotees of God Vithoba.

HIS MISFORTUNES.

In 1629, when Tukaram was growing into manhood, the Deccan was swept bare by one of those great famines which have, from time immemorial, visited it at uncertain intervals. Tukaram's parents, wife and child died therein. His elder brother's wife—the husband having already taken the robe of a *sanyasi* and disappeared from the sight of his kin—also perished and the poet's cup of sorrow was well-nigh filled. To crown all, the little store of grain failed. Grain was at high prices, and the villagers, starving and famine-stricken, no longer bought his goods. In despair at his ruined heart and shattered ties, Tukaram turned for consolation to religion. One of his songs tells the story:—

By caste I was a Sudra, I became a trader; this God from the first had been worshipped by my family. I ought not to talk of this, but since you have asked the question, I respect your speech, O saints! When my father and mother had finished their course, I was grievously harassed by the world. A famine used up my money, and took away my good name; one wife of mine died crying for food. I grew ashamed and was tormented by this grief; I saw that I was losing by my business. The temple of God which we had was in ruins; I resolved to do what occurred to me. I began by preaching and singing on the eleventh day; but at first my mind was not in practice. So I learned by heart some speeches of the saints, being full of resource and faith in them. When others sang first, I took up the refrain, purifying my mind by faith. I counted holy the water wherein the feet of the saints had been washed; I suffered no

shame to enter my mind. I served others when the chance was given me, wearying out my own body. I paid no heed to friends who loved me, I was heartily sick of the world. I bade my own mind testify to the true and the false, I paid no heed to the voice of the crowd. I honoured the instruction my teacher gave me in a dream, I believed firmly in God's name. After this the impulse of poetry came upon me; I embraced in my spirit the feet of Vithoba. A blow fell upon me; I was forbidden to write; thus for a while my spirit was grieved. My pages were sunk in the river; I sat down like a creditor; Narayana comforted me. If I told all the story, the tale would be long; it would grow too late, so enough of it now. You see now my present purpose; my future course God knows. God never neglects his worshipper; I have learned that he is merciful. Tuka says, This is all my capital, I utter the verses which Panduranga bids me utter.*

Tukaram continued steadfast in his devotions, washing the feet of holy men, singing at *kathas* and *bhajans* and above all things, "toiling hard to do good to others." He sings, "God, the merciful, despises not the believer. This I came to realise. All my riches are now the verses which God hath put into my heart."

NEGLECT OF THE WORLD.

Tukaram hereafter began to neglect his trade and even his family. With the passing away of the famine, the prosperity of the Deccan was in some measure restored and Tukaram married again. But as time went on, religion took a more and more absorbing hold on him. Day after day, rising at sunrise, and performing his morning devotions to Vithoba, he would make his way to a little hill called Bhandra and there remain in deep meditation. House and family were neglected, and his wife, who was a worldly-minded woman, was vastly irate at this. Tukaram, however, looked on his domestic worries with a quiet patience, not unmixed with humour. He even extracted some spiritual consolation from them:—

* The rendering of the poems are taken, with one or two exceptions, from the translation of Tukaram's poems by Messrs. J. Nelson Fraser and K. B. Marathe, published by the Christian Literature Society for India. We acknowledge our obligations to the same.

* Condensed from a sketch written for G. A. Natesan & Co.'s "Saints of India Series." Price Annas Four.

Now, my son, what will you eat? My husband is grown a devotee of the temple. He wears garlands on his head, he does not care to be a shop-keeper as he was. He has made arrangements to feed himself. He has no interest in us. He goes about with cymbals and open mouth, he sings before God in the temple. What are we to do now? He is gone off to the jungle. Tuka says, Show some patience now, if you never did before.

It is well, O God, that I became bankrupt, and was crushed by the famine; this is how I repented and turned to Thee, so that the world became odious to me. It is well that my wife was a scold, that I was dishonoured, and lost my good name, my wealth and my cattle; it is well that I did not fear people's opinion, but sought Thy protection, O God; it is well that I built up Thy temple, and neglected my wife and children. Tuka says, It is well that I fasted on the eleventh day, for so I kept myself awake.

COMPOSING POEMS.

It was about this time that Tukaram received in a dream the command to sing of God and his love for Him.

Namadeva came with Panduranga, and roused me in a dream. "I appoint you a task, write poetry, do not talk of vain affairs," Namadeva counted his own verses, Vithoba kept the tally; he told me the total he arrived at, a hundred crores. "What is left undone, you must finish, O Tuka."

In spite of this stanza, there is reason to think that he did not compose so great a number. The poems seem to number in all from six to eight thousand of which some four thousand and five hundred have been translated recently by Messrs. Nelson Fraser and K. B. Marathi.

HIS ENEMIES AND THEIR CONVERSION.

Tukaram was not allowed to pursue his life of religion and poetry uninterrupted. He had already a number of disciples, and the proud and priestly family of the Deos of Chinchwad, who traced their descent to Ganapathi himself, had actually dined with him. This incensed the Brahmins. One Mambaji seized Tukaram, threw him into a prickly pear hedge and beat him. Tukaram, it should be said, freely forgave his cruel foe who afterwards became his devoted follower. It is sad to think that, in spite of the martyrdom of the great saints that had gone before Tukaram—of Dnyandev, of Chokamela whom priestly persecution followed all his life,—

society in Maharashtra still treated with cruelty men whose only sin was their devotion and love for all.

A more cruel blow was struck by one Rameshwara Bhatta who caused Tukaram to be arrested and brought before him. How did he, a Sudra, he asked, dare to expound the secrets of the Vedas to his audience? Tukaram replied that whatsoever he taught was put into his heart by Vithoba, but that he was willing to abide by the Brahmin's decision. Rameshwara bade him cast his poems into the river. Tukaram did so, and then stricken with exceeding grief, he lay for days, without food or water, at the temple-door 'like a creditor at the debtor's threshold.' At last, says the legend, the God heard him, and the poems appeared floating on the waters of the Indrayani and were restored to the poet. Rameshwara was likewise converted and became Tukaram's disciple.

TUKARAM AND SIVAJI.

It was about this time that the great Sivaji, having freed the country from Mahomedan bondage, had made the Deccan once more a Hindu Kingdom. We have already spoken of his piety and his deep devotion to the saints of the land. Hearing of the poet and holy man, Tukaram, Sivaji, then at Lohagaon, sent an invitation to him and a deputation of his officers and soldiers to escort him in pomp to his court. Tukaram refused to visit the prince: Here is his reply:—

What would it profit me to enter your presence? The fatigue of the journey would be wasted. If I must need beg my food, there are many whom I may ask for alms; in the lanes are rags to furnish me with shelter. The rock is an excellent bed to sleep on; I have the sky above me for a cloak. With such a provision made, why need I fix my hopes on any one? It would be a waste of my days. Should I come to your palace seeking honour, what peace of mind should I find there? In a king's palace the wealthy are respected; the common herd meet with no respect. If I saw there fine apparel and men wearing jewels, it would at once be the death of me. If you are disgusted when you hear this, still, God will not scorn me. Let me tell you this surprising news, there is no happiness like the beggar's. Austerity and renunciation are the greatest things; wealthy men fettered by desire live miserably. Tuka says, You are opulent and honoured: but the devotees of Hari are more fortunate.

Now there is one expedient you should make sure of; do not grow disgusted with the good. Do not put forth efforts which will bring guilt on you. There may be censorious and evil persons round you, do not encourage their views. Search out carefully men who will protect the state, using all discrimination. There is nothing I need tell you, you know everything. O King, help the cause of the defenceless. On hearing this you should be satisfied; there is no more to be gained by an interview. What pleasure would it give me to meet you? The days of my life are spent. There are but one or two rules of life; if we recognize their meaning, we shall not lose our self-respect. There is one that brings a blessing, and its purport is this, learn to see one spirit in all created things. Fix your thoughts on the joyous self, see yourself in Ramdas. Blessed is your birth on earth, O King, renowned is your name in the three worlds.

TUKARAM'S MODE OF LIFE.

His life was spent daily in prayer and meditation, in holding *bhajans* or performing *kathas* wherein were given short expositions of religious doctrine or story interspersed with devout songs and prayers. He often went about from village to village, but mostly his days were spent at Pandharpur, the holy city even as the other great holy men and women of the age did. The following incident described by Mahipathi, the Marathi chronicler, is highly interesting for the light it throws on Tukaram's character and the light it throws on the doings, and also for the light it throws on the character of the new movement and the men who took part in it. There was a large assemblage at Pandharpur. Sivaji had honoured the meeting with his august presence, and after the manner of the Hindu kings of old ministered to the comforts and convenience of the assembled *Sadhus* and *Sannyasis*. Some women saints also had joined in that memorable meeting. Aka Bai, a disciple of Ramdas Swami, was one of them. We have the authority of Mahipathi in stating that it was she who read out to the glorious assemblage the Swami's work styled *Dasbodh* (knowledge of man as servant of God). Benu Bai was another disciple of Ramdas. At the Parligarh assemblage also, which took place sometime after, these two women, along with some others of their sex, were present and

took part in its proceedings. But in both these meetings Tukaram was the most prominent figure. In the hill-fort of the Parligarh Sivaji had built a temple and consecrated it to Ram Chandra. The aforesaid meeting had been called by the king himself. Tukaram by his *Sankirtan* and *Katha* pleased all. Sivaji himself along with some others took active part in the religious observances. After the *Utsava* was over, he proceeded to do *pūja* to the assembled Brahmins, Pandits and Sadhus, and made some presents to them. Similarly, gold coins and other valuables were brought in for the propitiation of Tukaram. But this saint of saints, understanding the Raja's intent and purpose, all of a sudden disappeared from the place much to the wonder of all present. Sivaji had also intended to make a gift of four villages to the saint, but, in consequence of his sudden disappearance, his intention could not be fulfilled. On Sivaji's expressing deep regret at the conduct of Tukaram, his *Guru*, Ramdas Swami, who very well knew the noble self-sacrificing character of the man, consoled him with the words:—"My son, to the truly religious, even the wealth of all the three worlds is but light as air. Tukaram having, as it were, kicked at *Mahasidhi* (accomplishment in excelsis) itself, is deeply engaged in the worship of Vithoba, free from all desires and aspirations. The four kinds of *Mukti* are of very little avail to him. That being so, can the common things of this world have any value in his eyes?" Mahipathi says that Ramdas Swami was much impressed with this very striking instance of Tukaram's indifference to worldly concerns.

HIS DEATH.

The time for Tukaram's departure from the shows and unrealities of life was drawing near. Some of his poems seem to be prophetic of the approaching end. Full of strange forebodings, yet not without a deep spirit of hope and tender

trust in God, these poems are so striking that we can hardly refrain from quoting them :—

I will go now to my mother's house; the saints have sent for me. He has heard the story of my joys and sorrows; his mind is moved to pity. Some messenger, it seems, prepared with food and raiment, is coming to take me. My heart is drawn towards the road, I see continually the path to my mother's house. Tuka says, Now my mother and father will come themselves to take me back.

Patiently I am waiting, I cannot endure a wrangling uproar. My heart is drawn thither; I ask every new comer the way. I grind and pound like other people, but my thoughts are elsewhere. Tuka says, I have grown senseless here; perchance I shall be so there too.

Through experience in this world I am deeply convinced that there is one soul in both places, that he feels pity for me. Hunger is appeased by eating hunger; there is no appetite for food left. Tuka says, I am delighted; my heart is satisfied by this experience.

Yonder Hari is come, his hands adorned with the shell and the wheel. Garuda comes with whirling wings crying eagerly "Fear not, fear not." The splendour of Hari's crown and ear-rings hides the lustre of the Sun; his hue is that of the purple cloud, lovely is his form to see. Four arms has he; a wreath of basil hangs swaying round his neck. The lustre of his yellow robe lights up the ten quarters of the sky. Tuka is fully satisfied; the throne of Vaikuntha has come to visit his house.

Give me now a send-off; return to your own homes all of you. Be happy in all your deeds and duties; take my words for a blessing. You reared me up and gave me into the hands of one who frees me from all care. Now I shall go with the Lord of life, whom I follow with my whole heart. If I should cherish further my love for you I shall stay here too long; let no one move beyond this point. I have put my hand in his; we are one in duty, desire and purpose. Tuka says, Now that I have met him, other topics I have left for others to talk about.

Peace be to you, members of my house and others, salutation to the saints. The bee returns to the honey; the torn rope cannot be mended. When the river-water has flowed into the ocean, it comes not back. Listen to my word! Tukumam has gone, he returneth not again.

Of his end, we know no more than what is recorded in a note attached to the little old volume of his poems still worshipped at the village of Dehu. It is said to be the actual volume which Tukaram cast into the waters of the Indrayani at the Brahmin's bidding. The note runs thus; "In the Saka year 1571 (1649 A. D.), the name of the year being *Virodhi*, on the second day of the dark half of the month of *Shingra*, the day being Monday, in the morning, Tukaram started on his pilgrimage. Farewell." What this means, we shall perhaps never know.

The Marathas believe that Vithoba himself carried him to Vaikunta. Others hold that, taking the robe of a *sanyasi*, Tukaram wandered forth into the great world where, undisturbed even by the adoration of his disciples, he might snap the last ties which bound him to earth and remain utterly alone with God till death should take him.

HIS DESCENDANTS.

Tukaram died leaving some issue of his body. At the time when he disappeared from earth, his wife was in an interesting condition. Tukaram had directed her to name the child Bhagaban, as he would turn out a great devotee. The good man had left in all two sons and three daughters. All these children bore sacred names, i. e., names of gods and goddesses. The two sons were called Mahadeva and Vithoba, respectively, while the three daughters were severally called Kasi, Bhagirathi and Ganga. All the daughters were married on the same day. The nuptials took place with three boys of his own caste, who were found playing on the public road. On this strange circumstance coming to the notice of the boys' parents the next day, the latter so far from being displeased, expressed great joy at having had alliances made with Tukaram's family. Indeed, the saint was held in high esteem by all from the highest to the lowest. We have already noticed Sivaji's high regard for him on several occasions. This regard was so deep and sincere that it did not cease with his life, but was, after his demise, converted to favour towards his family. It is stated that a few years after Tukaram had left earth for good, the King came to Dehu, and on being informed that his children were not in a well-to-do condition, granted some villages as jagir for their maintenance and support. These villages are still in the possession and enjoyment of his descendants.

TUKARAM'S RELIGION AND POETRY.

It may be remarked at the outset that Tukaram was no philosopher or preacher. He

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set himself not to preach any new doctrine or to found any sect or school. On the other hand, he pours ridicule on philosophers and systems. He was a man trying to discern spiritual things, to live the life of the spirit. All his poetry and effort are directed to one end—to realise God, to live in God. And judging by his poetry, we cannot deny that his spiritual intuition was very high, that his efforts to live the life of the spirit were amply rewarded. Though Tukaram is not in spirit a philosopher or preacher of doctrines, his poems show the influence of, and embody, the new Vaishnavite faith that was spreading over the whole of North India during these centuries. He imbibed it even as the kindred spirits of the age did. Tukaram was acquainted with the poetry and utterances of the saints and poets of his own land; and these had liberated the new tendencies of thought, and, above all, made current the new Vaishnavite faith with its burden of Love and Brotherhood.

THE NEW RELIGION.

This new Vaishnavite creed had been propagated in South India by the great reformer Ramanuja. It was the outcome, partly of the severe intellectualism of Sankara's system and partly also of that religion of the heart, which makes itself felt at some stage or other of spiritual culture and which priests and systems are powerless to kill. It travelled to the North India through a number of monks and preachers. The new philosophy may be defined as one which effected a reconciliation of the finite and absolute conceptions of God. God is at once personal and impersonal. He is at once the great and Omnipotent Being and the friend and inhabitant of each soul. God is the fount of energy, the All-pervading Spirit, the source of Love and Life and the unique end of all men's desires. He ought to be adored in all faith and love. Thus the merciful and protective aspects of the Divine were

emphasised. Religion, it was declared, consisted not in the passionless mergence of the soul in the infinite but a devout and whole-hearted adoration of God.

This philosophy further implied the distinction of god and soul. Though essentially one, god and soul are yet distinct. This doctrine of union-in-separateness is the great feature of this mediæval faith. As an English critic of Kabir has said "For the thorough-going Monist, the soul, in so far as it is real, is substantially identical with God; and the true object of existence is the making patent of this latent identity, the realisation which finds expression in the Vedantist formula 'That art thou.' But Kabir says that Brahma and the creature are 'ever distinct yet ever united,' that the wise man knows the spiritual as well as the material world 'to be no more than His footstool.' The soul's union with Him is a Love-union, a mutual inhabitation; that essentially dualistic relation which all mystical religion expresses, not a self-mergence which leaves no place for personality. This eternal distinction, the mysterious union-in-separateness of God and the soul, is a necessary doctrine of all sane mysticism; for no scheme which fails to find a place for it can represent more than a fragment of that soul's intercourse with the spiritual world. Its affirmation was one of the distinctive features of the Vaishnavite reformation preached by Ramanuja." This doctrine was shared not only by Kabir, but also by the other great mystics and poets of this epoch, among whom Tukaram was one. Having its basis in the longings of man's heart, its capacity for devotion, prayer, repentance, this doctrine fell in profoundly with the mysticism and yearning of the mediæval Indian mind. The heart of India, long pent up in the darkness and formalism of the Middle Ages, burst forth in streams of prayer, love and ecstasy. Nowhere do we see the workings of these new and

mystic modes of thought, of these new visions of the Absolute, more beautifully expressed than in the poems of Tukaram.

Numerous are the poems of Tukaram, descriptive of the nature of God—His All-Pervading nature, His Omnipotence and Love. Some of these poems are full of the old light reflected from the Sanskrit classics—the Puranas and the Scriptures; while others are more mystical and original in their thought and poetry.

I will extol Kesava, Mukunda, Murari, Rama, Krishna, mighty names that annihilate all sin. O Life at once and Death of the world, who art at once the Dwarf and the Universe of manifold glory; Thou who severest mortal ties, who bearest the disc and the mace. Strong Hero that didst overthrow the demons! O Warrior that weardest the jewelled Crown. O Generous Master, that givest the world to men, O Image of Madana, entrancing the spirit, in whom the cowherds and the damsels delighted. O Kanta, master of dramatic skill, endowed with every perfection, possessed of every attribute, beyond all attributes, who beholdest and knowest all things; Thou who hast created the sun and other lights, yet dost allow no sense of pride to approach Thee, how can I serve this God? What little can I offer Him? Without faith, He cannot be comprehended. Tuka suffers not his soul to quit His feet.

O Vasudova, Lord of the humble, Lotus-eyed, Glorious Eternity! O Thou who givest happiness to Thy worshippers, there is nothing void of Thee! O Infinite One, Master of the world, most Noble form, Image of Yama! creator of Brahma, Lord of Vaikunta, inaccessible to the Vedas and Shastras! O All-Pervading One, Whose arm is everywhere, unfathomable! Eye of the world, God of the World, Ancient Father of Brahma! O Panduranga, servant of Thy worshippers! Thou that dost crush their fears, O Best of Beings! Infinite one that dost fill the minds of all, that dwellest apart from association and solitude! O Lord of the senses, Thy noble form is unknown to Thy simple worshippers; assume Thy embodied shape and set them to adore Thee, says Tuka.

The doctrine of the soul's distinction from God—a cardinal doctrine of the mediæval mystics—often supplies a most beautiful theme to Tukaram.

Cursed be that knowledge which makes no one with thee; I love to have precepts from thee and prohibitions. I am thy servant; thou art my lord; let there be still between us the difference of high and low; let this wonderful truth be established, destroy it not. Water cannot taste itself, nor trees taste their own fruit; the worshipper must be separate, thus alone pleasure arises from distinction. The diamond looks beautiful in its setting; gold when it is fashioned into an ornament; if there were no difference, how could you contrast the one with the other? After heat one enjoys shade; at the sight of her child the milk comes into the mother's breast—what delight there is when they meet each other! Tuka says, This is a great thing gained and so I view it; I am thoroughly resolved to desire liberation no more.

Had I not been a sinner, how could there have been a Saviour? So my name is the source, and hence, O sea of mercy, comes thy purifying power. Iron is the glory of the Parisa, else had it been but an ordinary stone? Tuka says, Through the petitioner's faith comes the honour of the tree of wishes.

If you and I should become one and the same, how then could the service of My Lord exist as a graceful ornament for me to wear? There would be no room for love. If utterance should cease, how could this joy exist? Tuka says, As it is, we dance before thee with fond delight.

We know the secret of thy mind: whence comes the worshipper? Whence comes God? If there is no such thing as the seed, how can it bear fruit in the end? Thou hast played many parts; whence comes merit and whence comes guilt? We were non-existent; it is thou that hast beheld thyself. If within one house, unperceived, a theft took place, there is an end of coming and going elsewhere for the goods stolen. Tuka says, He has taken us by the hand, and thereafter he has made us distinct from himself; in lonely and in crowded places there is a ceremony of comfort between God and his worshippers.

Of the new religion, the Love-aspect appealed most to Tukaram. He figures the nature of the Absolute Love in a number of ways, most stirring and profound. Many are the metaphors he uses to describe this Supreme love—those of friend, of bride and bridegroom, but chiefly that of mother and child.

Who asks a mother to love her child? It is her infant that creates love in her. It is the yearning of her heart that makes her protect him. O, thou that art dark as a cloud, we compare thee to mortal parents, but we see that it adds no grace to thee. The mother guards her child here on earth, but in the next world she is not near him; not so is it with thee. O Infinite One, thou art master of Time! Tuka says, O Narayana, thy compassion is greater than hers.

The yearnings of love are something that comes from the heart; there is nothing like them. A mother will not let her child cry much; when he is fretful, she is not slow to move. When her face breaks into smiles, the child understands it. Tuka, with all his ignorance, possesses this knowledge; he is not like the run of men.

A child may be unkind to his mother, yet still she loves him. She forgets that she is weary; she lifts him on her hip and lays his body against hers. She weeps at his distress; she is ready to give away her life for him. She jumps up when he calls her name, she flings away her life, says Tuka.

And such Love belongs to the very nature of the Absolute:—

If the Ganges went to the sea, and he refused to give her a place, where could she go? Is the water vexed with creatures that live in the water? Does a mother refuse to shelter her children? Tuka says, I have come to seek your protection; why are you silent?

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A God, then, who is all love ought to be worshipped in love and faith alone. In a characteristic poem, he tells us:—

I practised neither meditation nor penance, I used no violence to my mind, I laid no restraints on it. Standing where I was, I cried to Thee to rescue me in my strait. I brought and offered Thee no water; by meditation alone I served Thee; what I spent was spent alone. Says Tuka, My generous master accepted it in all sincerity.

What do we know about divorce from the world? We know but the name of Vithoba; among the crowd of his worshippers we dance rejoicing and beat the cymbals. What do I know about peace and mercy and love?—except what I find in the name and praises of Govinda. Why should I practise neglect of the body, when I am immersed in the sea of nectar? Why should I serve him alone in the waste, when I have this joy among men? Tuka says, Right well I know; Vithoba goes by my side.

Let us offer the worship which is best, the worship of the heart; then what do we want with outward preparations? God ought to know the heart and he knows it; in the heart of the true worshipper is the truth which He accepts. In the last hour, the spirit shall reap gain or loss according to the seed it has sown. Tuka says, that worship which keeps us in peace secures its end.

Such a worship—a worship of the heart in love and in faith—is accessible to all, the high and the low, the learned and the ignorant. It could know no distinctions of caste or birth. Says Tukaram:—

Our Lord knows nothing of high or lowly birth, He stops wherever He sees devotion and faith. He ate the pounded grain that Vidura, the slave's son, offered Him; He protected Pahlada in the demon's house. He worked with Rohidas in tanning hides; He wore scarfa on Kabir's loom. He sold goat's flesh with the butcher Sajana; He mowed the grass in Savata's field. He blew the fire with the goldenmith Narahari; with Chokamela He dragged away dead cows. With Nama's slave Jani, He lifted up a crowding; at Dharma's house He carried the water and swept the floor. He became a charioteer and drove the horses of Arjuna's car; He relished the cakes that Sudama's love presented Him. At the cowherd's house, He tended kine. He kept the door for Bali. For the sake of Mira Bai, He drained the poison cup; He carried a Mahara in the service of Damaji. He carried clay for Gora the potter. He paid off the bills of Narsi Mehta. For Pandalika's sake He still stands there (at Pandharpur); blessed, says Tuka, is His story.

The king of generous princes dwells at Pandhari, with uplifted arms he beckons to all. He desires the ignorant more than the learned, it is they that he embraces fondly. He takes away anxious care and bestows love in return; he thinks not of his own gain or loss. Tuka says, We are feeble and helpless; Panduranga watches over us.

There are in Tukaram also great moods of ecstasy, of eager devotion, of profound, tender trust or sometimes of spiritual despair:—

They call you a sea of mercy; then why do you delay, O Panduranga? why have you no pity yet? I cry like

the fawn for its mother, when it is wearied by thirst and hunger in the jungle. Suckle me, O mother, with the milk of love, run towards me with swollen breast. Tuka says, Who but you, O Panduranga, will drive away my pangs?

I turn no more to look behind me; I am thoroughly sick of the world. Come and meet me, O Generous One; I cannot bear the call of death; with Thy support I shall be at peace then, I shall be content with my part in the game of life. My throat, says Tuka, is choked with this earnest desire, how is it this comfort visits me not?

What indecision vexes my soul! Make me Thy own after any sort: be resolved upon this. Other gains seem vile to me; I have learned from experience their good and evil. Let me fall, says Tuka, into a trance unbroken; let me sink into Thy Loving spirit.

My words are not figures of rhetoric; I beseech Thee in accents of true misery. Let no delay intervene in our task; Thou art a self-made image of mercy. I have turned my face towards Thee, says Tuka; I will hug Thy feet when I see them.

I am much afraid of Learning; may it never interfere with me, O Narayana. I will drink the milk of Love, wisely choosing the joy of devotion. There is nothing in the three worlds like it. There are homes for the liberated soul but the peace they give is a poor thing. Tuka says, Grant me this that I and Thou may never pass away; I delight not in that loss of difference whereof I spoke.

I have called on Thee till my throat is parched; my life is ebbing, my patience is gone. Why hast Thou not yet noticed this, O mother's home of the wretched? I look on wealth as though it were a stone, on pleasures as poison. Pardon me my faults, embrace me and give me Thy love. A longing for Thy form lingers in my heart; within and without I never cease to feel it. All I have to help me now is Thy feet, says Tuka.

There is a beautiful legend which tells us how Tukaram once being ill could not go on his usual pilgrimage to Pandharpur for the autumn festivals and, therefore, wrote a number of songs to form a message to the God of Pandharpur and sent them by the hand of the pilgrims entreating them to bring back to him the reply which the God was sure to give. The pilgrims went off carrying the message; and Tukaram, so the legend says, lay waiting on the spot by the roadside where he first met the pilgrims till they returned. This incident narrated by the Marathi biographer, Mahipathi, is probably true: it is in perfect keeping with the profoundly mystical and devotional temperament of Tukaram. The poems themselves which formed the message are extant and are full of deep poetry and pathos. The following are taken from them:—

I will be patient no more, I will send Him a message; if He resents it, He is welcome to do so. If He resents it,

at least He will answer me; in some way or other He will send me the feather back. It matters not to him if He loses one child; I have no other parent's home.

It is not my lot to make a humble prayer, I approach Thy feet with a pressing request. In my love, I have written a bold letter. I cannot fathom Thy Nature, my intelligence is too weak. If I cannot fathom Thy Nature, how can my feebleness describe Thee? Accept my speech such as it is; I glorify Thee in faltering accents. Says Tukaram, I place my head where Thy feet stand on the brick.

Before concluding, we may quote two beautiful poems—anecdotes mystical and charming in their poetry—descriptive of God's love.

Here is a little secret of your love, O Lord of the world I remember the tale and will tell it to you. A deer and two fawns were grazing blithely in the wood, when suddenly there came a hunter with two dogs. He spread his nets on one side, he stationed his dogs on the other, he fired the grass on one side and waited himself on the other. The deer were beset on all sides; they began to remember your name. "O Ramkrishna, God of Gods, come at once! who will save us in this strait, but thou, O father, Lord of the world?" You heard their words and your pitiful heart was troubled; you ordered the rain to quench the fire speedily. You roused up a hare and the dogs pursued it; the deer joyfully bounded off, crying "Govinda has saved us!" Thou art thus full of mercy beloved of thy worshippers; they delight heartily in thy praise. O spouse of Rakhumai, says Tuka.

Weak as I am, how can I describe thy greatness? Thou art a mine of mercy, a sea of compassion. Some birds laid their eggs on the field of Kurukshetra; they built their nest in the grass. Suddenly there was a pillar of war raised thereon; the spot was chosen for a battle. The hosts of the Pandavas and the Kauravas came thither to meet in strife. In that hour the birds remembered thee; "Help us," they cried, "O husband of Lakshmi! Elephants, chariots and horses will run about here; the rocks will be crushed to dust. In such a peril how can we be saved? How can we forsake our little ones and flee?" In that hour thy heart was moved with pity. There was a bell on an elephant's neck; it fell upon them when they looked not for it. Eighteen days did the battle rage; neither wind nor heat did them any harm. When the battle was over they were pointed out to Arjuna; thou didst show him the birds, O Narayana! "Lo! I have saved my servants from death. Else how could they have lived through the battle?" Such mercy dost thou show to thy worshippers; thou art indeed our mother, says Tuka.

An English critic and admirer of Tukaram has said "To those who have read Tukaram's *Abhangas*, it is useless to speak in praise of Christian Ethics." Tukaram's poems contain, as all religious poetry should, a great deal of ethical and moral teaching.

For Tukaram, it should be remembered, was no mere dreamer or composer of poems; he is above all a practical mystic. He everywhere insists upon individual experience as the true test of

religious life. Poetry itself, he says, is "a thing dry, fruitless and external" unless it is "moist with the moisture from the innermost being."

Mere professions lead to nothing; what we want is a running spring of truth within. As a last resource, a case is decided by fire; we see who can grasp a hot iron without injury. Tuka says, Swerve not from this rule; call that only genuine which is genuine.

What avails preaching? It is wasted unless our daily walk agree with it. The name of nectar on the lips is a mockery when a man is tortured by hunger.

If you love not Hail, all knowledge is vain, it is futile ostentation; you have merely opened a shop and cheated people to make a living. It is in vain you have studied the Vedas, unless you feel sobas of love rise in your heart when you hear God preached. Thus the Puranas proclaim, says Tuka, thus spoke the noble spirits of yore.

Fire does not summon any one through a determined purpose of its own; if a man is cold, he comes and warms himself. Does water say 'come, drink me up'? A thirsty man runs to quench his thirst. Do clothes say 'come and put us on'? Men wear them of their own accord. Does Tuka's Lord say, Remember Me? You should remember Him to save yourselves.

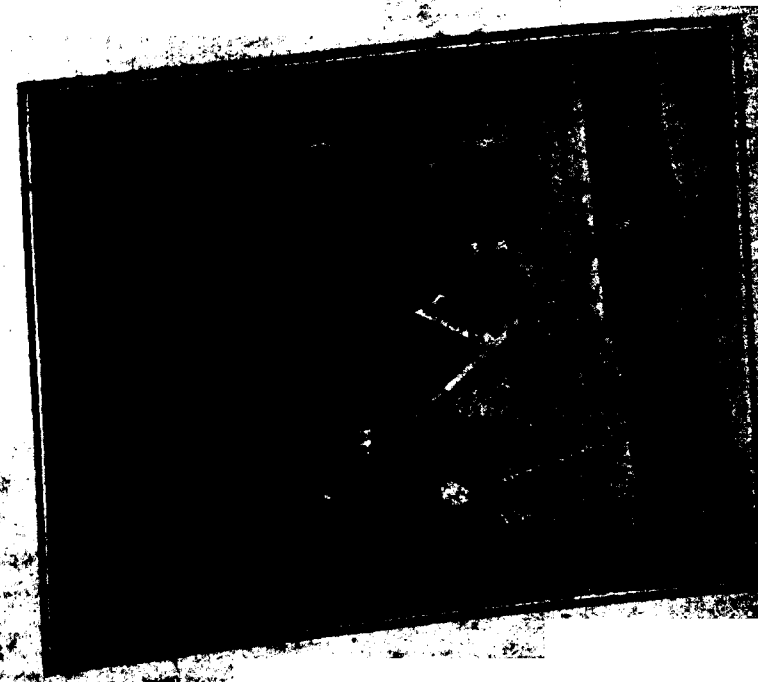
You must *pass along the road* if you mean to reach the spot; it is no use listening to mere tales of it. Listen to me, I humbly entreat you; inactive faith will not carry you forward. A virgin and a matron alike have gained their knowledge from experience; it is not acquired by hearsay. Tuka says, Here is needed one immersed in the subject; when the source is cleared, light will proceed from it.

These poems of Tukaram are highly popular throughout the Deccan. Brahmin and Sudra alike are familiar with them. They are sung by the shepherds tending the flock on the hills as well as by the numerous pilgrims that daily make their journey to Pandharpur or Dehu. The popularity of these poems is well deserved. We find in them glimpses, deep and sustained, of the Divine Presence, intimate and beautiful revelations of Divine Love and Beauty. Everywhere they proclaim the need of man for God's grace, the power of God to bestow it and the peace and happiness which it brings. The simplicity and earnestness of the poetry make their appeal irresistible. Not so intrepid and piercing as Dnyanadev, not so learned as Eknath, yet full of a great sincerity and deep poetic intuition and power, Tukaram remains *par excellence* the chief poet of the Vaishnava movement and of Maharashtra.

Tukaram on behalf of the City of Leeds presents his
devotion to Lord Wellington on behalf of India.



Lord Wellington, Under Secretary of State for India, receives
the delegates on behalf of the Government of India.





SAHIBZADA AFTAB AHMAD KHAN
The New Mahomedan Member of the India Council.

Lord Hardinge and the Mesopotamia Commission

BY MR. S. SATYAMURTI, B.A., B.L.

THE report of the Mesopotamia Enquiry Commission was issued on the 26th of June.

The members of the Commission which was appointed by Act of Parliament in August 1916 were Lord George Hamilton (Chairman), the Earl of Donoughmore, Lord Hugh Cecil, M. P., Admiral Sir Cyprian Bridge, General Sir Neville Lyttleton, and Commander J. C. Wedgwood, M. P. The report which is signed by all except the last named, deals with every aspect of the operations up to the fall of Kut in April, 1916; and among the matters discussed are the blunder of the original advance to Baghdad, with an insufficiently armed and equipped force, the bad Commissariat, the failure to supply effective reinforcements, the wholly inadequate transport arrangements, and the disgraceful breakdown in the Medical Service, which resulted in much avoidable suffering to both British and Indian wounded. Severe censure is passed on all who were in control of the expedition, and practically every high official who was concerned with it comes in for blame, from the Viceroy downwards. But the heaviest blame falls on Sir John Nixon, Sir Beauchamp Duff, the Commander-in-Chief in India, and Surgeon-General I. G. Hathaway, C. B., the Senior Medical Officer of the force.

There is one aspect of the report which should be dealt with first. As Lord Hardinge put it in the House of Lords:—

The publication of the report in India may create a feeling that the efforts and sacrifices of India have been inadequately appreciated at home. The report scarcely refers to the greatest military effort ever made in the history of India, in the despatch of expeditions to France, Egypt, and East Africa, before the expedition to Mesopotamia was even under contemplation, nor is any account taken of the fact that, owing to the readiness of India to assist by giving, with an open hand all she had, in the initial stages of the three expeditions already mentioned, her military resources and reserves of equipment and stores of all kinds were already seriously depleted, and in fact, almost exhausted, before even the inception of the idea of a Campaign in Mesopotamia.

And yet the Commission says:—

With the knowledge of the facts which we now possess and the extent and scope of the preparations of the War Office since they undertook the management of the Campaign, it is impossible to refrain from serious censure of the Indian Government for the lack of knowledge and foresight shown in the inadequacy of their preparations and for the lack of readiness to recognise and supply deficiencies. They ought to have known, and with proper touch with

the expedition they could have known, what were its wants and requirements.

Let Lord Hardinge answer, in his own powerful and eloquent words:—

A comparison between the ordinary establishment of the army in India and of the units sent overseas in connection with various expeditions, shows in a striking manner the military effort made by India to assist the Empire.

Of the British establishment in India, seven regiments of British cavalry out of nine were sent overseas; 44 British battalions of infantry out of 52, and 43 batteries of Royal Artillery out of 56; while of the Indian establishment, 20 regiments of Indian cavalry out of 39 and 89 battalions of Indian infantry out of 138 were sent abroad.

In return for these troops, India received, many months after the outbreak of war and the despatch of Indian divisions overseas, 29 Territorial batteries and 34 Territorial battalions, but these were unfit for immediate employment on the frontier or in Mesopotamia until they had been entirely equipped and their training completed. Many of them were sent later to Mesopotamia whether as units or drafts for Regular regiments and all did splendid service. It is, however, a fact that for the space of some weeks before the arrival of the Territorials the British garrison in India was reduced to about 15,000 men. The safety of India was thus imperilled in the interests of the Empire as a whole. In such a cause I was naturally prepared to take risks, and I took them confidently because I trusted the people of India, and I am proud to say they fully justified my confidence in them.

From the moment of the outbreak of war and after, it was the steady policy of the Government of India to give readily to the Home Government of everything it possessed, whether troops or war material. In the summer of 1914 India was absolutely ready for war in the light of what was then accepted as the requisite standard of preparation of her military forces and equipment. The army was at war strength, the magazines were full and the equipment was complete. Thanks to these facts India was able, not merely to send her divisions to France and elsewhere, but also to supply to England within the first few weeks of the war, 70,000,000 rounds of small arm ammunition, 60,000 rifles, and more than 550 guns, of the latest pattern and type. In the first week of the war some 530 officers of the army in India, who could ill be spared were handed over to the War Office, and nearly 3,000 additional combatant officers have been sent overseas since the war began.

It would be out of place to give here in detail the enormous quantities of material supplied to the Home Government, such as tents, boots, saddlery, clothing, etc., but every effort was made to meet the ever-increasing demands made by the War Office, and it may be stated without exaggeration that India was bled absolutely white during the first few weeks of the war. At that time there was no question of an expedition to Mesopotamia and the Government of India's sole preoccupation was to make every possible sacrifice in order to secure a successful prosecution of the war in France. Then came a moment, after the commencement of

operations in Mesopotamia, when India's own needs became pressing, and the results of her previous readiness to make sacrifices began to be severely felt.

As mentioned already, the Commissioners find that the short comings in armament and equipment were the natural results of a policy of indiscriminate retrenchment. Here again Lord Hardinge comes to the rescue of India and gives a complete and effective answer:

It is within Your Lordships' remembrance that in 1912 a Committee was appointed in India under the chairmanship of that distinguished soldier, Field-Marshal Lord Nicholson, which carried out a thorough investigation into the organisation and administration of the Army in India and reported in 1913. The Government of India accepted the recommendations of the majority of that Committee, which contemplated the maintenance of seven and one-third divisions of infantry, five cavalry brigades and army troops in a state of readiness to mobilise at the shortest possible notice, and the decision was approved by the Secretary of State. The despatch of any of these infantry divisions and cavalry brigades to Europe or elsewhere overseas was not even contemplated by the Committee; nevertheless, within six months of the outbreak of war, the Government of India had mobilised 10 divisions, instead of seven and one-third, of which no less than seven were sent overseas, and eight brigades of cavalry, instead of five, of which six went to France.

A further opinion was given that the military budget should not exceed £19½ millions which was to be regarded as a maximum figure. As a matter of fact, of the last 13 military budgets, in only two cases has the maximum figure of 19½ millions not been exceeded, while of the five budgets for which I and my Government could be held responsible, every one exceeded the maximum fixed by Lord Nicholson's Committee the last budget showing a considerable increase to more than 22 millions. It must be remembered that the net revenue of India varied during that period between 48 and 58 millions except in one year, when it reached 60 millions, so that the proportion for military expenditure is high.

These figures show the attitude of the Government of India towards military expenditure, but it seems hardly necessary for me to labour the point, since in spite of allegations of undue economy in military administration, the Commission state in their report (page 107) that they have no evidence to show that any urgent demand put forward by the military authorities was definitely refused by the Finance Department of the Government of India. This is confirmed by General Duff's evidence before the Commission.

A further impression created by the report is pointed out by Lord Hardinge. The Commissioners seem to have thought that the Mesopotamian Campaign was the sole pre-occupation of the Government of India. In a report of 132 closely printed pages, the situation on the frontier and in the interior is dealt with in eight lines, and yet this situation had a very close relation to the military resources of India and at times was one of anxiety and danger. Although during the previous three years there had been no operations of any importance on the North-West

Frontier, still between the 29th November 1914 and the 5th September 1915, no less than seven serious attacks were made, all of which were effectively dealt with. And such severe defeats were inflicted on them, that, it may be said that, during the most critical period of the war, India successfully carried out the greatest military operations on the frontier, since the Frontier Campaign of 1897. At the same time the internal situation in India gave cause for anxiety and for great vigilance on the part of both the civil and military authorities. In Lord Hardinge's words: "In addition to the Mesopotamian Campaign, the Government of India had heavy pre-occupations at home, although the loyalty of the people as a whole was the greatest safe-guard against the success of any such (internal) outbreaks."

It is with regard to the advance from Kut to Baghdad that the Commission devote a not inconsiderable portion of their report. As the Commissioners themselves find, "From quite early in the history of the expedition, the possibility of an ultimate advance on Baghdad was in the minds of the authorities in India, Mesopotamia, and England." Sir John Nixon had taken with him to Mesopotamia orders by the Commander-in-Chief in India to submit a plan for an advance on Baghdad. This plan was forwarded to Simla on the 30th August 1915, but it was not communicated to the Viceroy or the Secretary of State. On the 3rd October, General Nixon wired to the Secretary of State "I consider I am strong enough to open road to Baghdad." The Home Government were not prepared at the moment to sanction the adventure. But on the 4th October, the very day on which Mr. Chamberlain had telegraphed to stop General Nixon, the Cabinet met, and resolved on the advance on Baghdad, largely influenced thereto, by political considerations. Mr. Chamberlain wired to General Nixon on the 8th October, asking what additional forces would be necessary to occupy and hold Baghdad. General Nixon replied that he did not want any additional forces to occupy Baghdad, but required an additional division and one cavalry regiment to enable him to permanently occupy Baghdad.

The views of the Government of India upon this proposed advance on Baghdad were that, unless an Indian division was despatched from France, an advance on Baghdad could not be carried out, and that, consequently, no advance in strength should be made beyond Kut. These

views were communicated to the Secretary of State on the 6th October. On the same date, Lord Hardinge sent a private telegram to the Secretary of State, in which he said, "These (referring to the effects of the capture of Baghdad) are considerations to which I attach great importance, but I put them forward to be weighed by you and His Majesty's Government; for I fully realise that it is for His Majesty's Government to decide where and how our forces can be used with the best possible effect."

Lord Hardinge was, therefore, telling the bare truth, when he said:

Your Lordships will thus perceive that, although the Government of India were fully alive to the political and military advantages to be obtained from the capture of Baghdad we were absolutely opposed to an advance without the reinforcement of General Nixon by an additional division, and we made it clear that even these advantages and the condition upon which the advance was to depend were to be subordinated to military needs elsewhere. I, therefore, consider that I am justified in stating that, had the later telegrams from the Secretary of State of the 18th October to General Nixon and myself not been despatched, the expeditionary forces would have remained at Kut-el-Amara.

The Commission refer to Lord Hardinge's telegram of the 9th October in which the Viceroy expressed his pleasure at the Cabinet's decision and his concurrence of Nixon's estimate of reinforcements required, and added that these should reach Baghdad not later than one month after the capture of the city. Lord Hardinge could not have easily done otherwise. For, under the circumstances of the moment, the Government of India would have placed themselves in an invidious position, and would have exposed themselves to the criticism of having ignored the demands of the Empire, if at a critical moment they had overridden the opinion of the general in command in the field, and had vetoed the advance on Baghdad. It would have been a case of civilian interference with military plans.

Meanwhile, the Government in England referred the question of the advance on Baghdad to the general staff at the War Office, to the joint naval and military staffs, and to a special Committee. All those authorities agreed that the capture of Baghdad by Sir John Nixon's existing forces presented no difficulties. And on the 23rd October, Mr. Chamberlain authorised the advance on Baghdad in the following terms. "If on Baghdad in the following terms. "If Nixon is satisfied that the force he has available is sufficient for the operation, he may march on Baghdad." Thus it is clear that the Commissioners were wrong in attributing any share of the responsibility for the advance on Baghdad to Lord Hardinge.

With regard to the medical arrangements, the Commissioners say that Lord Hardinge

showed throughout the utmost good will, but considering the paramount authority of his office, his action was not sufficiently strenuous and peremptory. Lord Hardinge freely admits that there were serious shortcomings in the provision made by the medical services and says that his sympathy with the sufferers and their relations is deeper than any words of his can express. But he very pertinently points out that the heavy demands made upon India for the provision of ambulances and hospitals and their personnel in England, France, Mesopotamia, Egypt, and East Africa, soon exhausted an organisation which had never been intended or prepared for operations out of India.

As regards the Viceroy's responsibility in the matter, here is his answer:

The Viceroy is theoretically responsible for everything that happens in India and outside India where Indian interests are affected, but he has to trust to his Lieutenants and advisers for information and guidance. I have no desire to shirk any responsibility that is my due, but it is not easy to know what further strenuous and peremptory action I could have taken without exposing myself to the charge of excessive civilian interference in military matters. Private rumour said things were going badly, official report said things were going well. It was my first duty to ascertain the truth. But even before the despatch of the Vincent-Bingley mission, I took every possible measure to improve the medical situation. It may be difficult for people in England to realise the inherent difficulties in the personal supervision by the Viceroy of medical arrangement on a river 3,000 miles away in the midst of his other heavy labours of governing a country bigger than Europe and with more than 300,000,000 inhabitants.

As regards the question of the Viceroy's executive council whose functions were, in the opinion of the Commission, to a certain extent abrogated by the fact that many questions relating to the prosecution of the campaign were decided by the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief without reference to them, it has to be remembered that according to Sec. 2 of paragraph 39, of the Government of India Act, the Governor-General and one Member of Council may exercise all the functions of the Governor-General in Council. Consequently, in questions affecting the army and in purely military matters, there was nothing unconstitutional in the procedure followed. The same system was followed in dealing with matters belonging to other Government departments. But it must be stated, in fairness to Lord Hardinge, that he re-established Council Government in India and that his Council met regularly.

On the subject of private letters and telegrams between the Secretary of State and the Viceroy, which the Commission criticise, this is Lord Hardinge's answer:

I inherited and carried on with three successive Secretaries of State a system which I found established, and which I saw no reason to change as I found it both convenient and expeditious. The system has grown up ever since the electric telegraph reached India. Lord Northbrook left India in 1876, but his biographer comments on Lord Salisbury's disregard for precedent and his preference for settling questions of policy by means of private communications with the Viceroy. I am told that the same charges were brought against Lord Wolverhampton and Lord Elgin in regard to the Chitral Expedition, but I am unable to vouch for this. Copies of private telegrams and extracts of private letters on political or administrative matters were always issued to the Departments concerned, and I never heard any complaint of the system in force. In fact I was often asked by members of Council and Government Departments to send private telegrams, to the Secretary of State.

Commander Wedgwood has appended a Minority Report in which he holds Lord Hardinge and Sir Beauchamp Duff alone responsible for all the defects and failures in the expedition. It is perhaps enough to mention, as an answer to his preposterous charge, that his colleagues on the Commission felt themselves bound to go out of their way, and criticise Commander Wedgwood's conclusion by saying, "We do not think that the evidence before us justifies attaching to Lord Hardinge and Sir Beauchamp Duff alone the blame for the mistakes and shortcomings connected with the Mesopotamia expedition."

And Commander Wedgwood's conclusion about Lord Hardinge is subject to this further infirmity, as pointed out by Lord Hardinge himself:

I must, however, call Your Lordships' attention to the paragraph of section 11 on p. 123 of the Minority Report. It is there stated:—

"Although I had the advantage of being able to cross-examine Sir Beauchamp Duff and the other Anglo-Indian officials that came before the Commission, I was unable to be present when Lord Hardinge himself came under examination. My colleagues examined him on none of the passages which I extract. He may be able to give satisfactory explanations for all of them; he may deny the implication I give to them in every case." Commander Wedgwood must have known that I am to be found every day at the Foreign Office, not a quarter of a mile from where the Commission was sitting; that I would always be willing, in fact, that it would be my duty, to appear before the Commission to answer any questions that might be put to me, and yet he never made the slightest attempt to invite me to come before the Commission, on an occasion when he would be present, to answer the serious accusations he has been fit to make against me, nor even to put question on paper which I might have had the opportunity of answering. In so far as the report of Commander Wedgwood is concerned, I am condemned without having been heard. (Cheers.) I leave Your Lordships to draw your own conclusions.

On the general conclusions of the Commission, Lord Hardinge's eloquent peroration in the House of Lords is a complete vindication of the part

he played in the Mesopotamian expedition and deserves respectful reading by every Indian.

I must confess it has been painful for me to have to meet after 37 years of honourable service under the Crown. But I recognise that the fact of being a member of Your Lordships' House has given me an opportunity of meeting them which might not have been open to another public servant similarly attacked. I trust that you will agree that some weight attaches to the explanations I have laid before you regarding the charges in the Majority Report. In so far as the personal imputations in the Minority Report are concerned, I believe my past record of service to be the best and only reply. During this service it has been my privilege to hold two of the highest offices in the State. My tenure of the Viceroyalty I prolonged at the request of His Majesty's Government purely from a sense of public duty, in spite of my own personal inclinations. It was throughout my constant endeavour to do my duty with single purpose during a period of exceptional strain and in the face of abnormal difficulties.

I may have failed in my endeavour, but such a verdict should only be given in the light of India's military effort taken as a whole and of the internal situation in that vast Empire, and it should be endorsed, not only by my fellow-countrymen here but my fellow-subjects in India, to whose continued confidence and good opinion I attach the highest value. It is in the light of this wider outlook that my administration should be judged.

India has been watching closely the progress of this enquiry, for it concerned one of her most popular Viceroys: India cannot understand why so much fuss should be made about a campaign which, judged by its results, has been one of the most successful in the war, for, as the Commissioners themselves find:

Expect for a few months during which there were serious setbacks the success of the campaign as a whole has been remarkable.

Up to the date of the advance on Baghdad continuous victory had been achieved. During the last few months the force has resumed its career of victory. We are of opinion—reviewing the operations as a whole—that it may now be truly asserted that, in the many parts of the world in which the Allied forces have been engaged, no more substantial results or more solid victories have been achieved than those won by the gallantry of the British and Indian armies on the stricken plains of Mesopotamia.

So far as Lord Hardinge is concerned, Indians keenly resent the attacks made on him and his administration of India. So many of the critics who were foremost in clamouring for Lord Hardinge's head were either those who are constantly imploring us to trust the soldiers, which is exactly what he did, with most unfortunate results, or those who wish to take their revenge on him for his excessive sympathy towards Indian aspirations. It is a tribute to the common-sense of England that such critics have not triumphed and that the Empire is not to be deprived of the services of a statesman who

has rendered more signal service to it than perhaps any other living statesman.

Lord Hardinge's reference to the good opinion of India has found a warm echo in Indian hearts, as will be apparent from the numerous telegrams from influential and representative associations, expressing unabated confidence in Lord Hardinge, and demanding a potent voice in any judgment which may be passed on his administration, which have been sent to the Premier. All India is grateful to Mr. Balfour for his spirited defence of Lord Hardinge. He said that he was perfectly certain that Lord Hardinge would be completely cleared, if he were tried by an impartial tribunal under the ordinary rules of evidence. India has so tried and honourably acquitted Lord Hardinge. India endorses every word of Mr. Balfour's when he says, "It would be scandalous to make Lord Hardinge the scapegoat. It makes my blood boil to think that he should be sacrificed, while we go free." The Mesopotamia Commission report notwithstanding, India will continue to regard Lord Hardinge as the greatest Viceroy, India has had since Lord Ripon.

But out of evil cometh good. As a result of all this it is possible that the defects of the Indian bureaucracy may be recognised in Great Britain, as they have all along been recognised in India and that such knowledge may lead to the conferring of a large measure of Self Government on India.

Commander Wedgwood says in his Minority Report:

In one of the papers put before us by the Indian Government, in order to justify the contrast between the attitude of India and the attitude of the self-governing Dominions, they write: "The self-governing Dominions deny to India the free privileges of citizenship. India, though not of her own volition, is practically a free market for the trade of the Empire, whereas the Colonies impose upon her trade . . . a heavy handicap in the shape of protective tariffs: and are at liberty, as it would be urged, to equip themselves for an increased outlay on Imperial defence by means from which India is debarred."

My last recommendation is that we should no longer deny to Indians "the full privileges of citizenship," but should allow them a large share in the government of their own country and in the control of that bureaucracy which in this war, uncontrolled by public opinion, has failed to rise to British standards. Lord Kitchener said that it would be better to lose India than the war. It would certainly be better to lose India than to lose that for which we are fighting the war—the glorious traditions of a people in liberty.

The evidence before the Commission exposed mercilessly the defects of the Indian bureaucracy. Referring to the way in which the expedition was managed the *Globe* says.

We do not know which is the more astonishing exposure, of the incapacity of the typical bureaucrat to

grasp anything whatever outside the sphere of his official traditions or to realise that there may occasionally arise something in the world which is of more importance than their preservation unimpaired. We are tempted by this report to say that of all the forms of government under which men have ever lived, that of an uncontrolled bureaucracy must be the very worst.

When Major Carter, shocked by the horrible conditions under which the wounded were being brought down from the front tried to bring the facts to the notice, he was called "a meddling, interfering faddist," and was so obnoxious to these little twin gods on wheels that it is said those who depended on their favour hardly dared to be seen speaking to him. That is the bureaucrat all over. It is a sin to doubt his omniscience, and blasphemy to correct his mistakes. Arrogant incompetence is the badge of his tribe, and if the Mesopotamia Report does not stir the people of Britain to a firm resolve to keep him under strict and vigilant control they will richly deserve to perish beneath his blighting rule.

The remedy for all this is well pointed out by Mr. H. E. A. Cotton in the following words, which will find an echo in every Indian heart:—

Surely anything would be better than a continuance of "the most perfect system of administration which the world has ever seen," but which, nevertheless, has emerged from this latest ordeal as a sorry wreck. In every sense of the word it has been proved to be top-heavy, hidebound by precedent and theory, detached from practical conditions, mechanical and doctrinaire, impatient of advice and control, absorbed in the contemplation of its own infallibility. Is it not time, and more than time, that an end was made of it all, and that India should be given the opportunity to work out its own salvation which has been given to Ireland, and even to Greece?

The feeling of India, about the report and its sequel is that all's well that ends well. For the report is sure to bring the day nearer when India shall have Self-Government. Meantime the only regret of India will be that the fair name of her beloved Viceroy Lord Hardinge should have been attempted to be besmirched by ill-informed critics.

IN MORNING

BY MR. BALINDRALAL DAS, B.Sc.

The light that wakes in glimmering dawn,
Over the hill-tops blue with night;
I salute the immaculate light,
And all the world there yet unborn!

The ruddy sun, a spider, spreads—
His webs of light in sky immense;
And weaving, has bewitched my sense,
With brilliant-coloured dancing threads!

Yet how long will my fancy weave,
Webs in dream-land of my life;—
A gilded screen across the strife,
Of death with all the boast to live!

How long with the songs of love,
Drown the silence of the sky,
—Till with piercing anguish-dry
Of Death, the world will cease to move!

THIS valuable work gives us an excellent account of the educational *Ashram* started at Bolpur by our great poet-saint Sir Rabindranath Tagore, and contains also a translation of a beautiful idyll about the Ashramas of old by Satis Chandra Roy, a poet and teacher of great gifts who died at Bolpur in his twentieth year. Tagore's introduction to the book is full of noble and uplifting thoughts. Tagore's clear vision as to the great race-ideas of our people and as to the supreme need of fruitful lines of work in modern India is quite apparent in his valuable foreword. He says: "The truth became clear to me that India had cut her path and broadened it for ages, the path that leads to a life reaching beyond death, rising high above the idealisation of political selfishness and the insatiable lust for accumulation of materials. . . . I determined to do what I could to bring to the surface, for our daily use and purification, the stream of ideals that originated in the summit of our past, flowing underground in the depth of India's soil,—the ideals of simplicity of life, charity, of spiritual vision, purity of heart, harmony with the universe and consciousness of the infinite personality in all creation." He says again: "I seemed choked for breath in the hideous nightmare of the present time, meaningless in its petty ambitions of poverty, and felt in me the struggle of my Motherland for awakening in spiritual emancipation. Our endeavours after political agitation seemed to me unreal to the core and pitifully feeble in their utter helplessness. I felt that it is a blessing of Providence that begging should be an unprofitable profession and that only to him who hath shall be given. I said to myself that we must seek for our own inheritance and with it buy our true place in the world." Tagore has realised and shown in his practical work that educational reformation and uplift are at the base of all our efforts for the achievement of national regeneration and that the education given should be in harmony with the methods and ideals of India's memorable past while it is brought into line with all our modern needs. His foreword contains also a touching tribute to the genius of Satis Chandra Roy.

Mr. Pearson's sketch of the daily life in the Bolpur school is informing and illuminating and though it does not give us a full insight into the forces of the time that have fructified into that

* Shantiniketan. By W. W. Pearson. Tagore's "The Cycle of Spring." (Published by Messrs. Macmillan and Co., London.)

school, it shows us vividly wherein lies its fascination and its regenerative power. The first aspect that deserves prominent mention is the high and noble conception of the scope and ideal of education that is understood and practised there. Mr. Pearson says: "Education assists, not in giving information which the boys will forget as soon as they conveniently can without danger of failing in their examinations, but in allowing the boys to develop their own characters in the way which is natural to them." His indictment of the system of examinations is as just as it is severe. He says: "The younger the boys are the more original they show themselves to be. It is only when the shadow of a university examination begins to loom over them that they lose their natural freshness and originality, and become candidates for matriculation. When the small boys take up an idea and try to put it into practice, there is always a freshness about it which is spontaneous and full of the joy of real creation." The second aspect that deserves our attention is the idea that the spread of education and the bringing of higher influences into human lives are of infinitely greater importance than following the fad of efficient and expensive equipment which is now raised to the rank of a fetish and which, in its conjoint action with our loveless and soulless system of instruction, has been an enemy of light and love and progress in our beloved Motherland. Mr. Pearson says: "The emphasis on efficient and expensive equipment which is a characteristic feature of institutions of learning in the West has never been accepted in India, where simplicity of living is regarded as one of the most important factors in true education." We must also remember always the truly democratic spirit and the constant encouragement of self-help, self-confidence, and self-respect that are such noteworthy features of this noble educational institution. It is not possible to describe in this brief sketch the daily routine of the school life at Bolpur, but I must not omit to mention the fact that the classes are held in the open air, the fact that there are only annual examinations, the fact that there are frequent excursions arranged by teachers and pupils, the fact that the Bengali is the medium of instruction while English is taught as a second language, the fact that the boys are allowed to punish all transgressions by holding a juvenile court, and the general atmosphere of trust and happiness that makes education a love-bringer and a love-bringing.

August 1917.]

SHANTINIKETAN.

bringer to the mind. Two facts that deserve a more than passing mention are the prominence given to music and the general spiritual atmosphere at Bolpur. The boys are awakened each morning by boys choristers singing the supremely beautiful devotional songs by Tagore, and go to sleep each night after the band of boy-singers go round singing his songs. Mr. Pearson says: "I say religious atmosphere because there is no definite dogmatic teaching, and for the development of the spiritual side of the boys' natures the ideal has always been to leave that to the natural instinct of each individual boy. In this considerable help is expected from the personal influence of the teachers, and from the silent but constant influence of close touch with nature herself, which in India is the most wonderful teacher of spiritual truth."

The beautiful idyll that follows this description of the Bolpur school by Mr. Pearson is a translation of Satis Chandra Roy's *The Gift To the Guru*. This idyll narrates the well known story of Utanka and makes that an occasion for reconstructing imaginatively the *Ashram* life of India's great past. I shall quote here only Utanka's words to his guru. Would that it were possible for each of us to say the same when leaving our educational institutions: "To-day my time of discipline is finished. I have by your love gained strength. My body has become strong and my mind bright and happy. I have seen the glory of the sun and the moon and have felt a Power in the glowing fire. I have tasted the joys of the six seasons of the year. The peace and tranquillity of the forests have taken up their abode in me and the fresh living spirit of the birds and beasts, of the trees and creepers, has entered my heart. I have come to understand that the food which we eat and the wood of the trees which we burn in the fire are to be deemed sacred because they do us good. Air, water, sky, and light are sacred also, and all are filled with Divine sweetness and goodness."

The book concludes with two exquisite discourses by Tagore on *Paradise* and on *Parting*. Let us always treasure up in our hearts the exquisite wisdom contained in these words of Tagore's: "One thing is truly needed to be a Teacher of children,—it is to be like children; to forget that you are wise or have come to the end of knowledge. . . . This is the only advice I can offer you on this occasion,—to cultivate the spirit of the eternal child if you must take up the task of training the children of Man."

There is a peculiar appositeness in taking up Tagore's *The Cycle of Spring* along with *Shantiniketan* as it is dedicated "To my boys of the *Shantiniketan* who have freed the fountain of youth hidden in the heart of this old poet." The story of the play is as follows: A king is in great distress of mind on finding that age, the enemy whose forces can never be defeated, has invaded him. He asks Sruthibhoosan, a holy man, to help him in his path of renunciation. The duties of the State are left uncared for, and a terrible famine sweeps over the land. Then comes the poet who brings music into the land and work and zest in life. He does so by his drama of *Phalguni*, consisting of four scenes:—Outburst, Search, Doubt, and Discovery. The first scene depicts a band of youths seeking adventure. Then enters their leader, Immortal youth, and they agree to bring the Old Man, Winter captive for their spring festival. Then they set forth to find the Old Man. They question the Ferryman and the Watchman about him but only learn that he is always to be seen only from behind and never in front. In scene III we see them sitting tired and with wavering faith in their leader who had disappeared from their sight. Then Chandra brings a blind minstrel who can see with his soul and who shows the cave of the Old Man. Then Chandra goes into the cave and comes out and says that the Captive will follow soon. To the astonishment of all the youths, their leader himself comes out of the cave and the Old Man is nowhere. Tagore himself acted as the poet and as the blind beggar in the performance of the play. The central idea of the play is the immortality of the soul and of the eternal verities shining through the shows of life and death. It brings to our minds the story in Tennyson's *Gareth and Lynette* where it is narrated that when Sir Gareth clove the dismal-looking helmet of the Knight of Death he saw that

". Over from this
Issued the bright face of a blooming boy
Fresh as a flower new born."
Let us all lay to our hearts the golden lesson contained in the closing song in this wonderful play:
"Come and rejoice! for April is awake,
Fling yourselves into the flood of being,
bursting the bondage of the past.
April is awake.
Life's shoreless sea is heaving in the sun before
you
All the losses are lost and death is drowned in
its waves,
Plunge into the deep without fear, with the
gladness of April in your heart."

American Help for Indian Students

BY DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE, M.A., Ph.D.

AN Indian student planning to enter a college in America has many questions to ask. He wants to know: What university shall I choose for my education? How many years will it take me to get my degree? Where shall I find suitable accommodation? These and many other questions, which confront a prospective student, are cheerfully answered by the Hindusthan Association of America.

The Association is a voluntary organization with branches at most of the leading centres of education in America. The President of the Society, who has an intimate knowledge of the conditions of life in different parts of the Republic, conducts an unofficial bureau of information. He, with the assistance of other officers, makes it his business to collect data from various colleges and universities concerning their educational facilities. And when a student applies for advice or information, the President helps him the best he knows how.

A notable instance of the desire of the Association to render efficient service to Indian students is seen in the founding of a Loan Fund. Since the resources of a student may sometimes run short towards the end of the college year, or his allowances may fail to reach him from home in time, the society tries to tide him over a hard period by a little advance of money. For lack of proper financial support this phase of the work, however, is not so well developed as it might be.

No one need imagine from this that the Hindusthan Association is a charitable organization engaged in giving away money to needy people. It has no money to give, although it has some to loan. The Association is only prepared to furnish gratis all the information that *bonafide* students in India may desire. The cost of living is now so high in the United States that no one should think of coming here without a steady allowance from home of, at least, a hundred rupees a month. The days when a student could earn his way through college are gone. Under the new Immigration Laws, no student from India will be allowed to land in America who has not a visible source of income from Hindusthan.

It may be mentioned in parenthesis that the Association is most emphatically an educational, not a political, organization whatsoever. From my personal knowledge of the workings of the Association as its first Ex-President, I can affirm with utmost certainty that the ends and objects of the leaders of the movement are simply and

solely to look after the interests of the Indian students, and that the Hindusthan Association with its score or more of branches is strictly a non-sectarian, non-partisan, and non-political body.

Perhaps the greatest single achievement of the Association was the International Hindusthane Students' convention held under the auspices of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco, 1915. The convention, which had a three-day session, met right in the famous Festival Hall of the Exposition. It is also a matter of patriotic pride to note that the Hindusthan Association was instrumental in securing an Indian booth in the Palace of Varied Industries on the Exposition grounds. Here were exhibited works of high class Indian arts and industries. Never before in the history of international expositions had Hindusthan taken such an independent part among the nations of the world. To be sure, India had some share in the World's Fairs at Paris and at St. Louis; but on those occasions India was not represented by the Indians and for the Indians. India was made to appear as a tail to somebody else's dog. In the Panama-Pacific Exposition India appeared on her own account. And as a fitting recognition of the rôle played in this great festival of nations, the Hindusthan Association was presented by the Panama-Pacific International Exposition with a commemorative bronze medal. Indians in America can now lift their heads high in pride and greet the world as men.

Such, in brief, are some of the activities of the Hindusthan Association. It is now peculiarly fortunate in having Doctor Rafiddin Ahmed as its President. Doctor Ahmed, who is employed in the responsible position of a dentist in the Forsyth Dental Infirmary of Boston, is a tireless worker for the welfare of Indians in America. He places the services of the Association unreservedly at the disposal of those who may need them. They are yours for the mere asking. "The Hindusthan Association," said President Ahmed to me the other day, "is simply another phase of the cosmopolitan instinct of the Indian students. They look upon the whole world as a granary of knowledge to be ransacked in order to usher in the India of to-morrow. To accomplish this we need the active help of our people at home. Send out students, more students, and yet more students; there is room for them all in American universities."

Manifesto Against Passive Resistance

The Joint General Secretary to the Indian National Congress, the Hon. Mr. B. N. Sarma, the Hon. Mr. P. S. Siva Rao, and Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer have issued the following manifesto on the publication of this manifesto the Hon. Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the Hon. Pundit Motilal Nehru, Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, and the Hon'ble Mr. C. Y. Chintamani have expressed their opinion that it is undesirable to adopt Passive Resistance in view of the existing circumstances and of Mr. Montagu's visit to India. Ed. I.B.]

The announcement that the Secretary of State will soon visit India to conduct an enquiry into its political and other conditions is of the greatest significance. That he is Mr. E. S. Montagu adds an element of hope. If the people of the country had a voice in the matter, they would prefer a different agency and a different mode of enquiry. But, they cannot yet order things as they like and must make the most of the situation.

It is essential, if the enquiry is to yield the best results, that it must be conducted in a political atmosphere as calm as may be possible in the circumstances of the time. Men's minds must not be distracted by strong political excitement or smarting under a sense of wrong.

The first condition of the success of Mr. Montagu's mission is the release of Mrs. Besant and other persons who are interned for political activities. The Irish precedent of giving freedom to all political prisoners, including Sinn Feiners as a necessary preliminary to the Convention of all parties may be followed by the Government of India without fear of loss of prestige. The necessity of this step must be pressed on the Government from all influential quarters. Individuals and associations must early make their views known to the authorities. Public meetings may even adopt resolutions in this behalf and forward thereto the Secretary of State as well as to the Government of India and of Madras.

On the side of the people there is a corresponding obligation. They must cease to advocate the withdrawal of their representatives from honorary

The Special Madras Provincial Conference which met on the 25th Aug. passed the following Resolution: "That in the opinion of this Conference it is advisable to adopt the policy of Passive Resistance in so far as it involves opposition to all unjust and unconstitutional orders against the carrying on of constitutional agitation, and also against the prohibiting of public meetings peacefully and constitutionally conducted to protest against the unjust and unconstitutional orders of internment and against the repressive policy of Government."

The question of Passive Resistance was also taken up at the meeting of the United Provinces Provincial Congress Committee, Allahabad, on the 27th instant. There was a very lively discussion on it, but eventually the proposition moving for the adoption of the policy of Passive Resistance was withdrawn in view of the existing circumstances and Mr. Montagu's proposed visit to India to consider the claim of Indians for a system of more responsible government.

association with Government and other for ms of political boycott. Also the proposal to start passive resistance in any form must be laid aside for the time being. Perhaps the idea of a small preliminary deputation to England during this year will likewise have to be abandoned. When the All-India Congress Committee meet in October next along with the Committee of the All-India Muslim League, their principal business will be to consider how best the aspiration of the people may be made known to the authorities, who should be their spokesmen at the enquiry and other similar arrangements to the enquiry. It would be a misfortune if Government did not cease the political tension by the release of political prisoners. Anyhow the leaders of the people should be able to say at the end that for their part they did nothing to prejudice the enquiry. For this reason, if for no other, the idea of passive resistance, we repeat, must be dropped.

Some people, however, may not be convinced of the propriety of this course till the general question of passive resistance is examined with a view to the other circumstances of the present situation.

Passive resistance is constitutional. Modern history affords a classical instance in the refusal of Dr. Clifford and his Non-Conformist followers to pay education rates when the present Education Act was passed in 1902. The Indian National Congress has, time after time, commended the passive resistance movement of our countrymen in South Africa. The countenance of the Government of India may be inferred not only from the well-known attitude of Lord Hardinge, but from the award of a Kaiser-i-Hind Medal to Mr. Gandhi and his appointment to the Commission of Enquiry at Champaran soon after he had offered passive resistance to an order of the District Magistrate of the place.

Sticklers for legal propriety stumble at the word "law-abiding" which occurs in a Congress Resolution of last year by which the duty of carrying on educative propaganda is cast on political associations which seek to attain Self-Government for India by "law-abiding and constitutional means." The word does not occur in the first article of the Congress Constitution and it would be legal pedantry to rule out passive

resistance, if it was otherwise deemed expedient and necessary, on the ground that a mere resolution of the Congress contained the word "law-abiding."

To say that passive resistance is constitutional is not to say that it is wise or right at this juncture, even apart from the dominating feature of the situation, namely, the coming enquiry under the auspices of the Secretary of State.

Its conduct requires great prudence on the part of leaders and great self-restraint on the part of the followers. When considerable numbers are engaged in it, a designing policeman may easily provoke eager youths into crossing the line that divides passive from active resistance. Whether it succeeds or not in embarrassing the administration and making tyranny ashamed of itself, it will certainly result in great suffering to the resisters and their families. It is the sharpest weapon at our disposal and its use, therefore, can only be justified by overpowering necessity.

By the side of the sufferings depicted in English constitutional struggles or in the modern history of Russia and the great miseries that our countrymen in South Africa had suffered before adopting passive resistance, what we have had to bear in India, painful as it is, must be considered slight.

There has hardly been time for a long story of suffering. The Congress-League Scheme is not fully eight months old. The internments which have caused such widespread indignation in India, took place only two months and a few days ago.

Other means not so strong as passive resistance still remain to be tried. Debates in Indian and Provincial Legislative Councils, deputations to England, petitions to Parliament are in contemplation, and they must have been proved useless before passive resistance becomes necessary. In South Africa resolutions of mass meetings, petitions and deputations to local and Imperial authorities had all been exhausted before the oath of passive resistance was taken in September, 1906. The Suffragettes in England, though they must have known the futility, as a rule of petitions and meetings and deputations, went through them all, right enough, before they had recourse to hunger-strike and adopted militant tactics. The case for passive resistance in India is still far from being established.

Our one element of hope is the friendly feeling of influential English politicians for India and their sympathy with her political aspirations. It is our duty to nurse this friendly feeling and sympathy and profit by them. A policy of passive resistance with the express object of embarrassing

the administration during the war is likely to lose us these allies, and we shall be making it difficult for champions like Sir William Wedderburn to help us.

The simple and natural case of passive resistance is that offered to an unjust law or order to which conscience forbids obedience. One's duty is then clear and definite. It is to disobey the law and patiently suffer the penalty. The Indian political reformer of the day, if he should decide on passive resistance, would not easily know his duty. Which law is he to disobey? What penalties is he to court? Shall he refuse to pay the income-tax or the land assessment or the local cesses and rates? The late Mr. Gokhale once pointed out that this form of passive resistance, while it is the most striking and most effective, is at the same time the most difficult and the least likely to spread.

Curiously enough some people regard abstinence from honorary office as a form of passive resistance. It is a phase of the boycott of Government and has little to do with passive resistance. There is no law unjustly compelling one to enter the Legislative Council or a local self-governing body and to withdraw from there is no penalty or suffering inflicted by authority. In so far as harm is done by such withdrawal, if it becomes general, it is to the community, whose loss is proportionate to the number and quality of those that resign from honorary civic office.

An exception should be made in cases where the Executive arbitrarily prohibit peaceful and constitutional meetings. When the prohibition is by an over-zealous and indiscreet underling, a simpler remedy will do than passive resistance. If, however, a Local Government unjustly deprive the people of the elementary right of free speech by a persistent use of the power to prohibit meetings, passive resistance will become not only legitimate but unavoidable for the maintenance of citizenship. It must be acknowledged, however, that, after the revision by Lord Ronaldshay's Government of their Order prohibiting a public meeting in Calcutta for the purpose of protesting against the internment of Mrs. Besant and Messrs. Wadia and Arundale, there has been two cases of the kind in the country, and perhaps there will be none hereafter.

We know the strength of the desire to start passive resistance in certain parts of the country, and we respect the patriotism and the moral fervour that are behind it. Still, we have considered it our duty to point out, at the risk of some misunderstanding, the grave inexpediency of passive resistance in the present situation.

SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR INDIA.

I. The Rt. Hon. Mr. E. S. Montagu*

The machinery of Government in this country, (Great Britain and Ireland), with its unwritten constitution, and the machinery of Government in our Dominions has proved itself sufficiently elastic, sufficiently capable of modification, to turn a peace-pursuing instrument, into a war-making instrument. It is the Government of India alone which does not seem capable of transformation, and I regard that as based upon the fact that the machinery is statute, written machinery. The Government of India is too wooden, too iron, too inelastic, too antediluvian, to be any use for the modern purposes we have in view. I do not believe that anybody could ever support the Government of India from the point of view of modern requirements. But it would do, nothing serious had happened since the Indian Mutiny, the public was not interested in Indian affairs, and it required a crisis to direct attention to the fact that the Indian Government is an indefensible system of Government. I remember when I first came to the House, when my Hon. friend opposite—he will perhaps forgive me reminding him of the fact—and I were members of one of those Committees which Members of Parliament form themselves into and he spent the whole of his time in trying to direct his colleagues' attention to the necessity of thinking about India. He urged people to go to the Debates about it. I was one of those whom he got to go to the early debates, when Lord Morley took charge of its affairs. Was he successful? Does anybody remember the Indian Budget Debates before the War. Upon that day the House was always empty. India did not matter and the Debates were left to people on the one side whom their enemies sometimes called "bureaucrats," and on the other side to people whom their enemies sometimes called "seditionists," until it almost came to be disreputable to take part in Indian Debates. It required a crisis of this kind to realise how important Indian affairs were. After all, is the House of Commons to be blamed for that? What was the Indian Budget Debate? It was a purely academic discussion which had no effect whatever upon events in India, conducted after the events that were being discussed had taken place. How can you now defend the fact that the Secretaries of State for India alone of all the occupants of the Front Bench, with the possible exception of the Chancellor of the Duchy

*Speech in the House of Commons on the Mesopotamia Report.

of Lancaster, are not responsible to this House for their salaries, and do not come here with their Estimates in order that the House of Commons may express its opinion?

One of those Debates was unreal, unsubstantial and ineffective. If Estimates for India like Estimates for the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and the Colonial Secretary were to be discussed on the floor of the House of Commons, Debates on India would be as good as the Debates on Foreign Affairs. After all, what is the difference? Has it ever been suggested to the people of Australia that they should pay the salary of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Why should the whole cost of that building in Charles Street, including the building itself, be an item of the Indian taxpayer's burden rather than of this House of Commons and the people of the country.

It has been sometimes questioned whether a democracy can rule an Empire. I say that in this instance the democracy has never had the opportunity of trying. But even if the House of Commons were to give orders to the Secretary of State, the Secretary of State is not his own master. In matters vitally affecting India, he can be overruled by a majority of his Council. I may be told that the cases are very rare in which the Council has differed from the Secretary of State for India. I know one case anyhow, where it was a very near thing, and where the action of the Council might, without remedy, have involved the Government of India in a policy out of harmony with the declared policy of the House of Commons and the Cabinet. And these gentlemen are appointed for seven years, and can only be controlled from the Houses of Parliament by a resolution, carried in both Houses, calling on them for their resignations. The whole system of the India Office is designed to prevent control by the House of Commons for fear that there might be too advanced a Secretary of State. I do not say that it is possible to govern India through the intervention of the Secretary of State with no expert advice, but what I do say is that in this epoch, now after the Mesopotamia Report, he must get his expert advice in some other way than by this Council of men, great men though, no doubt, they always are, who come home after lengthy service in India to spend the first years of their retirement as members of the Council of India. No wonder that the practice of telegrams backward and forward and of private telegram, commented upon by the Mesopotamia Report, has come into existence.

Does any member of this House know much about procedure in the India Office, how the Council sits in Committees, how there is interposed between the Civil servant and the political chiefs the Committees of the India Council, and how the draft on some simple question comes up through the Civil servant to the Under-Secretary of State and may be referred back to the Committee which sends it back to him, and it then goes to the Secretary of State, who then sends it to the India Council, which may refer it back to the Committee, and two or three times in its history may go backwards and forwards. I say that that is a system so cumbrous, so designed to prevent efficiency and change that in the light of these revelations it cannot continue to exist

My only desire then, as it is now, was to try and find something which had some semblance of speedy action. Government offices are often accused of circumlocution and red tape. I have been to the India Office and to other offices. I tell this House that the statutory organisation of the India Office produces an apotheosis of circumlocution and red tape beyond the dreams of any ordinary citizen.

I think that the control of this House over the Secretary of State ought to be more real, and I would say further that the independence of the Viceroy from the Secretary of State ought to be much greater. You cannot govern a great country by the despatch of telegrams. . . . Your executive system in India has broken down, because it is not constituted for the complicated duties of modern government. But you cannot re-organise the Executive Government of India, remodel the Viceroyalty, and give the Executive Government more freedom from this House of Commons and the Secretary of State unless you make it more responsible to the people of India. Really the whole system has got to be explored in the light of the Mesopotamian Commission. It has proved to be of too much rigidity. My hon. and gallant friend opposite, in his Minority Report, I think—certainly in the questions he has asked in this House—seems to advocate a complete Home Rule for India. I do not believe there is any demand for that in India on a large scale. I do not believe it will be possible, or certainly be a cure for these evils.

Commander Wedgewood: I want that to be the goal towards which we are driving.

Mr. Montagu: As a goal I see a different picture! I see the great Self-Governing Dominions and Provinces of India organised and co-

ordinated with the great Principalities, the existing Principalities—and perhaps now ones—not one great Home Rule country, but a series of Self-Governing Provinces and Principalities, federated by one Central Government. But whatever be the object of your rule in India, the universal demand of those Indians whom I have met and corresponded with is that you should state it. Having stated it, you should give some instalment to show that you are in real earnest, some beginning of the new plan which you intend to pursue that gives you the opportunity of giving greater representative institutions in some form or other to the people of India, of giving them greater control of their Executive, of remodelling the Executive—that affords you the opportunity of giving the Executive more liberty from home, because you cannot leave your harassed officials responsible to two sets of people. Responsibility here at home was intended to replace or to be a substitute for responsibility in India. As you increase responsibility in India you can lessen that responsibility at home.

But I am positive of this, that your great claim to continue the illogical system of Government by which we have governed India in the past is that it was efficient. *It has been proved to be not efficient.* It has been proved to be not sufficiently elastic to express the will of the Indian people; to make them into a warring Nation as they wanted to be. The history of this War shows that you can rely upon the loyalty of the Indian people to the British Empire—if you ever before doubted it! If you want to use that loyalty, you must take advantage of that love of country which is a religion in India, and you must give them that bigger opportunity of controlling their own destinies, not merely by Councils which cannot act, but by control, by growing control, of the Executive itself. Then in your next War—if we ever have War—in your next crisis, through times of peace, you will have a contented India, an India equipped to help. Believe me, Mr. Speaker, it is not a question of expediency, it is not a question of desirability. Unless you are prepared to remodel in the light of modern experience, this century-old and cumbrous machine, then, I believe, I verily believe, that you will lose your right to control the destinies of the Indian Empire.

Montagu's Indian Speeches.—A comprehensive and up-to-date collection of his Speeches on Indian Affairs. Price Rs. 1-8. To subscribers of the "I.R." Rs. 1-4.

G. A. Nateean & Co., Sankarappa Chetty Street, Madras

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II. Sir Rabindranath Tagore *

To-day all the world is praying to be relieved from subservience to the dictates of masters and super-men. Awakened by the modern spirit, we are yearning to join in the universal chorus of democracy. It would have been our eternal shame had we failed to do so, had we proved our undying yearning for some master's voice. It is of happy augury that we have caught a glimpse of the truth and are still able to respond to it.

I know that we are open to the same retort, which the Brahmin gave to the Sudra of old that this fundamental principle of British policy does not apply to us. But, for all that, let us not refuse to believe in humanity and human justice. Let us continue to behave as though power is not the only thing great in the British regime, but that the principles on which it is based are even greater. When the Sudra joined his palms in submission to the Brahminical decree of inferiority, on that very day was dug the pit for the Brahmin's downfall. The weak can be no less enemies of the strong than the strong of the weak. We shall not do the British the dis-service of weakly assisting them to believe their own greatness.

That the people are most concerned in their own Government is a truth greater than the Government itself. This is the truth which gives strength to the British people. This is the truth which is also our strength. If we fail to hold on to this truth, the Government will lose sight of it likewise. If we do not believe and trust in the British ideal of Self-Government then the police must need tyrannise over us and the efforts of the magistrate to protect us will be unavailing; then will the God of Prestige continue to demand its human victims and British rule in India give the lie to historic British ideals.

After a hundred and fifty years of British rule we hear to-day that Bengal is not even to be allowed to sigh over the troubles of her sister Province of Madras. Up to now we had been led to believe that the fact that under the same British sovereignty the Provinces of Bengal, Punjab, Madras and Bombay were all being welded into a uniformity of ideal and aspiration as one of the brightest jewels of the British Crown. We are told in the West that Britain entered this war and faced death accounting the sorrows of Belgium and France as her own; and are we to be told in the same breath in the East that

Bengal must not bother her head about the troubles of Madras? Is this a command to which we are prepared to bow the heads? Do we not know for certain, in spite of the vehemence of its utterance, of the load of shame which lurks behind?

England came to India as representing European civilisation. The ideal of that civilisation is the word she has pledged to us. We must hold her to that word.

The Englishman may point to his own history and say "This great ideal of the Government of the people by the people was evolved by us through many a struggle and at the cost of much striving and sacrifice." I admit it. All pioneer peoples of the world in the pursuit of their several quests, have had to pass through much error and sorrow and strife. But when they have gained the truth, they sought it has become available to others without their having to tread the same long road of error and sacrifice.

In America I have seen Bengali youths becoming experts in the manufacture of machines without their having had to retrace the whole history of the steam engine beginning from the boiling kettle. What it took centuries for Europe to evolve it took but little time for Japan to transplant, roots and all, to her own soil. So, far from being convinced of any reason for delay, we may on the contrary urge that it is just because we are deficient in the qualities which are necessary for Self-Government, that practice in governing ourselves is all the sooner necessary. What of the democracies which are the beast of the West? Can we not rake up enough of sin and crime and every kind of enormity from amidst the European peoples? Had there been any overlord to say that till all these continue to exist, Europe shall not have Self-Government, then, not only would all these have remained as they are, but all possibility of their cure would have departed.

I do not deny that we have our weaknesses in our individual characters and in our social system. Still we want Self-Government. In the great democratic festival of the world no one people have all their lights burning—yet the festival goes on. If for some time our light has gone out, may we not ask for it to be lit at the wick of England's lamp without thereby raising a howl of indignation? It will not detract from England's light but surely add to the brightness of the world's illumination.

* Speech at the Albert Theatre, Calcutta, 14th Aug. 1917.

III. Commander Wedgewood*

Two new facts have brought Indian Home Rule into practical politics. The first is the wonderful result of giving Home Rule to the Boers of South Africa; the second is the Russian Revolution, with the inspiration that it gives to all subject people, with its hint to England that if we would remain the leading exponents of democracy, we too must do our part and subordinate old selfish aims.

The objections that the Bureaucracy raise are these. They say that the Colonial Home Rule would lead to corruption, and to inefficiency. The Report of the Mesopotamia Commission destroys the "efficiency" excuse; no uncontrolled Bureaucracy can ever be efficient. Public criticism and control alone can keep a Bureaucracy in check. As for "corruption,"—why, it is better to be even corrupt than to be servile.

What I have suggested is that the British Government should lay it down that Colonial Home Rule is the end they have in view though it may take even 50 years to complete the process. They should lay down the stages and the dates when each successive stage will become operative, provided that the previous stage works satisfactorily. The stages might be of the following nature: the power of imposing certain taxes for purposes desired by India or the provinces then complete control of the purse; free direct election and some representation; then full representative Government; lastly full Responsible Government;—all combined with real popular education. Whether the Province or the Nation be taken as the unit seems to me to be immaterial, provided you in India create and preserve the national spirit as a driving power.

Any man who sets himself up to oppose absolute Government incurs great risks. The loss of employment and promotion, petty persecution, even the loss of fortune and freedom; all these you may have to face. In proportion as your sacrifices are great so will your reward be. But keep your hands clean of murder and you will have the respect and honour of all that is best in this country and of millions throughout the world who believe in liberty. I hope the struggle need not be very long. My nation, which supported the Italian against the Austrian, the Pole against the Russian, which has fought with a single mind in this War, will not long allow itself to remain the oppressor of a nation that can make sacrifices.

* Letter to the Home Rule League, Madras.

But you must not trust others alone: it rests with you to make the sacrifices.

In any case I salute you, the newest soldiers in an old fight; and I hope that a common cause may make us no longer aliens but brothers. We may not in our time achieve success (for there is no real end), but we can hand on the torch, burning brightly, to the next generation—and believe me, it is some satisfaction to do it in so goodly a company.

IV. The Lord Bishop of Calcutta*

It is not only against the German method of conducting war that we are fighting. We are fighting against the German principle that the strongest nation ought to subdue and enslave weaker ones. If this principle were accepted, there would be no end to wars and the strongest nation might always plead the excuse of Germany that it was making these conquests with the object of spreading its own superior civilization. We stand for the right of nations to live and grow according to their own God-given nature whether they be great or small. Here again we must keep our own consciences clear. We have become, the paramount power in India by a series of conquests in which we have used Indian soldiers and had Indian allies. We have remained the paramount power in India because the Indian peoples needed our protection against foreign foes and against internal disorder. We must now look at our paramount position in the light of our own war-ideals. The British rule in India must aim at giving India opportunities of self-development according to the natural bent of its peoples. With this in view, the first object of its rulers must be to train Indians in Self-Government. If we turn away from any such application of our principles to this country, it is but hypocrisy to come before God with the plea that our cause is the cause of liberty.

But while our cause has remained the same as we have professed it since the war began, recent events have given it a new meaning. The admission of the United States to our side and the revolution in Russia have added a new element to the idea that we are fighting for liberty. We have hitherto been fighting for the liberty of nations from enslavement by other nations. Now we realise that we are also fighting for the liberty of the masses of the people within each nation. We are fighting for the democratic idea.

* Sermon at the St. Paul's Cathedral on the War Anniversary Day.

August 1917.]

THE LATE MR. GOKHALE'S SCHEME.

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V. The Hon. Mr. B. N. Basu*

I recognise and appreciate that while a great war is going on, our energies must all be devoted to its successful prosecution, but it need not take us away from pressing the question of reforms in India which may largely affect the issues of the war. The Irish Convention is sitting amidst the din of battle and administrative changes are in contemplation everywhere and are being considered by representative committees. Recent utterances of responsible Ministers of the Crown show that Indian questions of great magnitude are also receiving serious attention. In their general solution lies the future of India, and may I add also of England. We must move on, not, as some would wish, like the blind man who feels every inch of his ground with his sounding stick, before he gropes forward to the next step. We must move on with our eyes open, with the road in view, alive to the difficulties of the way but not deterred by them. Gentlemen, I have faith in England for the true spirit of freedom is there. The English people do not suffer from lack of faith in the future of India. They are not a people to be deterred by the dangers of the road, they will not allow the realisation of Indian aspirations being put off to an indefinite and indeterminate future merely because classifications

* Speech at the Public Dinner in the Calcutta Town Hall, on 18th August, 1917.

THE LATE MR. GOKHALE'S SCHEME*

PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY.

The grant of Provincial Autonomy foreshadowed in the Delhi Despatch, would be a fitting concession to make to the people of India at the close of the war. This will involve the two-fold operation of freeing the Provincial Governments on one side from the greater part of the control which is at present exercised over them by the Government of India and the Secretary of State in connection with the internal administration of the country and substituting on the other, in place of the control so removed, the control of the representatives of tax-payers through Provincial Legislative Councils. I indicate below in brief outline the form of administration that should be set up in different Provinces to carry out this idea.

Each Province should have:—

1. A Governor appointed from England at the head of the administration.
2. A Cabinet or Executive Council of six members three of whom should be Englishmen and three Indians with the following portfolio:—

- (a) Home (including Law and Justice).
- (b) Finance.
- (c) Agriculture, Irrigation and Public Works.
- (d) Education.
- (e) Local Self Government (including Sanitation and Medical Relief).
- (f) Industries and Commerce.

While members of the Indian Civil Service should be eligible for appointment to the Executive Council, no place in the Council should be reserved for them, the men available being taken both English and Indian.

- (3) A Legislative Council of between 75 and 100 Members of whom not less than four-fifths should be

* With reference to this Scheme the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri states in a communication to the Press, that it was only a draft prepared by Mr. Gokhale at the instance of H. E. Lord Willingdon as a Scheme of Reforms to be inaugurated by Government of their own accord, to avoid the then growing discontent of the country.

elected by different constituencies and interests. Thus in the Bombay Presidency, roughly speaking, each District should return two members, one representing Municipalities and the other District and Taluk Boards. The City of Bombay should have about ten members allotted to it. Bodies in the Mofussil like the Karachi Chamber, Ahmedabad mill-owners, Deccan Sardars should have a member each. Then there would be the special representation of Mohomedans and here and there a member may have to be given to communities like the Lingayats, where they are strong. There should be no nominated non-official members, except as experts. A few official members may be added by the Governor as experts or to assist in representing the Executive Government.

4. The relations between the Executive Government and the Legislative Council so constituted should be roughly similar to those between the Imperial Government and the Reichstag in Germany. The Council will have to pass all Provincial legislation and its assent will be necessary to additions to or changes in Provincial taxation. The Budget too will have to come to it for discussion and its resolutions in connection with it, as also on questions of general administration will have to be given effect to, unless vetoed by the Governor. More frequent meetings or longer continuous sittings will also have to be provided for. But the members of the Executive Government shall not depend, individually or collectively, on the support of a majority of the Council, for holding their offices.

5. The Provincial Government, so reconstituted and working under the control of the Legislative Council as outlined above should have complete charge of the internal administration of the Province and it should have virtually independent financial powers, the present financial relations between it and the Government of India being largely revised, and to some extent even reversed. The revenue under Salt, Customs, Tributes, Railway, Post, Telegraph and Mint should belong exclusively to the Government of India, the services being Imperial. While that under Land Revenue, including Irrigation, Excise, Forests, Assessed taxes Stamps and Registration should belong to the Provincial Government the services being Provincial. As under this division, the revenue falling to the Provincial Government will be in excess of its existing requirements and that assigned to the Government of India will fall short of its present expenditure, the Provincial Government should be required to make an annual contribution to the Government of India, fixed for periods of five years at a time. Subject to this arrangement the Imperial and the Provincial Governments should develop their separate systems of finance, the Provincial Governments being given powers of taxation and borrowing within certain limits.

Such a scheme of Provincial Autonomy will be incomplete unless it is accompanied by (a) liberalizing of the present form of District administration and (b) a great extension of Local Self-Government. For (a) it will be necessary to abolish the Commissioner-ships of Divisions except where special reasons may exist for their being maintained as in Sind, and to associate small District Councils, partly elected and partly nominated, with the Collector for whom most of the present powers of the Commissioners could then be transferred, the functions of the Councils being advisory to begin with. For (b) Village Panchayats, partly elected and partly nominated, should be created for villages and groups of villages and Municipal Boards in towns and Taluk Boards in

Talukas should be made wholly elected bodies, the Provincial Government reserving to itself and exercising stringent powers of control. A portion of the excise revenue should be made over to those bodies so that they may have adequate resources at their disposal for the due performance of their duties. The District being too large an area for efficient Local Self-Government by an honorary agency, the functions of the District Boards should be strictly limited and the Collector should continue to be its ex-officio President.

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

1. The Provinces being thus rendered practically autonomous, the Constitution of the Executive Council or the Cabinet of the Viceroy will have to be correspondingly altered. At present there are four members in that Council with portfolios which concern the internal administration of the country—namely, Home, Agriculture, Education and Industries and Commerce. As all internal administration will now be made over to Provincial Governments and the Government of India will only retain in its hands nominal control to be exercised on very rare occasions, one member to be called member for the Interior should suffice in place of these four. It will, however, be necessary to create certain other portfolios and I would have the Council consist of the following six members (at least two of whom shall always be Indians).

(a) Interior, (b) Finance, (c) Law, (d) Defence, (e) Communications (Railways, Post and Telegraph,) and (f) Foreign.

(a) The Legislative Council, of the Viceroy should be styled the Legislative Assembly of India. Its members should be raised to about one hundred to begin with and its power enlarged, but the principle of an official majority (for which perhaps it will suffice to substitute a nominated majority) should for the present be maintained, until sufficient experience has been gathered of the working of autonomous arrangements for Provinces. This will give the Government of India a reserve power in connection with Provincial administration to be exercised in emergencies. Thus if a Provincial Legislative Council persistently decline to pass legislation which the Government regard to be essential in the vital interests of the Province it could be passed by the Government of India in its Legislative Assembly over the head of the Province. Such occasions would be extremely rare, but the reserve power will give a sense of security to the authorities and will induce them to enter on the great experiment of Provincial Autonomy with greater readiness. Subject to this principle of an official or nominated majority being for the present maintained, the Assembly should have increased opportunities of influencing the policy of the Government by discussion, questions connected with the Army and Navy (to be now created) being placed on a level with other questions. In fiscal matters the Government of India so constituted should be freed from the control of the Secretary of State whose control in other matters too should be largely reduced, his Council being abolished and his position steadily approximated to that of the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Commissions in the Army and Navy must now be given to Indians, with proper facilities for Military and Naval instruction.

German East Africa, if conquered from the Germans, should be reserved for Indian colonization and should be handed over to the Government of India.

TOPICS FROM PERIODICALS

The Remuneration of Women's Services

Among the chief problems of reconstruction after the War, the position of women in skilled industry will have to be regarded and tackled with as one of the most important. Eleanor Rathbone, writing in the *Economic Journal* (for June 1917), describes her own views as to what form the solution of this problem should take. The barriers that have kept women out of skilled trades have been broken down during the course of the war, though by no means completely. And if these barriers should again be re-created, they will have to be based frankly upon the desire of the male to protect himself from competition, and no longer upon the so-called incapacity of the female to compete. The women themselves, ill-organized and voteless, with the sentiment in favour of the returning soldiers not only strong against them, but strong among them, could not put up much of a fight. But they will have two powerful allies, first, in the employers who having tasted the advantages of a great reserve of cheap, docile and very effective labour, are obviously not going to let themselves be deprived of it without a struggle, and, secondly, in the growing public sense of the necessity on national grounds of making the most of our economic resources.

The question of the possibility of women competing freely with men, without under-cutting their standards of pay and so under-mining their standards of life, is assured promptly and hesitatingly by the women themselves. But the difficulty is that even where both quality and quantity of work are identical, it does not necessarily follow that the woman is an equally valuable or at least an equally acceptable employee. There are, in the eyes of most employers, certain standing disadvantages of women's labour which have to be reckoned with; but there are counter-

acting advantages like their greater docility, their greater willingness to be kept at routine work, and their less liability to absence on drinking bouts, to strikes and other disabilities of the economic routine. If women are to secure a fair field of competition with men, their work being accepted or rejected on its merits then, to secure this object, it seems necessary that any permanent recognised disadvantage that adheres to women workers as such, should be allowed for by a *pro-rata* rate reduction in their standard rates.

The causes of the low rates of women's wages may be outlined, and the reasons for their inferiority may be roughly scheduled as (a) lack of trades organisation; (b) pocket money or supplementary wage-earning; (c) a low standard of comfort; and (d) a wage-requirement based on individual subsistence. The first three are easily understood, and their weight is apt to be over-estimated. The last is this: that the wages of women workers are not based on the assumption that they have families to keep; and in so far as these wages are determined by the standard of life of the workers it is a standard based on the cost of individual subsistence and not on family subsistence. This argument seems to point to an *impasse*. Other solutions like the establishment of free competition without the attempt to equalise wages, are also doubtful and difficult, and open up unpleasant possibilities of class-antagonism and sex-antagonism.

The final solution that the writer projects is that the state should take upon itself the grant of allowance for the up-keep of individual homes, so that the wife and children should receive their share; and the main reason for the differentiation in wages between the two sexes would have disappeared.

Lawyer Politicians

There are people in every country who never tire of flinging scurrilous epithets at barristers, writes Babu Lal Sud in a recent issue of *India*, the organ of the British Congress Committee in London.

"To them the mere name is like a red rag to a bull. I confess that, like many of the principal professions, the Bar is over-crowded; that in no other profession is mediocrity more thoroughly doomed to failure than in the legal profession, and that no one who cannot afford at least five years of waiting should think of training for the Bar. Not only is advance very slow and uncertain, but years may sometimes elapse before a single brief is obtained. Therefore, unless a man has followed Gilbert's advice and married a solicitor's daughter, or has private means, or unless his mental faculties are far above the average, he should give the Bar a wide berth."

So far Babu Lal Sud agrees with those who are hard on barristers. But they go further in their animosity. Who has not heard of the term "lawyer politician?" How this expression came to carry a sinister import is strange. The writer says:—

"Barristers, taken as a whole, are the best politicians and statesmen in the world. And why? Because they have in the highest degree that peculiar sense, tact and resource which fit men for dealing with others in the affairs of ordinary life. In this respect they are infinitely superior to men in other professions. Take, for instance, Mr. Asquith, Mr. Lloyd George, Sir Edward Carson, Lord Haldane, and Lord Milner. They are all barristers by profession, with the exception of Mr. Lloyd George, who is a solicitor. All of these have manifest talents for oratory, leadership, and statesmanship. They are born Empire-builders and leaders of men, and their words carry weight wherever English is spoken.

"The same is the case in India. The men who have done more than others for the real and last-

ing good of India have been and are barristers. Take the case of Sir Satyendra Sinha, Sir Syed Ali Imam, Sir Pheroze Shah Mehta, Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt, Mr. Womesh Chunder Bonnerjee, Mr. Lal Mohan Ghose, Mr. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque, Mr. Harkishan Lal, and many others. There is no denying the truth of the statement that the majority of Indian barristers are also politicians. But their critics do not pause to consider that they are not firebrands, but moderate, constitutional, and loyal politicians, who have done and are doing their best to advance the cause of their country. They are men held in affectionate and reverent regard not only by their own countrymen, but also by people of other nationalities who happen to come in contact with them. They possess foresight, initiative, energy, and balanced judgment so essential to a statesman. It is only ingrates who speak slightingly of them. People, with the interest and the welfare of their country at heart, should have only words of praise for these men who are giving them of their best.

"Even in England people generally speak ill of barristers where they are compared to the devils according to a familiar country saying. While, in this country, barristers are considered as extra beings because they "make money out of trouble and make trouble out of money." This is true, and yet it hardly explains what is meant. It does not mean that barristers are necessarily a bad lot, but it simply means that they are too clever and that they know what they are about. Moreover, they know how to mind their own business, and are also able to mind other people's business (for a fee). Their carpers and belittlers are evidently unable to see reason, but at least they could learn the elementary principle of good manners, namely, to mind their own business."

Current Japanese Thought

The Editor of the *Japan Magazine*, in its July issue, gives prominence to the conflicting views and policies that prevail among the national leaders of Japan, regarding their relations with America. One school maintains that America is the principal potential enemy, guarding against whom will be Japan's greatest task in the immediate future. Count Otani, a mouthpiece of this school, writes as follows:—

The powers which Japan must take carefully into consideration are Russia, China, America and Great Britain, as well as France; but of these, no anxiety need be felt save about America and China. From the United States the Japanese are barred while America is preparing a great army and navy which will be used for the intimidation of Japan. America took the Philippines so as to keep an eye on Japan; and she will not consent to Japan possessing the German islands taken in the South Seas. If Japan allows America to have her own way for the next ten years it will be impossible to escape invasion, invasion by diplomacy if not by the sword. The danger will be enhanced if America should insist on helping China in her independent attitude toward Japan. What Japan needs, therefore, is not more religion or education but greater and mightier armaments.

On the other hand, Count Terauchi, the Premier, is anxious to keep Americans and Japanese united through honest and correct knowledge and understanding. And, speaking at the inauguration of the American-Japan Society, he made the following observations:—

It is a conspicuous fact in history that Japan owes the greatest debt of gratitude to the United States in formulating her national policy of energetic progress and international intercourse, a fact which our countrymen are cherishing to-day. The United States and Japan are not the same in their political constitution, but both nations are at one in their reverence of humanity, in their love of peace, and their heritage of a chivalrous spirit. Therefore, though some international questions have arisen between the two countries during the past fifty years, they have ever been amicably solved through their mutual good will and concession. Never once in the history of the two nations did they come to such a path as might endanger the cordial relationship. To-day, the wonderful progress made in the various organs of communication has so narrowed the distance of the great Pacific Ocean that we are like closest neighbours on either side of a little river. Moreover, by the participation of the United States in the present world war, our ties have been strengthened by a community of interest; and we are on the eve of an attempt to drive a wedge of evil with the sinister object of creating an impassable gulf. We want to narrow that gulf and we intend to fill in that gulf, before it becomes wider.

There is a further danger noted by the Editor of the *Japan Magazine* which has bred two great national evils, contempt of weaker nations and unmanly humiliation, and which has to be completely rooted out. That danger is expressed thereby by a member of the Imperial Japanese Diet as follows:—

The Japanese people of to-day are afflicted with two diseases. One is the fear of foreign nations, and the other is the contempt of Oriental nations. For the strong nations of Europe they entertain unbounded respect and fear, and towards the weaker nations of the Orient they are haughty and insolent. The result is that the European nations make nothing of treating the Japanese with contumely, while other Orientals do not repose such confidence in the Japanese as they might be expected to do. These two diseases have been fostered by Bureaucrats and their rule. For they are the men who had long experience of being bullied by superior foreign nations in their diplomatic intercourse. Like the cowardly fighting cock which has once been defeated in his contest by a stronger cock, they cannot meet their old adversaries without shrinking and sneaky fear. Europe and America have become in their eyes the watchwords for fear and trembling. On the other hand they are so lacking in wisdom as to look down on weaker nations of the Orient. Before such weaklings the Japanese boast of being the leader of Asia, etc. But which nation is ready to treat Japan as a champion of Pan-Asianism or leader of the Orient? The Japanese fear of Europe and America has begotten unmanly humiliation; their contempt of weaker nations has engendered vanity and indolence.

Indian Reforms

In the course of a review of the leading events of the world, the Editor of the *Philippine Review* quotes with approval His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir's plea for constitutional reforms in India:—

His recent utterances are marked not only by a spirit of patriotism and broad sympathy but by a message of love and co-operation between the English people and the Indians. By his personal influence, timely and wise speeches and official letters, the recent Congress by a resolution asked for an authoritative declaration of the aim of British policy in India. His wisdom in this matter can be shown by quoting a letter to the *Times* as follows:— "For", he says, "the advances to be made should be considered with the breadth and generosity of view that have marked British policy in so many other parts of the world, and, which the history of the British colonial expansion has shown that Britain has never had an occasion to regret." As for the reforms, the Maharaja continued: "Sentiment counts for a very great deal in India, and the changes should be such as to strike the imagination. Excessive caution would be an error almost as great as the acceptance of rash and ill-considered proposals."

Some Aspects of Railway Policy in India

Mr. D. A. Barker, of the Indian Civil Service, in an article which he contributed to a recent number of the *Indian Journal of Economics*, gives us a brief history of railway development in India and discusses shortly the main tendencies, at work in the past. At first private enterprise in the construction and management of railways was favoured by the authorities, but capital was very shy, with the consequence that Government had to guarantee interest on all capital called up, and their difficulties were increased by the fact that the interest was payable in sterling, and, therefore, owing to the fall in exchange, represented an ever-increasing sum, soon a reaction began in favour of direct state action, but in 1879, the Commons recommended that railway construction by private enterprise should again be encouraged, and accordingly a new system of guarantees was begun. Part of the capital was provided by the state, and part raised by companies, on which interest was guaranteed at 4 per cent. This guarantee interest together with the interest on the capital provided by the state was to be a first charge on the net receipts, and the state was to have a fixed share of any surplus. From 1879 onwards there has been a gradually increasing tendency to substitute company construction and management for direct state action, though the reaction from state management and construction was often slow and interrupted. Since the purchase of the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway in 1889, the area of State management has not been largely extended. And as the Mackay Committee remarked in 1907, "the consistent policy of the Government of India for many years has been to arrange for the railways in India, while remaining State property, to be leased, to companies which worked them on behalf of Government on a profit sharing basis. Railway practice, so far as India is concerned, would seem to favour company management,—a conclusion which is

supported to some extent by existing practice in England and the United States of America.

The burning question of railway management in India is the question of rates. The complex nature of railway expenses, and the large expenditure which must be met independently of the actual running of trains e.g., the payment of interest to debenture holders, of dividends to share-holders, of money for repairs of buildings and permanent way, must be taken into consideration. Whether railways are managed by the state or by private companies, discrimination has to be made necessarily in the rates by the following conditions of working: (1) Variations in length of haul, (2) variations in the value of freight, (3) variations in the conditions of traffic, and (4) competition. Competing companies usually fix upon a lucrative rate of charge and usually refrain altogether from competition in respect of rates. Such an understanding is usually effected wherever there is direct competition between railways. But in cases of indirect competition it is often difficult to arrive at any compromise and the result is a continuously favourable rate of freight between competitive points. That state management would eliminate competition and would so do away with at least one cause of discrimination, is true; but this statement has only a very limited application.

Mr. Barker promises another article which would deal with these other evils.

India After the War

A Christian missionary, writing in the *Christian World*, about "Native Views on the War" remarks:—

And when that time [of peace] comes, India hopes that in consideration for help given and services rendered England will grant it the boon of greater Self-Government. The Indian National Congress has given audible expression to that hope. The goal which the majority of Indian leaders have in view is that ultimately India shall become a Self-Governing country like the Australian Colonies and Canada. Whether that goal is feasible of immediate attainment need not be considered here. Suffice it to note that after the War India is expecting to receive some noteworthy political boon.

Higher Education of Indian Women

Miss Eleanor Mc Dougall, Principal of the Christian College for Women, Madras, writing in the current number of the *International Review of Missions*, makes some acute observations about the higher education of Indian women and tries to show the hollowness of the objections made against the existing system. The protests against our common habit of regarding the ideals of domestic efficiency and of trained intelligence as definitely opposed to each other; and declares that the antithesis is doubly false, first because the two things are closely related, and domestic efficiency of the highest type cannot be attained without intellectual training, and secondly because the same woman needs both. Again, she says that the ideal education for girls who leave school at the age of 13 or 14 to enter on domestic life has not yet been discovered. The vernacular education of elementary schools does not go far enough to give them an independent mental life; and the so-called English education is not very successful if it ends at this stage. An intelligent girl leaving school at 14, if well-educated in the vernacular, will have strong interest in many things, but no means of carrying her education further. An equally intelligent girl whose chief study for the last few years has been English, will have the key of knowledge in her hand; but she may not have grasped enough of the subject matter of her lessons to care to carry her own education further.

She next combats the desire to lessen the intellectual and increase the domestic training of women and the desire to carry on higher education in the vernaculars. These ends, increase of domestic efficiency, and higher education in the vernaculars, can be attained without sacrificing the intellectual training which is indeed necessary for these very ends. A thorough knowledge of English, seems at present to be essential to higher education. At present the intellectual and

national life of India is carried on in English, and to refuse this language to women is to set them at once outside the current of Indian life and aspiration. And it is at present impossible to convey western knowledge and thought in any of the Indian languages without losing a great deal on the way. The universities of Europe could not and did not discard Latin as the medium of instruction, until original and vigorous thought expressed in English, French and German made it superfluous. And most of the advocates of the higher education of women admit that the use of the vernacular would mean an immediate lowering of the standard of that education. And with the curtailment or perhaps abolition of English, comes the abolition of the foreign woman-teachers whose presence in adequate numbers is necessary until there should arise a sufficient number of well-trained women strong enough for the task of education.

The Secret of Government

Prof. J. Y. Simpson, writing in the July number of the *Nineteenth century and After* on "impressions on a recent visit to Russia," observes.

"But it is wrong to blame these people. How can patriotism appear if the crowd is simply considered as an element to supply money to Government and has been given no interest or right in the Government itself? You can have no sense of responsibility if you have been given no share in the work as they (Russians) were never given any. They were pulled by the old regime to one side and now the people are swinging to the other extreme. . . In Britain you have never allowed things to reach the stage of revolution. When you notice danger coming, you invent something, e. g., Home Rule. You see things moving in a certain direction and not wishing revolution, you step in front of the movement and effect a settlement. The great secret of all Governments is to be clever. . ."

Economic Conditions in Bengal

Mr. F. D. Ascoli, writing in the *Bengal Economic Journal* (Vol I No. 3) describes the economic conditions of the agricultural population in Dacca District where 67 per cent. of the total number of people are supported by agriculture. Of these, a few are landlords' agents and dependents, a few grow vegetables, flowers and betel vines, and some are dependent on the collection of rents, while the great majority depend on ordinary cultivation. It is surprising to note that one person receives rent for every 22 who pay, but this fact, a rarity in Bengal, is accounted for by the large number of petty estates and tenures, and the complexity of sub-infeudation in the district. Of the agricultural workers, only 12 per cent. had subsidiary occupations in addition to their agricultural work, but as a matter of practice, a very large number of cultivators migrate to other districts at the time of the harvesting of the crop.

The population dependent on land may be divided into three main classes, those dependent on rents, those dependent on the produce of the soil, and those dependent on miscellaneous profits, the last class including the bulk of farm labourers, wood-cutters, herdsmen etc. This classification is not meticulously accurate as the landlord is necessarily dependent in part on the produce, some of those dependent on produce will also receive a small amount of rent in cash, while the third class obviously depend entirely on the general prosperity of the district. The district is deltaic, and only 6 per cent. of the land is cultivable, but not cultivated and 17 per cent. is uncultivable. Only one in 25 acres of land capable of bearing crops is left fallow every year and no less than 35 per cent. of the cultivated area is made to bear two or more crops a year. Both these imply an extraordinary pressure on the soil, and denote the very small rest given to land to recuperate itself.

The Dacca cultivator lives in a degree of comfort unknown in the western and the northern districts of Bengal; the sites of the houses are large and well-raised; the houses themselves are ordinarily large and of substantial construction; the majority of the houses have their tanks and gardens attached, and the cleanliness of the site itself is indicative of the true instinct of the people. Seven per cent. of the houses are built of brick, 32.2 per cent. partly or wholly of corrugated iron, and 67.1 per cent. of mat or mud walls and thatched roofs. Of the total number of homesteads, 41 per cent. are classed as good, 36 per cent. as fair, and 23 per cent. as bad.

The cultivating classes, are almost solely dependent on the produce of the soil, and income derived from allied sources. A small proportion of the agriculturists are engaged in fishery, others in boat-building. Weaving increases the income of others, while others again are employed as *chaukidars* or labourers. A rise or fall in jute prices would affect greatly agricultural prosperity. The total indebtedness is, however, very large and amounts to rather more than 12 times the actual rental of the land. The rates of interest ordinarily in vogue are 24 to 50 per cent. Agricultural stock has frequently to be borrowed, and the cultivator is compelled to pay 25 per cent. of his net income for the use of agricultural capital. Co-operation and legislation are vigorously combating the evils of this system of things.

The petty landlord class has reached the stage where the income from the land is sufficient to support only with difficulty, the drones of the family. The system has broken down and is incapable of any, but a merely temporary relief. On the other hand the position of the cultivator is one of prosperity. His payments to his landlord form but a small percentage of his gross earnings, and the only danger is the burden on debt, the result of his thriftlessness bringing of the domination of the money-lender.

Second Thoughts of a Moralist-Economist

In the *Social Service Quarterly* for July 1917, Mr. Lallubai Samaldas in reviewing the posthumous work of Dr. Smart, says that though the book does not directly deal with the economics of the present War, its conclusions are largely affected by the author's views of its probable economic results. His book is permeated with moral issues, and it is Dr. Smart's treatment of sociological questions from the moral standpoint that makes it very valuable to the social servant. Dr. Smart's mind was shaped by Carlyle and Ruskin, and his leading idea is the necessity of room and opportunity for the moral life in the economic life. He furiously attacks the popular conception that one can follow the economic life during business hours, and the moral life or the life that leads to the growth of the soul in other hours. Men should not look on the economic life as practically the whole life, and should not spend all their time as before in providing for our wants, with the result that the economic life has all but crowded out every other kind of life. He does not attach much importance or value to the remedy of taxing the richer men and using the increase in the national revenue towards providing comforts to the poor, who cannot otherwise afford to pay for the same from their small incomes and he brushes this remedy aside, as one of despair. He would have the poor man enjoy a rise in wages rather than any more provisions given him unwillingly by taxation. He suggests as a second remedy, increase in the national wealth, and tries to prove that such an increase will be distributed in a manner that will bring those who are on the poverty-line above it. In his chapter on 'distribution of work,' he says that every man has to make his living in such a way that he keeps back no human being from the same divine right to a free life as himself, and he has to earn it in making things that hurt no human beings physically, intellectually or morally.

Drudgery and Education

In an article under the above title Mr. Edwin Homes offers an enthusiastic defence of the Montessori method of education in the pages of the *Hibbert Journal*. He attacks what he calls the old coercion system of instruction on the ground of its distrust of human nature and points out that the best possible preparation for life is the power to transform drudgery into a pleasant work:

"Now nothing is so vitalising, so inspiring one might almost say, as to be trusted. The education which is based on distrust of human nature if carried out in practice to its logical conclusion, does undoubtedly enfold the child's life in an atmosphere of gloom. But to suppose that in doing so it fits the child to face the gloom of adult life, is to make a fatal miscalculation. The child who has been allowed to develop freely and naturally, and to lead a life of rational and happy activity, and whose consequent sense of well-being has been subconsciously realised by him as joy, will no doubt, when he grows up, have his full share of trials, troubles, disappointments and sorrows. But he will neither anticipate these nor fear to face them. Why should he disquiet himself about them? He will wear an armour which is proof, in the last resort, against their slings and arrows. For there will be a song in his heart as he goes through life which will never die down into silence."

Democratic Methods

In the course of his instructive notes in *East and West* for August, the Editor points out the necessity for democratic methods in modern Indian polity. He says:—

India, speaking correctly, is governed by the British democracy, and yet democratic methods are at a discount in India itself. The policy of the Government of India is never boldly stated. The speeches in the Legislative Council leave an aroma of burnt offerings before idols which the worshippers have forsaken. No Government has ever succeeded in retaining power on the strength of its past record of services. "Elections invariably turn on the premises for the future held out by either side." The Government of India cannot expect to guide and control opinion without declaring its policy and working towards the fulfilment of the promises made,

The End of Indo-Chinese Opium Traffic

In a recent issue of the *East and the West*, the Rev. G. P. Malleson lays up stress on the moral aspects of the complete stoppage of the export of opium from India to China, and gives a short history of the trade and its abolition.

Even in these war days this forms a landmark which should not pass unnoticed. The opium trade, not less than its abolition, was significant of more things than one. It came down to us from the eighteenth century and the East India Company; from the time when the rule over vast millions of Hindus was run as a commercial speculation. It was a great thing when the Governor-General clearly recognised the moral duty of the Company towards the peoples of India. It would have been too much to expect him in those days to consider its foreign customers as well. "Opium," said Warren Hastings, "is a pernicious article of luxury, which ought not to be permitted but for the purposes of foreign commerce only." Even in regard to this foreign commerce there was a decent respect for appearances. When it became known that the importation of opium was strongly prohibited by the Chinese Government, the Company found it beneath its dignity to engage "in such a clandestine trade." Instead, they sold it to merchants who would do the smuggling for them. On that ingenious moral basis the trade continued and developed, until in consequence of the Treaty of Tientsin, which followed the so called opium war of 1858, the Chinese Government was forced to legalise opium—and at the same time Christianity. A little later a solemn appeal from the Chinese to the British Government on the moral aspect of the matter was left entirely unanswered. Silence was doubtless convenient, but to a nation that rates politeness as highly as China does, it can hardly have given a favourable impression of Christian courtesy.

Great Britain has repented. The opium trade has gone. What has been called our greatest contribution to the misery of the world has come to an end.

The writer distinguishes in opium trade three distinct elements of evil. The first and the most obvious is the putting of gain before righteousness. The second was that China was too weak to resist and this enabled us to fasten the opium trade upon her. Thirdly China was not only weak, but she was an Asiatic State and the English diplomatic treatment of China was marked by the white man's contempt for the Asiatic, and his ill-bred and unjustifiable assumption of superiority.

There is danger yet lurking in the air, for, for some years past, British morphia is being smuggled into China, and it lends much more easily than opium to illicit traffic and causes a vast amount of moral and physical devastation.

Ship-Building in India

At one time India was the home of a famous ship-building industry largely of an indigenous origin. At the Bombay Government Dockyard, writes the *Mysore Economic Journal*, many generations of the famous Parsee family of Wadia turned out the wooden walls of India—the splendid old East India-men which as sea going boats had no equals in the period in which they were built. Some of the most celebrated of the East India Company's fleet a century ago were vessels which had been built in Bombay. In Lieut. Keble Chatterton's instructive work, *The Old East India-men*, there is a picture of the East India-man *Earl Balcarrs* which was built in Bombay in 1815 and was sold out of the Company's service in 1834. Her tonnage was 1,117, she carried 130 men and was armed with twenty-six 18 pounder guns. There were few vessels of greater size afloat when she was built and even in our time sailing ships of over eleven hundred tons burthen are considered large boats. What killed the old Bombay ship-building industry was the introduction of steam-driven iron vessels. There was neither the raw material nor the skilled labour available for the construction of the new class of craft and the Bombay Dockyard lapsed into a condition of neglect which the Government have had good cause to regret since the great War burst upon the world and demonstrated the supreme importance of well placed constructive establishments under official control.

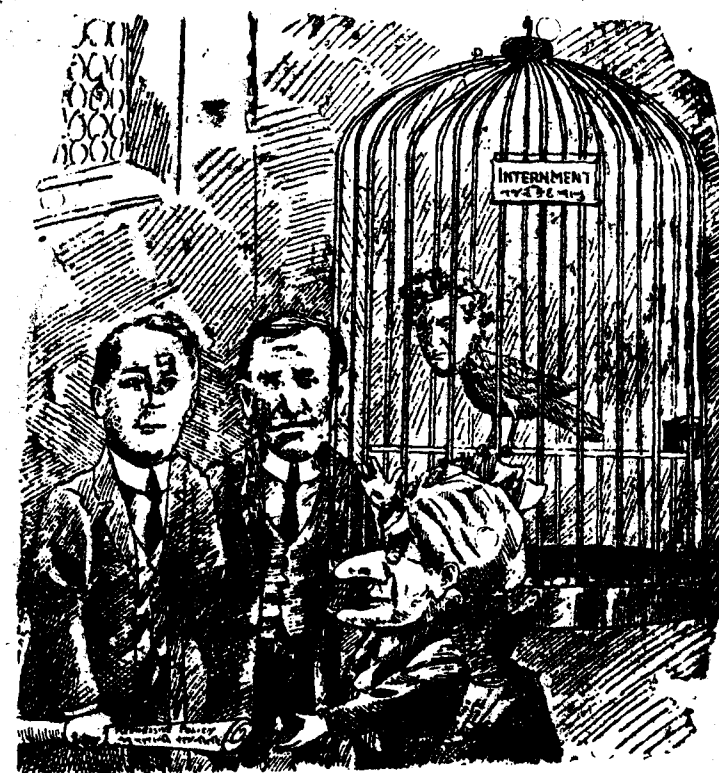
INDIA IN INDIAN & FOREIGN PERIODICALS.

SLAVE TRAFFIC IN BOMBAY. By M. G. Antia, M. A., Bar-at-Law. ["The Social Service Quarterly," June 1917.]

THE GREAT PROBLEM OF INDIA—WILL HOME RULE SOLVE IT. By Mr. Pramatha Nath Bose. ["The Hindustan Review," July 1917.]

CO-OPERATIVE HOUSE BUILDING IN SOUTH INDIA. ["The Local Self-Government Gazette," July 1917.]

A PRAYER TO THE PRINCES OF INDIA. By Baji Rao. ["East & West," August 1917.]



THE BIRD IN THE CAGE

MR. PUNCH—The aged bird, accustomed to life-long freedom, is getting uncomfortable in the cage. If you set it free, it will be a sheer act of humanity and justice and will redound to your credit, my good sirs!

[Mr. C. Jinarajadasa and Mr. P. K. Telang, the editor of "New India," who saw Mrs. Bennett at Ooty, say that her health is rapidly declining and she is suffering from a serious nervous break-down. The former gentleman says he has never before seen her in such a bad condition of mental suffering and bodily weakness.]

THE WORLD OF BOOKS

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[ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION.]



THE LATE MR. ABDUL RASUL

Christian Living and Healing:—By Annie Rix Miltz: L. N. Fowler & Co. London.

An ideal course of lessons in the Fundamentals of New Thought in relation to Christianity. The Law of healing attributed to Jesus Christ is explained in a simple and attractive manner, and the high level of the instruction maintained ought to prove of great help to those who are inclined to study the book with sufficient faith in the teaching given.

100 Gems of Hindu Religious Thought. By Parary Kunti Chanda. (M. T. A. Sharada Press, Mangalore.)

This is a valuable book containing valuable gems of thought and sentiment contained in the books of wisdom and love by ancient and modern Hindu sages and saints.

The Age of Sankara. By T. S. Narayana Sastri, B. A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Madras.

This is a valuable work evidencing considerable study and thought and displaying a spirit of original research. To review the whole work properly we will have to await till the complete work is available as the work is being issued in parts. Part I deals with the main incidents of Sankara's life. The book contains a useful appendix dealing with the kings of the Magadha dynasty and a complete and critical study of Hindu Itihisas, Puranas, and other authorities. This will help a great deal in the reconstruction of the history of ancient India on proper lines. The part now under consideration contains eight well-executed half-tone pictures illustrating the main incidents of Sankara's life.

Speeches and Writings:—By Mr. T. K. Krishna Menon, Vidya Vinodini Press, Ernakulam.

This is a collection of the more important speeches and writings of Mr. Krishna Menon on subjects of varied interest. They have originally appeared as lectures or magazine articles from time to time in the course of a score of years: and it is only in the fitness of things that Mr. Menon should have brought in book form those that are of more than ephemeral interest. The collection includes a number of literary and historical studies besides a few biographical sketches which are all equally informing and interesting.

A Text Book of Moral Teaching for the use of Schools:—By the Rev. A. W. De Mel, M.A. Colombo.

This booklet contains valuable moral lessons and directions. The author says that it is meant for the use of non-Christian pupils in English schools though it is compiled from Christian sources. Moral teaching is best imparted by religious instruction and practical devotional life and by narration of the lives of the heroes and saints of each race, this booklet gives us the broad dictates of morality in general can be used for School children of all denomination.

Lord Krishna's Message:—By Lala Kannoomal, M.A. The Jain Pustak Pracharak Mandal, Agra.

This is a brief exposition of the teachings of the Gita on the principal topics of philosophy, the world, the soul, and the Supreme Soul. The author characterises Lord Krishna as "a versatile genius, statesman, warrior, teacher, prophet, all rolled into one." The small pamphlet is worth reading as containing a true exposition of the truths of the Great Gita.

BOOKS RECEIVED

DICTIONARY OF PROVERBS AND MAXIMS. By Brij Mohan Lal, B.A., Balarampur.

AN ESTIMATE OF THE EDUCATIONAL WORK OF DR. ISAAC CONRAD KETLER. By W. M. Ramsay, Hodder and Stoughton, London.

OUTPOSTS OF MERCY. By E. V. Lucas. Published for the British Red Cross Society. Methuen & Co., Ltd., London.

WHERE JASMINE BLOOM: A ROMANCE OF KASHMIR. By Mary Julian. Hodder & Stoughton, London.

BOOKS RELATING TO INDIA

HISTORICAL SKETCHES OF ANCIENT DEKHAN. By K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, B.A., M.R.A.S. The Modern Printing Works, Madras.

LEAVES FOR THE DIARY OF A HINDU DEVOTEE. By Zero, Panini Office, Allahabad.

BAIKUNTH AND HIS LETTERS. By P. K. Pujari, Sambalpur.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE MUSSALMANS OF INDIA. By Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali, Oxford University Press, Bombay.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

July 21. Resignation of Prince Lvoff.
M. Kerensky is forming a new ministry.
Lloyd George's great speech at Queen's Hall.

July 22. Belgian Independence Day.
Kerensky's stirring appeal to Army and Navy.

July 23. Sir James Meston's advice to the Agra Zamindars.
German air-raider destroyed.

July 24. House of Commons passed a war credit of £650 million.
Negotiations between the *Entente* powers and U. S. A. on Trans-Atlantic rates.

July 25. The historic Convention on Irish Home Rule met to-day at Trinity College, Dublin.
H. H. the Jam Sahib of Nawanagar is mentioned in Sir Douglas Haig's Despatches.

July 26. The G. I. P. Railway strike in Bombay.
Sir Horace Plunkett becomes Chairman of the Irish Convention.

July 27. A resolution on Provincial settlements is issued by the Government of India.
Prohibition of the Calcutta Town Hall meeting on the internments.
A German submarine wrecked west of Calais.

July 28. Joint Conference of the Congress Committee and the Reform Council of the Moslem League at Bombay.

July 29. Joint Conference sends a statement to the Secretary of State, the Viceroy and others on the present situation.

July 30. An exclusion order has been issued on Mr. V. R. Karandikar of the *New India*.
German intrigue in Roumania.

July 31. The Hon. Mr. A. Rasul, Bar-at-Law, died suddenly at Calcutta this morning of heart failure.
Behar Provincial Conference met to-day.

August 1. Memorial meeting in London *re* the death of Dadabhai Naoroji.
A representative Provincial recruiting board has been created in Bombay.

August 2. The *Times of India* urges a declaration of policy and condemns secret methods of constitution making.

August 3. Sir William Robertson on the War.
Conscription in Canada.

August 4. The Premier's speech on the Anniversary Day.
Queen Mary's message to the women of India.

August 5. Sir Douglas Haig has issued a stirring army order.
Australia's determination and Mr. Hughes' tribute to Belgium and the allied troops.

August 6. China's declaration of war against Germany and Austria-Hungary.

August 7. Kerensky has formed a new Cabinet taking the portfolio of War and Marine in addition to Premiership.

August 8. Siam has declared war on Germany.
Fate of German sea pirates.

August 9. Allies Conference at Downing Street.
Mr. Venizelos' threat of a Dictatorship.
German machinations in Russia.

August 10. Labour Conference and Mr. Henderson's triumph.
The United Provinces Special Provincial Conference met to-day at Lucknow with Hon. Pandit Moti Lal Nehru in the chair.

August 11. The Stockholm controversy and Mr. Henderson's resignation.
King George's message to M. Kerensky.

August 12. Lord Islington's speech at Oxford on Indian reforms.
Discussion of passive resistance in the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.

August 13. The Pope sends a note to the belligerents.

August 14. Bengal Congress Committee cables to the Secretary of State *re* the Islington scheme of reforms and urges adoption of the Congress Scheme.

August 15. H. H. The Aga Khan has published in London Mr. Gokhale's Memorandum of Reforms entrusted to him a few days before his death.
Entertainment to the Hon. B. N. Basu at Calcutta.

August 16. Celebrations of the Besant internment day. *New India* security forfeited.

August 17. Reichstag and the Pope's proposals for peace.
Fighting near Lens and Ypres.

August 18. Public dinner to the Hon. B. N. Basu at the Calcutta Town Hall.
Enemy held at bay in Moldavia.

August 19. New battle of Verdun.
British Labour and the Stockholm Conference.

August 20. A *Gazette of India Extraordinary* announces that the Secretary of State will be coming to India for making preliminary arrangements regarding Post-War Reforms.
Another issue of the *Gazette* announces that Commissions in the Indian Army will be granted to Indians.

August 21. Meeting of the Directors of Education at Simla and H. E. the Viceroy's opening speech.

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

Memorandum of the Joint Conference

AN APPEAL TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

The following resolutions were passed at the Joint Conference of the Congress Committee and the Council of the Moslem League which met at Bombay on July 28th:—

THE LATE DR. NAOROJI.

(a) The All-India Congress Committee and the Council of the Moslem League record their sense of profound sorrow and irreparable loss the country has sustained by the death of India's Grand Old Man, Dadabhai Naoroji. His great services to the Motherland will always enshrine his memory in grateful recollections of his countrymen, while his saintly character, private work and public virtues will, for all time to come, be an example and inspiration to the people of India.

PASSIVE RESISTANCE.

(b) That the Provincial Congress Committee and the Council of the All-India Moslem League be requested to consider the advisability of adopting a policy of passive resistance, both as regards its principle and working in carrying on political work and to send their opinion to the General Secretaries of the Indian National Congress within six weeks. Such opinion, when received, will be circulated amongst the members of the All-India Congress Committee and the Council of the All-India Moslem League and a joint meeting of the two bodies be held to consider the matter at Allahabad in the first week of October next.

BENGAL ORDER.

(c) That this Joint Session of the Congress and the League records its strong protest against the high-handed action of the Government of Bengal in prohibiting the public meeting which was to be held in Calcutta under the presidency of Sir Rash Behari Ghose to protest against the internment of Mrs. Besant, Messrs. Arundale and Wadia and trust that the people of Bengal will use every lawful means to vindicate their constitutional rights of freedom of speech and the meeting resolves further that the Congress Committee and the Council of the League request the Government of India and the Secretary of State to direct the Government of Bengal to forthwith withdraw the Order in question prohibiting the holding of the meeting above referred to.

LORD HARDINGE.

(d) That this Joint Session of the All-India Congress Committee and the Council of the All-India Moslem League desires to place on record the undiminished confidence of their countrymen in Lord Hardinge whose sympathetic and liberal policy won love and esteem of India and enabled the Government of India to send Indian troops for France at a critical juncture. It was Lord Hardinge's courage and sagacity that made this and other contributions by India to war possible. Indian public opinion deeply resents the attempt made to discredit him by attributing to him the responsibilities for failures in Mesopotamia. India claims a determining voice in any judgment to be passed on the administration of any of her Viceroy's. Resolved further that the above resolution be cabled to the Prime Minister and Secretary of State.

SPECIAL CONFERENCES.

(e) That this meeting recommends to the Provincial Congress Committees the desirability of holding a special session of the Provincial Conference in the same day to give united and public expression to the feeling of the country on the present political situation.

(f) That this meeting recommends that arrangements be made for holding supplementary Congress meetings in every District on the same day on which the Indian National Congress will meet at Calcutta, at which the translation of the Address of the President in vernacular or vernaculars of the Provinces should be read and the resolution of the last Congress on the scheme for self-government be adopted.

PETITION TO PARLIAMENT.

(g) That a petition to Parliament be submitted in support of the Scheme of Reforms adopted by the Indian National Congress and the Moslem League to be prepared by the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Sir N. G. Chandavarkar and Mr. N. M. Samarth.

THE INTERNMENTS.

(h) That this meeting urges upon the Government that no further time be lost in restoring to liberty Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali, who have been long kept under confinement under the Defence of India Act arbitrarily without any charges being formulated or proved against them.

(i) That a telegram in the name of the meeting be sent to Mrs. Besant and Messrs. Wadia and Arundale.

MEMORANDUM TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

Resolved that the President be authorised to submit the following representation to the Secretary of State, and to H. E. the Viceroy:—

1. The policy foreshadowed in the speeches made in May last by His Honour Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, and H. E. Lord Pentland, Governor of Madras, followed by orders of Madras Government internment Mrs. Besant and her co-workers, Messrs. Arundale and Wadia under the Defence of India Act and 'ipso facto' approval which the Right Hon'ble Austen Chamberlain, as Secretary of State for India thought fit to give to the Madras Government's action have created situation so fraught with anxiety to all who are interested in orderly progress and advancement of the country, that this Joint Session of the All-India Congress Committee and the Council of the All-India Moslem League specially convened to consider the grave situation and held at Bombay on the 28th and 29th of July 1917, deems it a duty both to the Government and the people to submit the following representation to the Secretary of State for his careful consideration:—

CONGRESS AND SELF-GOVERNMENT.

2. Long before the war the Indian National Congress in written constitution which it framed for itself in 1908 placed before the country as its object the attainment of self-government within the Empire on Colonial lines by steady reform of the existing system of administration by constitutional means. Prior to that the same ideal has been clearly enunciated on the platform of the Congress in the Presidential Address of the late Mr. Gokhale in 1905, and more explicitly still, in that of

Indian Political Reforms

A *Gazette of India Extraordinary* published on August 20th issued the following notification: The following announcement is being made this day by the Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons and is published for general information:

"The policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of increasing the association of Indians in every branch of administration and the gradual development of Self-Governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. They have decided that substantial steps in this direction should be taken as soon as possible, and that it is of the highest importance, as a preliminary to considering what these steps should be, that there should be a free and informal exchange of opinion between those in authority at Home and in

India. His Majesty's Government have accordingly decided with His Majesty's approval that I should accept the Viceroy's invitation to proceed to India to discuss these matters with the Viceroy and the Government of India, to consider with the Viceroy the view of local Governments and to receive with him the suggestions of representative bodies and others. I would add that progress in this policy can only be achieved by successive stages. The British Government and the Government of India, on whom the responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of Indian peoples, must be judges of the time and measure of each advance, and they must be guided by the co-operation received from those upon whom new opportunities of service will thus be conferred, and by the extent to which it is found that confidence could be reposed in their sense of responsibility. Ample opportunity will be afforded for public discussion of the proposals which will be submitted in due course to Parliament."

UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

H. E. The Viceroy on Secondary Education.

The following is His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the recent Conference of Directors of Public Instruction in Simla:

You have been asked to meet here, in Simla, to consider certain important questions relating to our educational system and I have come to open your Conference not with any idea of attempting to influence your deliberations, but with the sole purpose of bidding you welcome and of emphasising the importance I attach to the questions which you are about to discuss and first let me repeat at the risk of seeming platitudinous, the principle which I would urge should govern all educational conferences which examine the question which is being laid before you solely from the educational standpoint. I quite appreciate that it may be looked at from other points of view but we are not asking you to do this. What we are asking you to consider is whether, accepting the present policy with regard to English, any improvement can be made in the general arrangements now in force in your schools with reference to the teaching of English and the use of English as a medium of instruction, keep-

ing two desiderata in view; first, that students may be enabled to obtain a better grasp of the subjects which they are taught and, secondly, that they may complete their secondary course with a more adequate knowledge of the English language than at present. Some of you may be aware in this connection that the larger question of making the Indian vernaculars the media of instruction and the study of English as a second language compulsory for Indian pupils in all secondary schools, was brought up in the form of a resolution in the Imperial Council in March 1915 and that the then Educational Member, Sir Harcourt Butler, deprecated any reference to the Local Governments on the subject until after the end of the war. It is not our intention to go back on this decision, but I have thought it well that we should have this small conference in the meantime with a view to clear the ground and to arrive at a better idea of the points which should later on be referred to Local Governments for consideration. You will observe, then, that the scope of your enquiry is strictly limited, but none the less there is important spadework for you to do and I look forward to valuable conclusions being reached by you. While, however, you will

be forming your conclusion on the working of the present arrangements prevailing in the schools, it may not be amiss if I remind you briefly of the past history of this question in its broader aspects.

As you are all aware we go back for our beginnings to Macaulay's famous Minute of 2nd February 1835. In that Minute Macaulay gave, as has been said, a decisive bias to the course of education in India and decided unhesitatingly in favour of English, but Macaulay was not oblivious of the claims of the vernaculars and looked forward to the formation of a class which should refine the vernacular dialects of the country, enrich these dialects with terms of science borrowed from the western nomenclature, and render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population. From 1835 we pass on chronologically to 1854, when a Despatch was written by the Court of Directors of the East India Company to the Governor-General of India in Council on the subject of the education of the people of India and from this despatch let me quote certain striking passages. "It is neither our aim nor our desire," the directors say, "to substitute the English language for the vernacular dialects of the country. We have always been most sensible of the importance of the use of the languages which alone are understood by the great mass of the population. In any general system of education the English language should be taught, when there is a demand for it, but such instruction should always be combined with a careful attention to the study of the vernacular language of the district, and with such general instruction as can be conveyed through that language, and while the English language continues to be made use of as by far the most perfect medium for the education of those persons who have acquired sufficient knowledge of it to receive general instruction through it, the vernacular language must be employed to teach the far larger classes who are ignorant of or imperfectly acquainted with English. We look, therefore, to the English language and to the vernacular languages of India together as the media for the diffusion of European knowledge." The Education Commission of 1882 did not put forward any definite recommendations on the subject but came to the conclusion that a boy was more intelligent if he had studied through the medium of the vernacular till the highest classes were reached. The Indian Universities Commission of 1902 was strongly in favour of the inclusion of vernaculars as a subject in the higher courses even up to the

M.A. The Government resolution of 1904 laid down that English should not become the medium of instruction earlier than the age of 13, and that no scholar in a secondary school should even then be allowed to abandon the study of the vernacular.

Now these extracts raise some important points. Macaulay decided in favour of the highest education being in English but clearly contemplated an improvement of the vernaculars so as to make them the vehicle of western thought. The despatch of 1854 went further. It distinctly contemplated the encouragement and enriching of the vernaculars, translation from English, the limitation of English education to very few and the propagation of western knowledge through translations. Sixty-three years have elapsed since the date of Sir Charles Wood's Despatch and English education has taken a firm hold upon the country. It is surely out of the question now to talk of going back on the established lines of our educational system. The interest of the educated classes is centred in English. English is on the high road to become, if it has not already become, among the educated classes the *lingua franca* all over India. English is required in all the public administration of the country. While I have much sympathy with those who deplore the neglect of the vernaculars, is it not obvious that the substitution at this time of day of the vernaculars for English is beyond the bounds of practical politics even if the Government were willing to consider such a policy? I would further ask them to remember the great divergence of opinion among the Indian members on this subject which was manifested in the debate in 1915 on the resolution to which I have already alluded. I think that the discussion which then took place affords strong confirmation of what I have just said. Again the very multitude of the vernaculars presents a practical difficulty for which I have never seen a satisfactory solution propounded. Moreover with each generation English will come more and more to be learnt not in the schools but in the every-day intercourse of the home. This larger question is not now before you, but in view of what has been urged elsewhere. I have briefly enumerated some of the patent objections to a reversal of the present policy. Accepting, then, this position what is there that we can do? I believe that a very real advance can be made in the encouragement of the vernaculars both outside and independently of their place in our educational system and within our educational

system. We should carefully consider the present teaching of English. It may be, for instance, that we are concentrating our attention too largely on the teaching of English literature and too little on the acquisition of English as a living language. Whatever the cause I think it is common ground that the teaching of English in our schools is not as satisfactory as we could wish. It will be for you, gentlemen, to help us with your advice in this matter.

Lastly I come to the subject of the media of instruction. As you all know the vernacular and English are both the media of instruction in our schools and it is sometimes overlooked to what a large extent the vernaculars figure at the present time as a medium of instruction, but it is certainly worth our while to examine from the educational standpoint what the relative position of these media should be to each other, having in view the one object viz., that the pupil should derive the greatest possible advantage from his schooling. This is a matter on which only those who have practical knowledge of the work in the schools are competent to advise, and I can only regret that I have not that first hand knowledge which would entitle me to give an opinion. You, however, have that knowledge and I feel confident that you will be able to give us some sound and practical advice. Do not, I pray you, despise this piece of spade-work which we are asking you to do. From my experience of educational work I would impress on you the importance of these seemingly small points of practical working. The best laid schemes often go stray through the neglect of mishandling of some small detail of which only those at work in the schools realise the importance. I recognise the value of large and generous ideals in the sphere of education but never forget the need from time to time of examining and making sure our foundations, and what is more important, what more practical task in this connection could be laid upon you than the duty of devising means whereby students may be enabled to obtain a better grasp of the subjects which they are taught and to complete their secondary course with a more competent knowledge of the English language than at present.

Lord Willingdon on Dadabhai Naoroji.

At a recent meeting of the Bombay Legislative Council, H. E. the Governor paid the following tribute to the memory of the Grand Old Man :—

Gentlemen,—I am glad to add my word to the touching references which we have listened to in the speeches of honourable members. My tribute of respect and regard is to the memory of a great citizen and a great statesman. I had the privilege of personal acquaintance and friendship of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and I well remember when first I visited him at his home at "Versov," the great impression made on my mind by the keenness of his brain, his knowledge of public affairs and his deep interest in the progress of his country notwithstanding his great age. And none who were present will ever forget that great gathering of citizens of Bombay, who met to do him honour only a few months ago in the University on the dignity of his refined and fragile figure when he rose to receive at my hands the highest honour which it is in the power of the University to bestow. He was a citizen of the Empire in its truest sense, for not only did he devote his life to the service of his native land, but he had the hitherto rare experience for an Indian of using his vote and influence in the Imperial Parliament in England, sent there not by the votes of his own fellow-countrymen, but by the citizens of that part of the Empire to which we Englishmen belong. The hand of death has been heavy indeed during the last few years on the tried and trusted leaders in our public life, Messrs. Gokhale, Pherozeshah Mehta, and now Dadabhai Naoroji have all been taken from us. We can ill-spare them in these anxious and strenuous times, but they have left us the fine example of their public service and I trust that we shall always find in this country, in future years, great leaders as much respected and trusted by the people with an equal sense of fairness, of courage and fearlessness in all their public and political thoughts and actions, who will carry on the work of the great men and will lead this country on by sure and certain progress to the goal of self-government within the Empire which it should be the ideal of every loyal patriot to attain.

DADABHAI NAOROJI'S SPEECHES AND WRITINGS.

A new and up-to-date edition. It brings under one cover an exhaustive and comprehensive collection of the speeches and writings of Dadabhai Naoroji. The first Part is a collection of speeches he delivered before the Indian National Congress; all the speeches he delivered in the House of Commons, and a selection of what he delivered from time to time in England and India. The second Part includes his statements to the Welby Commission, and many other vital questions of Indian administration. With Appendixes, 860 pages. Price, Rs. 3. To Subscribers of "I.R.," Rs. 2-8.

G. A. NATESAN & CO., 1, ARKAT STREET, GEORGE TOWN, MADRAS.

FEUDATORY INDIA

A New Laboratory in Gwalior

We learn that Professor Gajjar, M.A., F.C.S., of Bombay has opened a chemical and technical laboratory at Gwalior in which 'he is to give instruction in chemical and technical analysis to post-graduate students or capitalists with sufficient scientific training to enable them to take benefit of the instructions imparted by the regular course. Not more than six students can be accommodated at present. Deserving students will be given facilities and encouragement which may lead them on to technical and industrial research in the special industries they select. The laboratory is prepared to analyse all commercial and food materials and consultations are offered regarding improvements in existing industries or utilisation of by-products, etc. The laboratory is intended to develop the mineral and other resources of the State, develop existing industries and help the State Municipalities, Customs and Abkari, Agricultural and Forest departments. It is equipped for analytical works of all kinds, possesses a library of standard scientific works and is established in the old technical workshop near the railway and State Pottery Works.

Temperance in Bhopal

"All advocates of temperance must have welcomed with the greatest pleasure," writes the *Express*, "the announcement that H. H. the Begum of Bhopal has proclaimed in her territory that any Mahomedan found in a state of intoxication, or carrying liquor in his hand or sitting in a liquor shop should be arrested and prosecuted and sentenced to rigorous imprisonment, if found guilty. It is a pity that her Highness has excluded her Hindu subjects from the operation of the measure. Drinking is as much prohibited by the sacred religion of the Hindus as that of the Mahomedans, and our ruling Princes should set examples for reform in this direction in their States."

Cochin Factory

We understand that Messrs. Tatta & Sons will shortly open a branch of their firm at Ernakulam to run a factory for the manufacture of margarine from cocoanut oil on a large scale. The estimates for the factory amount to Rs. 23 lakhs. The Cochin Darbar has promised to give the site free of cost and also to give every other possible assistance. It is also suggested that there should be in the vicinity another factory for the preparation of all the other products of the cocoa palm.

Travancore Scholarships

The Government of Travancore have sanctioned a scheme of foreign scholarships. Four scholarships will be awarded to candidates willing to undergo training in English universities and Industrial Institutions for a period of three years. The courses of training will be: Weaving and Dyeing at the Leeds University, soap making at the Liverpool University, leather and tanning at the Leather-sellers' Company, London, and chemical industry at the Imperial College of Science and Technology, London.

Baroda Industrial Club

Mr. Khare, the General Secretary of the Indian Guild of Science and Technology at Baroda, in the course of a speech at a recent entertainment in his honour, described in detail how the Indian Guild was keeping up a register of foreign-trained men and gathering useful industrial information; and the meeting debated upon various ways of bringing together skilled Indian labour and Indian capital. It also discussed the methods to be adopted so as to minimise the difficulties of small manufacturers. The president described the various industrial schemes that were being investigated by the State and the difficulties they had to meet with.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

Colonies and India

The war has brought about many changes, not the least significant of which is the change in the angle of vision of the statesmen of the self-governing Colonies in relation to India and her people. They had hitherto seen the Indian coolies and their friends. They had not come in contact with the real manhood of our people. They had not seen the Indian soldier, or the Indian politician. And now that they have come face to face with them and have witnessed their performances, a veritable transformation has taken place in their outlook in regard to Indian affairs.

Indian Demands in Canada

We read in a recent issue of the journal *Canada and India* that the Canada-Indian League has presented a petition to Dr. Roche, the Dominion Minister of the Interior, in which the following demands have been formulated:

(1) We ask that reasonable regulations which facilitate the natural restoration of family life to the East Indians now domiciled in Canada be provided and placed in operation immediately. (2) That the officials whose duty it is to permit the entrance of certain classes of East Indians be instructed to extend to such persons the benefits which the law now affords. (3) That the Dominion Government plead with the Provincial Government of British Columbia to the effect that these men be placed on an equality with all other Canadian citizens, and be allowed the full privilege of the franchise. (4) Whereas the East Indian must now comply with the Orders in Council, known respectively as the Continuous Journey and Asiatic Money Orders, in common with all Asiatics not favoured with special statutory regulations, we ask that, being a British subject, the East Indian should be permitted to enjoy at least the more favourable terms now extended to the Japanese.

Passport for Indians

Regulations have been issued by the Government of the Straits Settlements governing the entry into and departure of Indians from the Colony:—No Indian other than a *bona fide* labourer leaving India after the date of the regulations shall enter or attempt to enter the Colony unless he is in possession of a passport. No Indian shall leave or attempt to leave the Colony for a destination other than the Federated Malay States, Johore, North Borneo or Sarawak without a passport issued by the competent authority in the Colony or the Federated Malay States provided that this regulation shall not apply (a) to any *bona fide* labourer returning to India; or (b) to natives of Southern India who are *bona fide* labourers proceeding to Kelantan, Kedah or Perlis. Any person guilty of an offence against these regulations shall be liable on conviction before a Police Court to imprisonment or fine.

Indians in Ceylon

The members of the Indian communities (other than estate) resident in Ceylon have addressed a memorial to H. E. the Governor of Ceylon expressing their grievance in regard to the regulations compelling them to obtain passports before they are allowed to go from India to Ceylon. *The Times of Ceylon*, commenting on this, says:—The arguments in favour of a reconsideration of this matter are strong. For instance, it is pointed out that so completely is Ceylon now linked to India in all senses except administrative that there should be no more need for persons to possess passports when proceeding from Ceylon to India than when proceeding from one presidency to another in India. If the aim of the regulations is to prevent undesirable people from entering India, obviously, the easiest way would be to exercise the strictest supervision over the persons entering Ceylon.

INDUSTRIAL & COMMERCIAL SECTION

Forests in India

In a paper read before the Indian section of the Society of Arts on the economic development of Indian forest products on April 20, Mr. R. S. Pearson, Imperial Forest Economist, expressed the opinion that there was a large field for the development of bamboos and elephant-grass as raw material for paper-making in India.

Sir Robert Carlyle, who presided, said that he regarded the question of the development of the forests of India as a most important one. India needed an increase in revenue in order to meet the great need for larger expenditure in many directions, especially on education, agriculture and industry. Although the forests of India were equal in extent to those of Spain, Portugal and Belgium combined, they represented only three pence an acre in gross revenue. The development of the forests was impossible without expenditure. A good staff, the most advantageous use of money, good roads and the best machinery were all necessary.

Japanese Clock Industry

In the course of an article in the July number of the *Wealth of India*, on the "clock and watch industry of Japan," Mr. Ananda Prakash Ghose, M.S.C.I., (Lond.) points out that the manufacture of time machines is one of the oldest industries of that country. After giving an account of the various factories for making clocks and watches and an estimate of the total manufacture and export of time machines in Japan, the writer points out:—

"In India mostly clocks and some time and hanging pieces are imported from Japan. Watches have practically no market here. It is just about a decade that Japan began to send her time machines to India. Now-a-days Japanese clocks have been spread everywhere in Indian markets. I do not state here the merits or demerits of the Japanese clocks, but anyhow they

have gained footing and recognition in Indian markets; cheapness and plentiful supply may be the chief factors connecting the situation.

During the period just before the war, India imported Japanese time machines to the worth of about 2 lakhs of rupees. The present world-wide war has given impetus to all export trades of Japan and taking advantage of that she is increasing her exports of time machines to all countries and specially India. Many new companies have started and works and exports have greatly increased and this industry is in a most flourishing condition now. This quiet and domestic industry in Japan is engaging thousands of hands both males and females and increasing the ingenuity and resources of the country.

Military Industries in India

General Sir O'Moore Creagh, the late Commander-in-Chief in India, writes:—

Our Eastern Empire produces its own rifle ammunition. There is a rifle and gun factory in India much improved since I was there, for little more than repairs were tackled then.

Much pressure was brought to bear upon me to recommend the abolition of these factories because, it was urged, the weapons could be got cheaper from England. I am glad to say that I refused. Quite apart from their military value, the Calcutta factories constitute the best technical schools in the country and almost the only ones which produce skilled labour to any great extent excepting the railway workshops. To dilute this labour is an awkward task, for caste prejudice offers difficulties, but it is not impossible.

If Sir Thomas Holland, who has lately been appointed Contract Superintendent, has a free hand he will make India and the British forces based on it almost self-contained in military requirements as regard material. But it is a big "IF."

Small Manufactures

It is interesting to learn that France has recently passed a law with a view to facilitate the organisation of credit for small traders and manufacturers. This new measure provides for the constitution of mutual guarantee societies amongst the classes. A home paper gives the following as some of the main features of these societies:—

"Shares must be nominative, and each of at least 50 francs in value, but capital may be taken up by subscribers who are not entitled to reap the benefits of the organisation. Special rules lay down the conditions on which these subscribers must work, and it is particularly stated that members shall not be released from their engagements until after those operations that are contracted before they surrender their holdings have been liquidated. Members can withdraw, however, at the end of any year, after giving three months' formal notice, but the money value of their shares can only be paid over after all operations that were outstanding at the date of the demand of withdrawal have been liquidated. Special precautions are taken to prevent any credit being rashly given, and as regards profits, 10 per cent. automatically goes to reserve. Four per cent. interest will then be paid to share-holders. Three-quarter of the surplus will go automatically to reserve, and what is left is to be divided among the various members according to the amount of business they have done. Payments to reserve cease to become obligatory when the reserve funds equal half the capital. The directors of the society are personally responsible in the event of any infringement of the articles. It is further laid down that subscribers to either of these classes of societies and directors must be of French nationality."

Of all countries India, observes the *Hindu*, suffers most from lack of credit facilities, and it must be a source of great relief to small traders if something could be done on lines similar to the French scheme.

Personal Equation in Industry

Thomas A. Edison, the great American scientist writes in the *Scientific American*:—

I think one of the best measures of people is the number of looms that a man can attend. In China, I believe, a man has all he can do to attend to a single loom. America stands ahead in the number of looms a man can handle and produce the same quality of goods. I believe we (Americans) stand 40 per cent. higher than any other country. Psychologists would do well to study the mental equations of different countries. When I went through Europe I took the personal equations of the men. In France they were quicker to pay attention to my automobile horn than in any other country. In Switzerland you could nearly run a man down before he heard the horn. It represents the peculiar mental state of the people. For instance, I had a factory in Berlin for making phonographs, one in Antwerp and one in London. The highest efficiency production with the same conditions was in Antwerp and the lowest in Great Britain.

An Indian War Industry

A Government press *communiqué* states:—An industry that has not hitherto met with the attention it deserves in this country is the manufacture of strawboards, of which large quantities, amounting in value to about 8½ lakhs of rupees in 1913-14, are imported into India. The chief exporting countries, prior to the war, were Holland, Germany and the United Kingdom. Recently imports from Japan are noticed to have been increasing with great rapidity. The purposes for which strawboards are used are mainly packing yarn in bundles, bookbinding, constructing cardboard boxes, and mounting pictures. There must, therefore, always be a large demand for this article, the local manufacture of which should repay the investment of capital in this country. The chief raw materials required are straw and lime, the

straw being converted into pulp by digesting with lime and water ("milk of lime").

From enquiries made by the Indigenous Industries Committee, it has been ascertained that the cost of machinery for the production of both paper and boards on a moderately large scale would be about three lakhs of rupees at the present time excluding freight, the cost being reduced by about 12 per cent. if the plant is required for the production of boards only. This is, however, not recommended, as the production of paper is said to be more profitable than of boards. The plant has been specially designed for the treatment of straw grass and like material by a very cheap process.

Further particulars of the plant as well as information regarding the available literature on the subject can be obtained on application to the Secretary, Indigenous Industries Committee, Secretariat, Bombay.

Industrial Unrest

Summarising the reports of eight district commissions on Industrial unrest in England, Mr. Barnes says that they show a strong feeling of patriotism among employers and employed who are determined to help the State in the present crisis. The majority of the workmen are sensible to the national difficulties. All the commissions emphasise that the leading cause of unrest is the increased cost of living, unequal distribution of food, and belief in profiteering. The operation of the Munitions of War Act is undoubtedly a serious cause, particularly the restriction on a workman selecting his sphere of labour, while changes in working conditions, especially the introduction of female labour, have been made without consultation with the work people.

Causes of unrest which are local and not universal include inadequate housing, liquor restrictions, and industrial fatigue. There is also a prevailing feeling that pledges are not observed as they were before the war, and there is woeful uncertainty with regard to the industrial future.

The commissioners recommend *inter-alia*: (1) An immediate reduction in food prices, the Government, to some extent, bearing the increased price of food, and a better system of distribution; (2) the participation of labour in the affairs of the community as partners rather than servants; (3) closer contact between employers and employed; (4) the granting of larger discretion to pensions-committees with regard to treatment of discharged soldiers; and (5) the raising of agricultural wages in the western area to 25 s. weekly.

Glass and Glassware

The imports of glass and glassware into India in 1915-16, observes a contemporary, show a large falling off as compared with 1913-14 notwithstanding the high prices of the articles that are now imported. The value of these imports in the latter year amounted to £1,297,000, it fell to £643 in 1914-15, but in 1915-16 it increased to £710,000. In the pre-war period the bulk of India's requirements in this line was being supplied by Germany and Austria-Hungary, and Japan's position as a supplier of our requirement was not very conspicuous. The outbreak of the war has, however, greatly altered the position. Japan has supplied the Indian market with bangles, beads, bottles, funnels, globes, glassparts of lamps, sheet and plate glass and tableware to the extent of £400,000 against £131,000 in 1914-15 and £105,000 in 1913-14 the increase being one of £269,000 or 205 per cent. While imports from the United Kingdom rose by £20,000 or 14 per cent. to £160,000. Twenty-two per cent. of total glass imports into India from bangles, 18 per cent. funnels, globes and glassparts of lamps, 16 per cent. sheet phials, 10 per cent. beads and false pearls, and 6 per cent. tableware including decanters. We wish it were possible for the Director of Statistics to say to what extent Indian glass manufacturers have prospered owing to the absence of competitions from enemy countries.

Indian Industrial Conference

The following copy of the constitution for the Indian Industrial Conference, passed by the members of its standing committee, is now published for general information :—

The objects of the Indian Industrial Conference are the promotion and development of agriculture, manufactures and trade of India on sound lines :

- (a) By holding conferences and meetings.
- (b) By issuing books, papers, pamphlets or leaflets.
- (c) By arranging, whenever possible, for exhibitions, demonstrations, experiments, etc.
- (d) By encouraging the study of technology.
- (e) By making representations to Government and to the Rulers of Indian States on all matters pertaining to or bearing on agriculture, manufactures and trade.

The Industrial Conference organisation shall consist of :—

- (1) The General Assembly.
- (2) The Standing Committee of management or the Governing Body.
- (3) The Provincial Committees.
- (4) The District, Sub-District and local Committees.
- (5) Affiliated Associations.
- (6) Recognised Associations.

The General Assembly shall consist of :—

- (a) Life members.
- (b) Ordinary members

and shall be the chief controlling authority of the Conference organisation.

The Governing Body shall be its Executive Committee holding such powers and exercising such functions as are assigned to it by these Regulations and the Bye-laws thereunder or by Resolutions of the General Assembly or the Conference.

The Governing Body shall consist of not less than 25 nor more than 30 members selected in this wise.

(1) The President who presided over the last previous Conference.

(2) Secretaries ex-officio.

(3) Five out of the ex-Presidents elected by them.

(4) Two out of their body by Life Members.

(5) Three out of their body by Patrons.

(6) Ten representatives of the ordinary members.

The Governing Body shall be appointed at the Session of the Conference and shall hold office during the year following, provided that if for any reason, the Conference is not held in any year or no appointment of the Governing Body takes place, the Governing Body in office shall continue to hold the office till the next election.

The General Assembly shall consist of :—

- (a) Patrons.
- (b) Life Members.
- (c) Ordinary Members.

Patrons :—Those who pay or have already paid Rs. 2,000 and above.

Life Members :—(a) Those who pay or have already paid total donations to the Conference up to Rs. 500 or upwards.

(b) Those who have made or hereafter make any single donation of Rs. 250 or upwards.

Ordinary Members are those who pay a yearly subscription or donation which is not less than Rs. 5 and does not exceed Rs. 500.

Indian Exise duty

On the subject of Indian exise duty Sir Roper Lethbridge writes as follows to the *Manchester Guardian* :—"As one of the oldest living of Indian retired officers and as one who has recently spent six whole winters (largely on account of health) in India, I venture to declare that there is not a single public man of known reputation in India whether Indian-born or European, who supports the excise duty of 3½ per cent. or who would regard its enhancement, now or ever, as at all within the range of possibility."

AGRICULTURAL SECTION

Forest Department in India

The Government of India Memorandum on the "Work of the Forest Department in India" which has been published recently describes the wealth of India's forest resources; It is well known that the forest revenue has rapidly increased. Says the *Bombay Chronicle* :—

The Government have now decided to abandon the present practice of meeting all capital expenditure on forest exploitation from revenue, so that in future the provision of the much-needed transport facilities and of machinery for extraction will not depend on the amount that can be spared from the annual surplus. Forest exploitation is a profitable business in itself and, as is acknowledged in the new publication, in spite of what has been done, there is still room for enormous development in this respect, for there are extensive areas of valuable forest as yet almost untouched, and these represent a vast capital locked up and not only lying idle but deteriorating.

Agricultural development

Mr. A. J. Saunders, F.R.E.S., has made out a strong case for a vigorous and comprehensive programme of agricultural development. He has summarised the results of his inquiry in the *Mysore Economic Journal* as follows :—

I would urge the Agricultural Department to undertake a series of demonstrations in the chief centres of the District, and bring the results within the reach and study of the average ryot. I would suggest that the lines of demonstration should follow method, implements, seed, manure, rotation of crops, breeding of cattle.

Co-operation between villagers in the matters of production and exchange of commodities so as to save to themselves the middleman's profit.

The money-lender and his exorbitant rates of interest are the veritable bane of the poorer ryot. The average ryot cannot continue his cultivating without capital, but at a rate of interest which finally results in the ryot's becoming an

agricultural slave to the money-lender. Happily for the Indian ryot, there is a remedy and it is along the lines of Co-operative Credit Societies. The principle of co-operation is the only salvation for the Indian ryot and I would urge a policy of enlightenment along these lines in every district.

Indebtedness is an actual curse in every village. People seem more or less callous to it. They do not seem to understand the enormous rates of interest they are paying, how that cripples their working capital, and lessens their powers of production. Diminished production means less wealth and capital, and no country can become industrially and commercially great which has the great majority of its population continually in debt.

The Panchama classes are in a deplorable condition, living in a state of abject misery and ignorance, far worse off than thousands of animals around them, and with no future, unless we are moved to bring to them liberty, education, and a chance in life. This survey has led me to see that what the average villager in South India needs is education, ambition, and enterprise.

The Ash of Banana Stalks

The ash of banana stalks and skins contains a large percentage (about 50) of potash with practically no soda. In view of the present great shortage of potash salts the *Wealth of India* suggests that municipal bodies should set aside all vegetable refuse from the markets, so that they could be treated for the recovery of this constituent.

Sunflower-Seeds

Sunflower-seed is extensively produced, and crushed for its oil, in Russia; but not much attention has been given elsewhere to the cultivation of the sunflower for its seed. The oil is suitable for edible purposes, and when refined is a good substitute for olive-oil. The cake is a good feeding-stuff for stock. — *Chambers' Journal*.

Madras Agriculture

It is understood that among the many schemes that are in contemplation by the Government of Madras are:—(1) The establishment of a Second Agricultural College in the Northern Circars, and (2) the opening of a Second Engineering College in the same area. It is well-known that the Coimbatore Agricultural College cannot adequately meet the growing requirements of the Presidency as a whole, and a second college will, therefore, have to be established for the Telugu districts in the near future. The Engineering School, the establishment of which in Vizagapatam has already been sanctioned, may be developed into a more fully equipped institution, to answer the purposes of the second engineering college.

Agricultural Co-operation in India

Dr. John Matthai, lecturing on "Agricultural Co-operation in India," before the National Indian Association, London, on June 8, pointed out that each country in Europe had contributed a distinctive character to the Co-operative movement. Referring to indebtedness as the great initial problem of the movement in India, Dr. Matthai pointed out that it was not peculiar to India, but was found in other countries where agriculture was extensively pursued and which were affected by seasonal variations. Co-operation, he declared, exercised moral restraint in making each man responsible for the debts of the society. It was giving material help coupled with moral control. Indian societies were based chiefly on the Raffen-sen model; unlimited liability was possible in small areas where all knew each other, but could not operate to the same extent in urban areas. Central banks were an interesting recent development in India for linking up financing local societies.

Discussing the question of the relation of the State to co-operation, Dr. Matthai agreed that it was the wisest plan to eliminate State control and make the movement self-support-

ing and self-governing. If it was associated with the State the public thought it was sound, and effort might become lax in the absence of criticism; if the State gave financially it destroyed self-help, which was the essence of the movement. But in India he considered that association with the State was essential; the enormous prestige of the Sirkar was necessary to financial success; based on the security of the Government the movement inspired confidence. India, in this respect, must be regarded as an exceptional case.

Summing up the results obtained in the short period of twelve years, Dr. Matthai laid stress upon the reduction of interest compared with the charges of money-lenders—on the improved aspects of villages, the prevention of extravagance, the impetus to education—a share of the profits being set aside for schools, and the bringing back of the old communal life of the village, knit together in a strong bond. A strong local consciousness was developing, and it was in the sphere of local government that the people of India would get the experience necessary for political self-government.

Ploughing by Dynamite

Ploughing by dynamite is being carried on very successfully in America. The famous Dupont Company, probably the biggest manufacturers of explosives in the world, has invented a system which enables the farmer to till virgin land by means of specially prepared low-power dynamite cartridges, which are placed at intervals of ten yards. The dynamite makes a regular furrow, similar to that made by a plough, and the depth can be graded as required. The explosion is so delicate that farmhands who are drilling the whole for the second cartridge are not injured by the explosion of the first, ten yards back. Stumps of trees are readily removed, and during peace time the system is recommended for the construction of bunkers and undulating greens on golf courses.

Literary

THE DAILY PRESS: 1817-1917.

The centenary number of the *Quarterly* contains an interesting article on the decline of the press in England from the pen of Mr. T. H. S. Escott who says that during the past hundred years journalism has sunk from a liberal profession to a branch of mere business. One of the Old Guards, Mr. Escott does not conceal his dislike of American manners in and methods of journalism. He adores the Great Delane of the *Times* and enshrines some journalistic amenities in the following paragraph.

The second John Walter (1784 to 1847) placed the Jovian dignity of his journal far above the persistent mud-slinging of its rivals. The *Morning Advertiser* led the vituperative chorus by talking about the "bully of Berkshire and the braggadocio of Printing House Square." The *Times*, like a lady in a crowd, calmly walked on, and only once so far forgot itself as to hit back at the *Morning Chronicle* as "a paper feeding on libels and lies." In this Donnybrook Fair of reciprocal recrimination, the *Morning Herald* spoke of the *Courier* as "that spavined old hack." The *Courier* itself, like most of Stuart's other papers, took its cue of dignified silence from Printing House Square and ignored the Billingsgate outbreak around it.

NEW INDIA.

On the 16th August the following notice was served on Mr. P. K. Telang, Editor of *New India*: "In the exercise of the powers conferred by Section 4 (1) of the Indian Press Act, 1910, the Governor in Council declares the security deposited in respect of "the *New India* Printing Works, Madras," and all copies of *New India* wherever found to be forfeited to His Majesty."

In an editorial, subsequent to the forfeiture of the security, we are told that every arrangement is being made to continue the journal.

TO A BULLET.

The *Times of India* publishes these happy lines from Alec Stanton who writes from Mesopotamia "with profuse apologies to the Shade of Shelley."

Hail to thee, swift cartridge,
Slow thou never wert;
I dislike your dart which
Flings its pointed part

With the greatest skill in carefully-meditated
hurt.

II.

Faster yet and faster
From the muzzle flying,
Always thou the master
When it comes to dying!

And, killing, still go on to Kill more men a-
trying.

III.

When in mud we wallow
Fighting from a ditch,
Friend or foe you follow—
Doesn't matter which!

Like the Hun your heart is black as blackest
pitch.

IV.

Miles and miles of trenches
Echo with your cry;
Tommy never blanches
As you hurry by—

Laughs to think your thrower always scores a
'bye.'

V.

You're misguided, bullet,
When a hole you bore.
Out we've got to pull it,
Really you don't score;

And, probably, your victim won't love you any
more.

VI.

When you choose some Hun to
Penetrate right through
You'll find I'm the one to
Raise a cheer for you,

Though I think that killing's a silly thing to do.

VII.

Hence, then, bullet beastly,
When your flight's begun
Don't steer West but Eastly—
Turn round on the Hun!

Change your mind, like Wilhelm, ere the war is
won!

Educational

EDUCATION IN BURMA.

The newly instituted Rangoon School Board, appointed under Sir Harcourt Butler's District School Boards scheme for Burma, held its first quarterly meeting in the second week of this month under the presidency of Mr. Gavin Scott, I.C.S. Among matters considered was a proposal to open a Municipal Girls' School next year, and provide funds in the Budget for 1918-19 for it. The president said the custom of the Burmese in Rangoon and throughout Burma tended towards the education of boys and girls together in almost every vernacular school. He found this system extant and the custom was well established with the consent of the parents, so he proposed deferring the question of providing separate accommodation for Burmese girls. He would say nothing about Tamil or Muslim Girls' Schools. The president's suggestion was adopted.

A NEW COLLEGE AT DELHI.

The scheme of the proposed Ramjas College at Delhi has been far advanced. The Board of Trustees have collected Rs. 85,000 in two months and have got promises of about a lakh of rupees more. In addition to this, Rai Sahab Kedarnath has given landed property and material for building construction worth more than a lakh of rupees.

THE ADVANCEMENT OF TEACHERS.

Says the Bishop of Madras in his monthly diary in the current issue of the *Madras Diocesan Magazine*, "it is quite safe to say that in India, certainly in the Madras Presidency, the salaries of the teaching profession ought to be increased by about 30 per cent. It is ridiculous that an ordinary vakil should earn about Rs. 400 a month while the headmasters of large Indian high schools with anything from 500 to 1,000 pupils only receive between Rs. 200 and Rs. 300 a month."

CONDITIONS OF EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS.

Amid a great deal of uncertainty and perplexity, writes Mr. H. R. James, there are two or three propositions which may safely be laid down as conditions of any profitable new departure in India:—

(1) No attempted reform or improvement of education in India can have any real success unless it can somehow win first the approval and support of educated Indian opinion, at least to the extent of a solid body of support.

(2) Success is, further, only possible through the hearty co-operation of Government and enlightened Indian opinion, just as a hundred years ago the Hindu College, or Mahavidyalaya, achieved its great success through the initiative of enlightened Hindus, encouraged first by the sympathy and later by the energetic material support of Government.

(3) Improvement of higher education turns now more than ever on the improvement of secondary education.

(4) It is not safe to ignore or lightly to set aside the views and experience of the men whose lifework has been, and is, Indian education.

EDUCATION IN BRITAIN.

In the House of Commons, on August 10, Dr. Fisher introduced the Education Bill, providing, *inter alia*, for the abolition of half-time after the war. Meanwhile the employment of children under fourteen will be very stringently restricted, and every young person will be compelled to attend part of the time in day and continuation schools. Nursing schools for children under five would be encouraged. Attendance at these would be voluntary, and when a sufficiency of such schools was provided the age of attendance for elementary schools would be raised from five to six. Local education authorities would be empowered to continue elementary education to the age of fifteen, and part-time education would be compulsory till eighteen.

Legal

THE LATE MR. ABDUL RASUL.

In the death of the Hon. Mr. Abdul Rasul at Calcutta, on the 31st July, a most genuine patriot has passed away. An enlightened and cultured Mahomedan, he was an ardent Congressman and Moslem Leaguer and the cause of the Hindu-Moslem *Entente* thus loses an ardent champion. In private life, his friends have always testified to his independence of judgment and affability of character.

Mr. Rasul was born in April 1872, the son of Moulvi Gulam Rasul, Zamindar of Guniauk, in the Tipperah District, who died when Mr. Rasul was quite young. After receiving his primary education in the village school at Kishore, if any, and later in the Government School at Dacca, he started for Liverpool in his 19th year in 1889. He then went to London and joined King's College. He matriculated at Oxford in 1892 and took his B.A. from St. John's College and two years later his M.A. degree. In 1898 he was called to the Bar from the Inner Temple. He married an English lady before returning to India in 1898. Next year he was enrolled in the Calcutta High Court where he has had a successful practice.

Mr. Rasul's interests have been many sided. He was head examiner in English for the Calcutta Entrance Examination from 1899 to 1902 and has also been an examiner for the B.L. Examination. But his political activities have been more pronounced. The Barisal Provincial Conference over which he was to have presided was broken up by the orders of the Government. But he presided over the next session at Comilla and made a notable pronouncement. He also took a leading part in the anti-Partition agitation.

In announcing the death of Mr. Rasul the other day, the Hon'ble the Advocate General was so

deeply moved that he almost broke down. He said:—

"I was staggered as I entered the library to hear of Mr. Rasul's death. It was only yesterday that he was arguing a case with his usual ability before your Lordships. Sudden deaths like these make us realise the emptiness of this life, the hollowness of our activities. Transparently honest, scrupulously fair and well-equipped in the subjects with which he had to deal, Mr. Rasul was an ornament to the profession. As a citizen there was no one here, whether among Hindus, Mahomedans or Christians, who felt that Mr. Rasul was for one day actuated by sectarian feelings. Hindus used to look upon him as one of their community. His outlook on political affairs was at once broad and sound. His independence at the Bar was of a most sturdy character. The profession has lost a good man and the country will mourn the loss of one of its brightest citizens."

Mr. Justice Chaudhury made a feeling reply in which he said:—

"The death of Mr. Rasul is a great personal loss to me. I deeply feel the loss to the profession to which he belonged and of which he was an ornament. For integrity he had not his equal, for honest work I have not seen him surpassed. I will not refer to his political activities, but what we all feel is that it is not always that we come across a man leading a public life who has endeared himself to the whole of our community, Hindu and Mahomedan."

AN ORDER TO LEAVE.

An order dated 28th July was served by the Madras Government on Mr. Vishnu Raghunath Karandikar, a member of the staff of *New India*, to the effect that he should leave the Madras Presidency within forty-eight hours from the time of service of this order and shall not enter, reside or remain in the said Presidency. Mr. Karandikar has accordingly left Madras and has joined the *Young India* of Bombay.

Medical

HOSPITALS IN BURMA.

According to the triennial report on hospitals and dispensaries in Burma for the years 1914 to 1916, the confidence of the people of Burma in the efficiency of European medicine continues to grow. The increase in the average attendance in hospitals and dispensaries is not shared by the European and Anglo-Indian communities. The staff is depleted considerably by military demands. The Pasteur Institute was opened in Rangoon in the period under report and statistics indicated its ever increasing utilisation by the people all over the province. The training of midwives and nurses continues with good results, although some local bodies who have had to bear the expense of training midwives complain of a difficulty in retaining the services of European and Anglo-Indian nurses for military service and the former apparently find private employment more attractive than Government or Municipal service. The Burma Medical Act came into force at the end of 1915. Its object is to protect the medical profession and the public from untrained and unqualified practitioners. The Government have under consideration a scheme for providing a class of medical practitioners in the vernacular who would be likely to practise among the poorer classes, especially in rural areas.

STOMACH MEDICINES.

Just how dangerous it is to indiscriminately dose the stomach with drugs and medicines is often not realised until too late. It seems so simple to swallow a dose of some special mixture or to take tablets of soda, pepsin, bismuth, etc., after meals, and the folly of this drugging is not apparent until, perhaps, years afterwards. It is found that gastric ulcers have almost eaten their way through the stomach walls. Regrets are then unavailing; it is in the early stages, when indiges-

tion, dyspepsia, heartburn, flatulence, etc., indicates excessive acidity of the stomach and fermentation of the food contents, that precaution should be taken. Drugs and medicines are unsuitable and often dangerous—they have little or no influence upon the harmful acid, and that is why doctors are discarding them and advising sufferers from digestive and stomach trouble to get rid of the dangerous acid and keep the food contents bland and sweet by taking a little pure *bisurated* magnesia instead. *Bisurated* magnesia is an absolutely pure antacid, which can readily be obtained from the chemists. It is practically tasteless, and half a teaspoonful taken in a little warm or cold water after meals will usually be found quite sufficient to instantly neutralise all harmful acids, soothe and heal the inflamed stomach, and prevent all possibility of the food fermenting. Accompanying every package of genuine *bisurated* magnesia is the manufacturers' guarantee of satisfaction or money back, so that a trial costs nothing unless it really does you good.

THE MALARIA GERM IN WINTER.

Malaria has a typical seasonal occurrence, with little or no appearance during the winter months. Whether the germ of this disease passes the winter in the bodies of human beings or of mosquitoes, or both, has been the subject of much discussion. A recent Public Health Bulletin, by M. B. Mitzmain, reports extensive investigations carried out in Mississippi from February to June, 1915. A search for *Anopheles* mosquitoes disclosed no eggs, larvæ, or pupæ, and led to the conclusion that only the female insects hibernate. More than 2,000 insects were dissected and examined and were found not to harbor malarial parasites: whereas out of 1,184 human beings examined, 492 were found to be carriers of these germs. Hence the opinion of most previous students of the subject was confirmed; viz., that man and not the mosquito is responsible for perpetuating malaria from season to season.

Science

A SUBSTITUTE FOR PLATINUM.

According to the *Electrical World*, an alloy of 2 per cent. palladium with silver forms a good substitute for platinum in contact and spark devices. The alloy that gives the greatest resistance to spark erosion is 60 per cent. palladium and 40 per cent. silver. The palladium raises the melting point of the alloy and lowers the thermal conductivity.

MEMORIAL TO SIR WILLIAM RAMSAY.

The Committee, of which Mr. Asquith is president, formed to raise a suitable memorial to Professor Sir William Ramsay, announce that, after careful consideration, it has been decided to aim at raising a sum of £100,000, and to devote that sum to two principal objects—the provision of Ramsay Research Fellowships, tenable wherever the necessary equipment may be found, and the establishment of a Ramsay Memorial Laboratory of Engineering Chemistry in connection with University College, London.

The Committee state that they would hesitate to ask for so large a sum of money in such exceptionally difficult times were it not that the objects are of real and urgent national importance. It is important that the fund should be raised speedily, so that the plans for the laboratory and the scheme for the award of fellowships may be prepared before the end of the war, and so that both schemes may begin to operate with as little delay as possible after the return of peace. Accordingly, the Committee appeal to friends and admirers of Sir William, to old students, and to all persons who are interested in chemistry and its application to industry and manufacture to contribute to this memorial, and to send their subscriptions to the hon. treasurers of the fund at University College, London.

CALL FOR BINOCULARS.

In response to the Commander-in-Chief's appeal for binoculars for use by officers in Mesopotamia, the Mathematical Instrument Office, Calcutta, has up to 21st July received 162 binoculars on loan, 50 as gifts and 60 by purchase. Persons who are willing to give, lend or sell these are invited to send them to the officer-in-charge, Mathematical Instrument Office, 15, Wood Street, Calcutta, or to deliver them to Messrs. Lawrence and Mayo, Manufacturing Opticians, at their establishments in Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Delhi, Lucknow, Simla and Rangoon for despatch to the Mathematical Instrument Office, Calcutta. All binoculars with a magnification of not less than two diameters will be accepted. Suitable telescope will also be accepted but opera glasses are not required.

INDIAN SCIENCE CONGRESS.

The fifth session of the Indian Science Congress will be held in Lahore on January 9th, 10th, 11th and 12th, 1918. The Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab has agreed to be patron and Dr. G. T. Walker, C. S. I., will be the president of the session. The following sectional presidents have been appointed:—*Agriculture*, Dr. L. Coleman, (Bangalore); *Physics and Mathematics*, Dr. Wali Mahomed, (Aligarh); *Chemistry*, Dr. G. J. Fowler, (Bangalore); *Zoology and Ethnology*, Dr. Chaudhuri, (Calcutta); *Botany*, Mr. R. S. Hole, (Dehra Dun); *Geology*, Mr. E. S. Pinfold, (Rangoon). Dr. J. L. Simonsen, of the Presidency College, Madras, will be the general secretary, and Mr. A. S. Hemmy and Rai Sahib Ruchi Ram, of the Government College, Lahore, will be local secretaries.

AID TO SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH.

Professor Maniklal Dutt, of the Presidency College, Calcutta, has been given a research grant of 11,900 dollars for the purpose of his researches on halogenation. Besides its immense value to the chemical industry, halogenation is said to be a great help to modern warfare in producing asphyxiating gas.

Personal

DADABHAI NAOROJI.

Presiding at a meeting of Indian residents and British sympathisers held at Caxton Hall, London, to express the loss sustained by India by the death of Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Sir William Wedderburn said that Dr. Naoroji might be called the special saint of modern India. He was the author of India's new inspirations and the spiritual father of worthy disciples. His was a life of service and sacrifice and his devotion had forged a link between England and India. His life revealed faith in the ultimate triumph of justice and right and very assured hopes in the future happiness of India and loving sympathy for the sufferings and sorrows of mankind everywhere.

Sir Herbert Roberts moved a Resolution expressing sorrow and appreciation. He said that in the House of Commons no better and truer representative of India could be found than Dr. Naoroji. The three great lessons of his life were the power of his personality and character, the power of his large patriotism and the power of his persistent and courageous advocacy of good causes.

The motion was seconded by Mr. Abbas Ali Baig and carried in silence. On the motion of Mr. Charles Roberts, seconded by Mr. B. Dube, it was decided to forward a memorial Resolution to the bereaved family.

Sir Mancherjee Bhownagree mentioned that the Parsi community had already expressed their appreciation.

THE LATE MR. KRISHNAMACHARLU.

The late Rao Bahadur P. A. Krishnamacharlu was born in 1876 and was barely 41 years of age when he died suddenly of heart failure on the 19th July. Mr. Charlu came of a Vaishnava Brahmin family, and studied in the Madras Christian College. In 1897 he took the B. A. degree, obtaining the University gold medal for

proficiency in political economy. He was appointed Superintendent of Post Offices, Madras, in 1898. He served in the mofussil districts of the Madras Presidency for about 10 years and was then posted as Personal Assistant to the Post Master General, Madras. Early in 1915 he was selected for the post of Assistant Director General, Posts and Telegraphs, and the title of Rao Bahadur was conferred on him in 1916.

SAHIBZADA AFTAB AHMAD KHAN.

Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan, of Aligarh, who has been selected for appointment to the Secretary of State's Council, in succession to Sir Abbas Ali Baig, is the son of a Mahomedan notability in the State of Gwalior, where his elder brother, Sultan Ahmad has, for many years, held the office of Minister of Justice. After taking his degree at Christ's College, Cambridge, he was called to the Bar at the Inner Temple in 1894, and had been practising at Aligarh, where he has been closely connected with the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College as a member of the Board of Trustees. In 1911 he presided over the Mahomedan Educational Conference at Calcutta.

H. H. THE AGA KHAN ON LORD HARDINGE.

H. H. the Aga Khan, in a long letter to the *Times*, supporting Lord Hardinge, says: When the moment of the world crisis came, Lord Hardinge, rightly trusting India's profound loyalty to the Emperor and her indignant repudiation of German efforts to induce her to revolt, sent the flower of the Indian Army to France and it arrived in time to share the glory of saving Calais. No request from England for help in any theatre of the war was refused. Lord Hardinge relied on his military advisers and on the unanimity of expert official opinion. His fault was one of too generous a response, considering the means immediately available to the many calls made upon India. Indian opinion heartily endorses the refusal of Mr. Balfour to accept the resignation of Lord Hardinge.

Political

HOME RULE AGITATION.

The Deccan Sabha, Poona, have submitted to the Governor-General of India, through the Bombay Government, a representation in respect of the grave situation that has arisen in the country because of the manner in which the Indian demand for self-government within the British Empire has been treated by some of the British authorities subordinate to the Government of India. The representation says that the Council of the Sabha submits that the Madras Government clearly misapplied the provisions of the Act and pressed them beyond their legitimate scope when they utilised them against the methods or the results of the methods of a political propaganda for a change in the system of Government. The ordinary Courts were competent to deal with any charge or charges that could be substantiated against Mrs. Besant and Messrs. Arundale and Wadia, and it could not be pretended that the ordinary machinery was not equal to the task. The representation concludes as follows:—India has been waiting for the response with remarkable trust and patience, and all that has been vouchsafed to her in the way of response is that the elected members in the Imperial Legislative Councils have been kept at arms length instead of being consulted and treated with trust. The leaders of the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League have to all appearances been ignored. Some of the leaders of the Home Rule League have been interned.

THE THREE INTERNED.

Mrs. Besant and her two friends have removed to Coimbatore as her health has been causing much anxiety since her internment at Gulistan. It is hoped that this change of place would effect some improvement though it is generally feared that her indifferent health is primarily due to the sudden curtailment of her freedom.

INDIAN REFORMS.

Lord Islington, the Under-Secretary of State for India, in the course of a lecture to the students at the Oxford Summer Meeting made a pronouncement on the Indian reforms. While careful to say that he was not speaking in his official capacity, Lord Islington outlined the scheme of decentralisation which he described as the most pressing reform required in India and it was impossible to postpone it without serious danger. His other proposals regarding the constitution and function of Councils fall far short of the general expectations in this country which are embodied in the memorandum of the nineteen and in the scheme of Self-Government adopted by the Congress and the Moslem League.

SIR D. E. WACHA ON STATISTICS.

Presiding at a meeting recently held in Bombay, Sir Dinshaw Edulji Wacha made some interesting revelations which are not, we think, without their lessons. He declared that whenever certain returns were criticised in the Legislative Council either the form in which they were given was changed or scrupulously left out. Thus it was with the Savings Banks in which he had requested the Government and emphasized the necessity of greater clearness but to no use. About the railway statistics—though the Government suffered the loss of a crore of rupees and incurred debts—no sooner was their policy criticised than they left out the item itself. Fortunately the railways were recently making large profits and the deficit on the part of the Government had been saved. His cry to be supplied with figures about foreign trade had never been responded to. Even the working of the census in India had been defective. In 1864 a Government census was instituted and returned a most erroneous figure of nine lakhs as the population of Bombay. In 1881 the first census for the whole of India was taken, but it was equally incorrect: and that of 1891 was alike unsatisfactory.

General

LOANS MADE BY THE UNITED STATES.

Since the war began the following loans, according to the *Statist*, have been made by the United States to foreign countries :—

	In Million Dollars.
Great Britain	1131.40
France	650.50
Russia	123.50
Italy	25.00
Germany	10.00
Canada	289.72
New Foundland	5.00
Latin America	108.97
China	9.00
Neutral European Nations	23.50
Total	2376.59

The total is equivalent to £475.32 million sterling. The United States have now taken their full responsibility of waging a war against Germany which will now find herself more completely barricaded on those sea-routes in the Atlantic by which her vessels used to bring foods and material to Hamburg so long as America was neutral. But now that country will spend millions for its own army and navy and for effectually policing the old trade routes. Already the States have authorized fully £1,000 million to be raised, the rate of interest being only 3½ per cent. Of this loan £600 million will be placed at the service of the Allies to enable them to pay for their supplies bought in America. It is not proposed to issue the whole loan at once. It will be raised by instalments. The management is in the hands of the Federal Reserve Board. Bonds as low as £5 will be offered. Nothing could be nobler and more magnanimous than this help to the Allies.—*The Bombay Chronicle*.

FOR DISABLED INDIAN SOLDIERS.

Distinguished visitors to Bombay continue to call at the Queen Mary's Technical School for Disabled Indian Soldiers at Byculla and as the work there becomes more highly developed, its value grows the more obvious. Among recent visitors to the School, says the *Times of India*, are Their Highnesses the Gaekwar and Maharani of Baroda and H. H. the Nawab of Sachin. The Gaekwar was delighted with the evident care taken for the comfort and assistance of the wounded men and inquired whether the benefits of the school could not be extended to civilians who had been disabled. He decided on the spot to send one of his men from Baroda to take a course of instruction in poultry farming. The Nawab was also highly pleased with what he saw.

COMMISSIONS FOR INDIANS.

A *Gazette of India Extraordinary* has published the following notification :—

The Secretary of State for India has announced in the House of Commons the decision of His Majesty's Government to remove the bar which has hitherto precluded the admission of Indians to the commissioned ranks in His Majesty's army and steps are accordingly being taken respecting the grant of Commissions to nine Indian Officers, belonging to native Indian land forces, who have served in the field in the present War and whom the Government of India recommended for this honour in recognition of their services. Their names will be notified in the *London Gazette*, and in the same *Gazette* they will be posted to the Indian army. The Secretary of State and the Government of India are discussing the general conditions under which Indians should, in future, be eligible for Commissions. In due course the Army Council will be consulted, with a view to the introduction of a carefully considered scheme, to provide for the selection of candidates and for training them in the important duties which will devolve upon them.

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INDIAN COLONIAL EMIGRATION

BY MR. M. K. GANDHI.

I have carefully read the resolution issued at Simla by the Government of India on the 1st instant, embodying the report of the Inter-Departmental Conference recently held in London. It will be remembered that this was the conference referred to in the Viceregal speech of last year at the opening of the sessions of the Viceregal Legislative Council. It will be remembered, too, that this was the conference which Sir James Meston and Sir S. P. Sinha were to have attended but were unable to attend owing to their having returned to India before the date of the meeting of the conference. It is stated in the report under discussion that these gentlemen were able to discuss the question of emigration to certain English Colonies informally with the two Secretaries of State, i.e. the Secretary of State for India and the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Lord Islington, Sir A. Steel Maitland, and Messrs. Seton, Grindle, Green and Macnaughton constituted the conference. To take the wording of the Resolution, this conference sat "to consider the proposals for a new assisted system of emigration to British Guiana, Trinidad, Jamaica and Fiji." The public should therefore note that this assisted emigration is to be confined only to the four Crown Colonies mentioned and not to the Self-Governing Colonies of South Africa, Canada or Australia, or the Crown Colony of Mauritius. What follows will show the importance of this distinction. It is something to be thankful for that "the Government of India have not yet considered the report and reserved judgment on all the points raised in it." This is as it should be on a matter so serious

as this and one which only last year fairly convulsed the whole of India and which has in one shape or another agitated the country since 1895.

The declaration too that "His Majesty's Government in agreement with the Government of India have decided that indentured emigration shall not be re-opened" is welcome as is also the one that "no free emigrants can be introduced into any Colony until all Indian emigrants already there have been released from existing indentures."

In spite, however, of so much in the report that fills one with gladness, the substantive part of it which sets forth the scheme which is to replace indentured emigration is, so far as one can judge, to say the least of it, disappointing. Stripped of all the phraseology under which the scheme has been veiled, it is nothing less than a system of indentured emigration no doubt on a more humane basis and safeguarded with some conditions beneficial to the emigrants taking advantage of it.

The main point that should be borne in mind is that the conference sat designedly to consider a scheme of emigration not in the interests of the Indian labourer, but in those of the colonial employer. The new system, therefore, is devised to help the Colonies concerned. India needs no outlet, at any rate for the present moment, for emigration outside the country. It is debateable whether in any event the four Colonies will be the most suitable for Indian colonisation. The best thing, therefore that can happen from an Indian standpoint is that there should be no assisted emigration from India of any type whatsoever. In the absence of any such assistance, emigration will have to be entirely

free and at the risk and expense of the emigrant himself. Past experience shows that in that event there will be very little voluntary emigration to distant Colonies. In the report assisted emigration means, to use a mild expression, stimulated emigration; and surely with the industries of India crying out for labour and with her legitimate resources yet undeveloped, it is madness to think of providing a stimulus for the stay-at-home Indian to go out of India. Neither the Government nor any voluntary agency has been found capable of protecting from ill-usage the Indian who emigrates either to Burma or Ceylon, much less can any such protection avail in far-off Fiji or the three other Colonies. I hope that leaders of public opinion in India will therefore take their stand on the one impregnable rock of not wanting any emigration whatsoever to the Colonies. It might be argued that we, as a component part of the Empire, are bound to consider the wants of our partners but this would not be a fair plea to advance so long as India stands in need of all the labour she can produce. If, therefore, India does not assist the Colonies, it is not because of want of will but it is due to want of ability. An additional reason a politician would be justified in using is that, so long as India does not in reality occupy the position of an equal partner with the Colonies and so long as her sons continue to be regarded by Englishmen in the Colonies and English employers even nearer home to be fit only as hewers of wood and drawers of water, no scheme of emigration to the Colonies can be morally advantageous to Indian emigrants. If the badge of inferiority is always to be worn by them, they can never rise to their full status and any material advantage they will gain by emigrating can, therefore, be of no consideration.

But let us for the moment consider the new system. "The system," it is stated, "to be followed in future will be one of aided emigration and its object will be to encourage the settlement of

Indians in certain Colonies after a probationary period of employment in those Colonies, to train and fit them for life and work there and at the same time, to acquire a supply of the labour essential to the well-being of the colonists themselves." So the re-settlement is to be conditional on previous employment under contract and it will be seen in the course of our examination that this contract is to be just as binding as the contracts used to be under indenture. The report has the following humorous passage in it: "He will be in no way restricted to service under any particular employer except that for his own protection, a selected employer will be chosen for him for the first six months." This has a flavour of the old indentured system. One of the evils complained of about that system was that the labourer was assigned to an employer. He was not free to choose one himself. Under the new system, the employer is to be selected for the protection of the labourer. It is hardly necessary for me to point out that the would-be labourer will never be able to feel the protection devised for him. The labourer is further "to be encouraged to work for his first three years in agricultural industries, by the offer, should he do so, of numerous and important benefits subsequently as a colonist." This is another inducement to indenture, and I know enough of such schemes to be able to assure both the Government and public that these so-called inducements in the hands of clever manipulators become nothing short of methods of compulsion in respect of innocent and ignorant Indian labourers. It is due to the framers of the scheme that I should draw attention to the fact that they have avoided all criminal penalties for breach of contract. In India, itself, if the scheme is adopted, we are promised a revival of the much-dreaded depots and emigration Agents, all no doubt on a more respectable basis but still of the same type and capable of untold mischief.

The rest of the report is not likely to interest the public but those who wish to study it will, I doubt not, come to the conclusion to which I have been driven, that the framers have done their best to strip the old system of many of the abuses which had crept into it but they have not succeeded in placing before the Indian public an acceptable scheme. I hold that it was an impossible task. The system of indenture was one of temporary slavery; it was incapable of being amended; it should only be ended and it is to be hoped that India will never consent to its revival in any shape or form.

Development of Democratic Institutions in Russia

BY REV. ARTHUR SLATER.

THE present state of turmoil in Russia is attributed by some who know little of the history of that great people, to the Russians' ignorance of democratic institutions, and their inability to use the power they have now received. To a certain extent it may truly be said that the Russian people have been carried away by their newly gained liberty, for in few countries has there been witnessed such an autocratic rule as that of the Tsars. Yet in some respects few countries have had more real experience of self-government in local matters, and the splendid way in which the enormous needs of the army were met, in spite of the treachery of the Russian ministers and commanders, is a striking tribute to the marvellous local organizations which dealt with the problems as they arose, and with a success that surprised even those who knew the Russian people well. Without doubt, Russia would have succumbed long ago to her lack of organization in military matters, had not the democratic organizations known as the Zemstvos taken over much of the work. It was in the central government of the country that Russia lacked self-government, and with their experience in the conduct of democratic institutions in local affairs, there is no reason to believe they will fail in dealing with the larger problems they now have to face. Mackenzie Wallace, than whom there is no Englishman with a greater knowledge of the Russian people, wrote of these democratic institutions:

In spite of the systematic and persistent efforts of the centralised bureaucracy to regulate minutely all departments of the national life, the rural Communes, which contain about five-sixths of the population, remain in many respects entirely beyond its influence, and even beyond its sphere of influence. In the great stronghold of Caesarian despotism and centralised bureaucracy, these village communes are capital specimens of representative constitutional government of the extreme democratic type.

Since these words were written, self-government in Russia has made great strides, and the experience so gained will serve the leaders for wider

and more responsible statesmanship. The nature and development of these institutions will serve to give an idea of the actual method of government in Russia, and perhaps remove some erroneous conceptions of the despotism under which they have lived.

From time immemorial the peasants have had institutions of their own, but with the liberation of the serfs and a more humane policy, they have been able to use them with greater effect in local affairs. The people are grouped in village communes to which the name *mir* is given. There is no isolation in a Russian village, for every part of their lives is regulated by the Village Assembly which consists of the elders of the households who must often meet together to consult on communal matters. Without the permission of the Assembly no farm work can be begun, and the peasant is not even permitted to permanently leave his village without obtaining the consent of the commune, and this consent is not always easy to obtain. Satisfactory security for the fulfilment of all his actual and future liabilities is demanded.

The Assembly discusses all matters affecting the communal welfare, and, as these matters have never been legally defined, and there is no means of appealing against its decisions, its recognised competence is very wide. It fixes the time for making the hay, and the day for commencing the ploughing of the fallow field; it decrees what measures shall be employed against those who do not punctually pay their taxes; it decides whether a new member shall be admitted to the Commune, and whether an old member shall be allowed to leave, and whether a member shall be permitted to change his domicile, it gives or withholds permission to erect new buildings on the communal land; it prepares and signs all contracts which the Commune makes with its members; it elects the Elder—as well as the communal tax-collector and watchman, and the communal head-boy above all, it divides and allots the communal land among the members as it thinks fit.

This brief summary of the duties of the Village Assembly serves to show how closely the life of the village is regulated. And over this institution no autocratic government has been able to exercise any real authority. Not has it often attempted to interfere. One interesting case of

interference may be quoted. They attempted to regulate by written law the procedure of the Village Assemblies, and among other reforms was that of voting by ballot, a new custom which never struck root.

The *mir* has authority to open schools, support a midwife or doctor, undertake all kinds of work of public utility. The institution has a wonderful elasticity, and though its usefulness has been somewhat impaired by changing conditions of life, it has tried to meet the new situation. Some village communes buy in common, agricultural implements; Artisian wells are bored. The Commune is directly responsible to the Government for the collection of the taxes, and each member of the commune is taxed according to the amount of land he owns. After the lapse of a certain number of years the land in the village is divided between the members, and the work of dividing is one of the greatest responsibilities of the Assembly. All have a right to present their case, and the women who have responsibilities are also permitted to voice their claim in the Assembly. The system of allotment depends entirely on the will of the commune, and no peasant dreams of appealing against it, nor indeed would the authorities presume to dictate in a matter in which the Assemblies have complete autonomy. Though an Elder is appointed to preside at their meetings all real authority is in the hands of the Assembly, of which all the heads of households are members. The advantages of such a system of Local Government are self-evident. Every householder has his piece of land on which to labour, and periodically the extent required by each family is revised. The system of land division is supervised by a body of men who are in close touch with the affairs of every member of the commune, and these may be depended on to act justly in their dealings with each other. For many years, the method of land division has caused serious uneasiness, and certain reforms have been

introduced whereby a householder may become owner of the property. It is rather interesting to note that the tendency of the demands now being made by the peasants in Russia, since the outbreak of the revolution, is to revert to a modern form of Communism.

Several communes make a canton, and the cantonal assembly, composed of one delegate for every ten households, enjoys similar prerogatives to the *mirs*. It elects an elder, and a peasants' tribunal, composed of ten to twelve judges who settle disputes among the peasants in accordance with the local common law. The system of Self Government through the village communes is far in advance, though similar in some respects to the panchayet system in India. In the latter, only a few elders are called to act as judges in disputes, but in the Russian commune every head of the household has an equal voice in all matters concerning the village.

No radical change has taken place in the ordinary system of Government, but the administration of the economic affairs of the district and province was committed to the district and provincial assemblies or Zemstvos, another aspect of local self-government which is of the greatest interest, especially in respect of the almost surprising progress made by the Russian people in the matter of government.

These were introduced in 1866 by Imperial orders, and in this respect differ from the rural commune which grew up slowly in course of centuries and steadily resisted the centralising powers of the autocratic power. But the Zemstvos is a modern institution and represents "an attempt to lighten the duties and correct the abuses of the Imperial administration by means of Local Self-Government." A Commission was appointed in 1859 for the purpose of conferring more unity and independence on the local economic administration, and when the results were published in 1864 the expectations of the Russian

ran high. Here was an organization which rested on the elective principle, and by means of it, the people hoped soon to provide the country with good roads, safe bridges, and well-appointed hospitals. But their hopes were not fulfilled partly through the listless apathy of provincial life, and partly because the central government was careful to see that none of these assemblies took on a political complexion. The Zemstvos for a time worked well, but there came a period when it almost fell into decay. It performed tolerably well its ordinary every-day duties; it greatly improved the condition of the hospitals; it contributed to the spread of education; it created a new and more equitable system of taxation; and lastly, it instituted a system of mutual fire insurance which has been a great boon to the villagers. Such were the results obtained during the first twenty years or so, when the institutions were slowly making their way among the people. But during the last decade, since the Russo-Japanese war, the Zemstvos have taken on a new life, and have become the main factors in the commercial life, and to some extent, in the political life, of the country. The Russo-Japanese war made great demands on the country, and in those days the Zemstvos responded to the call for every kind of medical supply which they made it their object to provide. From that time they devoted greater attention to the building of schools, elementary and technical, they created and furnished many hospitals, organised sanitary stations regularly visited by a doctor once a week, and improved the postal system. Certain of the Zemstvos have devoted their attention to the opening of new channels for national prosperity by supplying the villages with agricultural implements and by encouraging home industries. They are spending five times as much for the encouragement of small industries as does the central government. They all work together on a plan. One attends to the technical side of the industrial work; another considers means of selling the

goods; a third organises popular credit for household manufacturers; a fourth attends to getting low-priced materials, and so on. They have started special banks to assist the peasants, and community workshops have been organised for the execution of Government orders. On these lines they were steadily progressing. Two unions were formed of the Zemstvos and these greatly strengthened the power of the assemblies. They were not political bodies, but we can readily understand how easily such strong bodies, representing all classes in the district, would exert a political influence. On the outbreak of the Revolution Prince Lvoff, the President of the Zemstvos Union was selected Premier.

The war increased their commercial and political activities. The old regime proved an utter failure, and department after department was handed over to the Zemstvos Unions. How nobly they responded to the nation's call is one of the grandest things in Russian history. At first they were responsible only for medical needs of the army at the base, but gradually they took over practically the whole of the medical arrangements. Then they supplied the army with every kind of clothing, boots etc; they built hospital trains; they made railroads and bridges; they organised the community for every kind of work needed by the Government, with the increase in their activities came an increase in the jealousy of the central power, and when it was proposed to hold a conference of the Zemstvos the matter was vetoed by the Minister of the Interior. This was one of the factors in the revolution. Thus, an institution which the Tsars never for a moment intended to take on a political complexion, became one of the most important bodies in Russia, and one of the chief forces both for the salvation of the country, and the destruction of despotism. It has sunk into the background somewhat owing to the prominent part being played by the Council of Workmen and Soldiers, and the Peasant's League but the provisional Government know that in the Zemstvos they have the real strength of the country. Though not a natural growth it has taken root in the life of the people, and it has served to supply Russia's leaders with that practical experience in Self-Government which is essential to the successful government of the country,

THE FIRST PEEP OF INDIA

BY

MRS. E. G. S. COYLE.

How shall I tell the home folk when I come
Of all the glories of this Land of Sun?
Streaming with gorgeous colour it appears,
A vivid rainbow seen through dreamy tears;
Or, like a painter's palette wetly blurred,
Or wing of butterfly so deftly furred
In layers of delicious tinted down,
A rainbow vision like a fairy's town.

Straight from the grey-gowned City of the West,
Whose films of mist had made for me a nest,
Where stalks King Fog enwrapt in yellow shroud
(The size of his great birthplace makes him proud)
Where every lamp must wear a blurred face,
Where every vista's draped in dim dun lace,
Straight from this sober City I had come,
And vivid India straightway struck me dumb.

Scarce had we anchored at the Bomay Quay
When something in my bosom fluttered free,
Like a bound bird who knew not he was caged
'Till sight of freedom swelled his heart enraged,
'T was my starved thirst for colour at the brink
Of pools of it, where I might drink and drink,
And drink again till I my thirst had slaked,
Oh! for these pools of colour I had ached!

The multitude of turbans were as seas
Floating with waves of blooms from fairy trees,
Which shed their myriad petals in largess
For laughing lads to seize them for their dress;
Slim stalks were copper bodies, and a gay
Tight shred of loin cloth held the bright bouquet
Of bloom as through the fairy field it tossed,
Out, in again, now gone, now here, now lost!

Glad poppies, canna, and gay lotus leaves
Had floated from their stalks to make soft
sheaves
For women's bodies which they moulded close
In clinging silkiness, as folds the rose

About the bud which shapes it, then breaks free
To turn one leaf back for the breeze's glee.
"Oh! lovely sari; must be Fashion's sigh,
"I can but shrink before you, droop and die."

Was e'er such gluttony of colour seen?
The very bullocks dyed their horns pale green,
And sported necklaces and wreaths of bloom,
While gay old nags among their manes found

room

For thumping strings of beads of joyous blue,
And little tinkling bells, whose brass tongues
knew

Just when to shake their little heads and clank
When they should bid their gharries leave the
rank.

And where there might have been dull blots of
white

The Sun laughed loudly and forbade it quite,
Flinging his lemon glow from side to side,
With patterns of pure cobalt, where would glide
A shadow garbed in azure; and each hole
Refusing to wear back, a purple stole
Flung o'er his yawning mouth and softly cried
"Though dark, I still am rich and dignified."

They tell me if aside I turned the flowers
En-venomed heads would rise from jewelled
bowers,

The ugly wounds which burn in every City
Would wring my soul and rend my heart with
pity.

I will not prick my iridescent bubble;
I choose to see flowers spring where you see stubble
And with my first impression I'll not part,
For India's looped a garland round my heart!

Village Government in British India

BY

DR. RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJI, M.A., PH.D., P.R.S.

IN this eminently readable, and at the same time, most learned and scholarly work,* Dr. Matthai traces the elements and fragments of local self-government and rural administration that are still existent in India and brings to bear upon his task the erudition of the student and the critical acumen of the lawyer. The importance of the subject can hardly be disputed specially at the present time when the educated mind of India is being exercised on the comparative merits and suitability of political and administrative reforms aiming at the development of forms of self-government "from above" or "from below." At such a time a publication is most opportune which presents a systematic, scientific and scholarly study of our indigenous system of rural administration, of those self-sufficing and self-contained village communities of India of which Sir Charles Metcalfe gave the following graphic account. "The village communities are little republics, having nearly everything they can want within themselves, and almost independent of any foreign relations. They seem to last where nothing else lasts. Dynasty after dynasty crumbles down; revolution succeeds to revolution; Hindoo, Patan, Moghul, Mahratta, Sikh, English, are all masters in turn; but the village community remains the same." [Report of Select Committee of House of Commons, 1832, Vol. III, App., 84, p. 131]. Dr. Matthai critically examines the various aspects and features of the claim thus vigorously put forward on behalf of these indigenous self-governing institution of India and considers their scope, functions and organs of administration under the different heads of Education, Poor Relief, Sanitation, Public Works, Watch and Ward and Justice. In his treatment

* *Village Government in British India* by John Matthai, D. SC., (Lond.) with a preface by Sidney Webb Professor of Public Administration in the University of London, published by T. Fisher Unwin, London.

of all these spheres of administrative activity the author uses the historico-comparative method. He traces the history of each particular function from the earliest times with the aid not only of the mere literary evidence such as is derivable from the well-known political treatises like the *Kantiliya* or Manu's Code or chapters of the Mahabharata but also of appropriate epigraphic evidence. The field of his survey is also not a particular locality or province of India but the whole of India and thus his work differentiates itself from that of many Anglo-Indian writers whose fashion it is to that of only a part of India as the objective of their social or economic studies on the ground of the absence of a uniformity of conditions applying to the whole country. Dr. Matthai, however, rightly combines with remarkable success both intensive and extensive methods of study and brings out another aspect of the fundamental unity of India behind her continental vastness and variety in point of her indigenous local bodies which were organised and run in every province on practically parallel and similar lines. He cites his evidence for the working of these institutions from every part of India, from the Punjab to the south and from every period of her history, whether ancient, medieval or modern. The range of his study has been thus as wide in space as in time. As a complete and exhaustive account of the system of village government, at once intensive and extensive, there is hardly any book to equal it and we unhesitatingly recommend it to the study not only of the purely historical student but also of the wider public who take an interest in the politics of the country. The monograph proves Dr. Matthai to be one of the best students of the Indian Historical School which devotes itself to a scientific presentation of Indian culture in its manifold manifestations.

SHRI KRISHNA CHAITANYA*

BY MR. K. V. RAMASWAMI, B.A., B.L.

We have in another sketch† spoken of a great reformation—at once religious and social—that spread over the whole of Hindusthan in the 15th and 16th centuries. Somewhat eclectic and humanitarian in other provinces, the movement took a deeply Vaishnavite character in Bengal and Orissa. Side by side with the gospel of love and Brotherhood, the new Vaishnavite creed of South India—of a God full of all *gunas*, of the Distinction of Soul from God, and of pure and loving worship—was established. The result was a deep national awakening which embraced within its scope all classes of the Bengali race. The doors of religion were thrown open to all—men as well as women. A great wave of religious fervour and enthusiasm spread over the whole province the effects of which are visible even to-day. The movement was not merely religious and social; it was highly literary. On the anvil of this movement was forged a rich vernacular literature which still forms a valuable treasure of the Bengali language.

The hero and author of this widespread Vaishnavite movement was the great reformer and mystic, Shri Krishna Chaitanya, (February-March, 1485 A. D. to 1533 June-July). Possessed of vast learning and a keen intellect, he preached the new religion with remarkable zeal and eloquence. Large numbers of men joined him from all classes of the population and missions were soon established in several parts of the province and even outside it. But greater than his creed and reforms was his character pure, gentle, ecstatic, full of sweetness and loving kindness. His heart flowed out in sympathy for all, for the poor and the lowly as well as for the scholar and the prince. He lived with them all, taught them, served them and consoled them. Still, across the centuries, the story of his life and character—so

full of purity, self-sacrifice and a deep love of humanity—moves our admiration. Never, since Buddha's death, had any saint more gentle and sweet, more humane, trodden the soil of India.

Chaitanya's life falls into three periods (i) the first twenty-four years from his birth to the time of his entering the monastic order; (ii) the six years of pilgrimage to South and North India; (iii) the last eighteen years which were spent in residence at Puri.

CHAITANYA'S BIRTH AND PARENTAGE.

Jagannath Misra, surnamed Purandhar, a Brahmin of the Vaidik sub-caste, had emigrated from his ancestral home in Sylhet and settled at Navadwip, a town in the district of Nadia in Bengal, in order to live on the bank of the holy Ganges. His wife was Shachi, a daughter of a great scholar, by name Nilambar Chakravarthi. Nine children were born to this couple of which the first eight, all daughters, had died in infancy and the ninth, a boy, named Bishwarup, abandoned the world at the age of sixteen when pressed to marry and entered a monastery somewhere in South India. In February-March 1485 A. D. when there was a lunar eclipse at the time of full moon, another son was born to this couple. It was their tenth child. The new-born child was named Bishwambhar. But the women of the village, seeing that his mother had lost so many children before him, gave him the disparaging name of *Nimai* ('short-lived') in order to propitiate the evil spirits. His marvellous beauty, however, earned him the name of *Gaur* or *Gaur-anga* ("Fair-complexioned"). The day on which Bishwambhar was born being the day of lunar eclipse, Hari's name was chanted all over the village and this was taken as a pious omen that Bishwambhar would prove a teacher of Vishnu-faith and *Bhakthi*.

HIS EDUCATION.

Navadwip was famous in medieval Bengal for its *tolas* or schools of Sanskrit learning. Especially

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SHRI KRISHNA CHAITANYA.

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Sanskrit Grammar and Logic were highly developed and studied there. The fame of its scholars had spread all over the province and students came from several parts to study under them. Bishwambhar early joined one of these *tolas* and he showed great keenness and precocity of intellect in mastering all branches of Sanskrit learning, especially Grammar and Logic. "But, if we may believe the biographers of Chaitanya (the name by which Bishwambhar was initiated as a monk later on and which we have anticipated in this sketch) the atmosphere of the town was sceptical and unspiritual. There was a lack of true religious fervour and sincere devotion. Proud of their intellectuality, proud of the vast wealth they acquired by gifts from rich Hindus, the local *Pundits* despised *Bhakthi* or devotion as weak and vulgar, and engaged in idle ceremonies or idler amusements. Vedantism formed the topic of conversation of the cultured few; wine and goat's meat were taken kindly by the majority of the people and such *shakta* ceremonies as provided them were performed with zeal and enthusiasm." Chaitanya too grew up as one of them, proud of his learning and intellectual attainments.

HIS MARRIAGE.

His father died while he was still a student. He then married Lakshmi, the daughter of a Ballab Acharya, with whom he seems to have fallen in love at first sight. He thus became a householder and, when his studies were over, he began to take pupils like the other Brahmins of his town. As a pundit, he surpassed the other scholars of the place and it is said that he once even defeated in argument some renowned scholar of another province who was travelling all over India holding disputations. Vivid descriptions are left to us in his biographies of this famous encounter—how all the enthusiastic scholars of the town, young as well as old, put forward this Chaitanya as their candidate and how the young scholar, after a great display of his logic and learning, made the itinerant disputant admit

his defeat. Chaitanya then made a scholastic tour in East Bengal in which he received many gifts from admiring householders. When he returned to Navadwip, he found that his wife had died of snake-bite during his absence. After a while, he married Vishnupriya. Chaitanya was now in the very height of his worldly career—a rich and prosperous man, a proud scholar, and the admiration of his province. His prosperity and learning seem to have turned his head with pride; but the reformation of his soul was close at hand.

CHAITANYA'S "CONVERSION."

During a pilgrimage to Gaya for performing *Shraddh* to his father, he met Ishwar Puri, a Vaishnava monk of the order of Madhwacharya and a disciple of Madhav Puri or Madhavendra, a monk of the same order. This Madhavendra seems to have first introduced the new cult of Vishnu-worship and *Bhakthi* among the monks of Bengal and Orissa. Chaitanya took Ishwar Puri as his guru. "A complete change now came over his spirit. His intellectual pride was gone: he became a *bhaktha*: whatever subject he lectured on, the theme of his discourse was love of Krishna. Indeed he developed religious ecstasy and for some time behaved like a mad man: he laughed, wept, incessantly shouted Krishna's name, climbed up trees or raved in abstraction imagining himself to be Krishna."

CHAITANYA'S LIFE AFTER HIS 'CONVERSION.'

The youthful and mystic heart of Chaitanya was greatly touched by the new religion of *bhakthi* and loving worship. He gathered round himself the devout and the enthusiastic of his town and with them often danced and sang and discoursed on the sweetness and beauty of Krishna. Men from other parts of the district too joined him; Advaitacharya of Shantipur and Nityananda being the chief of them. The chief feature of the new life was the *bhajans* and *sankirtans* which were celebrated with song and prayer and ecstasy. These ecstatic doings and the

* Condensed from a sketch written for G. A. Natesan & Co's "Saints of India" series. Price Annas Four.

† TUKARAM. "Saints of India" Series, G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

new religion behind them should have come with a surprise upon the formal and pedantic world that surrounded Chaitanya. Nothing could have been more contrary to the secret tantric rites and the nihilistic Vedantism of the contemporary pundits and scholars. They therefore rose in opposition and even treated Chaitanya and his companions with open hatred.

CHAITANYA BECOMES A MONK.

He was, however, not in the least shaken by the opposition of the people, but was only moved to grief at their scepticism and want of faith. He could make very few converts among them. Only one way suggested itself to him. He decided to take the robes of a sanyasin. Chaitanya argued thus: "As I must deliver all these proud scholars and orthodox house-holders I have to take to an ascetic life. They will surely bow to me when they see me as a hermit and thus their hearts will be purified and filled with *bhakti*. There is no other means of securing their salvation." So at the age of 24 (1509 A.D.), he got himself initiated, under one Keshav Bharati, as a *sanyasi* under the name of *Krishna-Chaitanya*—usually shortened into Chaitanya, a name which we have already anticipated in this sketch. His mother, the tender-hearted Sachi, who had already been filled with woe at the loss of Chaitanya's elder brother and who had long urged him not to desert her as the elder had done, was now heart-broken at the initiation of Chaitanya. But Chaitanya, who bore deep love and reverence for his mother to the end of his life, consoled her in every possible way and obeyed her wishes in many points in his after years as lovingly as he had done before renouncing the life of the house-holder.

It has sometimes been said that the real motive, that made Chaitanya take the robes of a monk, was a desire for personal glory and also an unworthy desire to spite the proud scholars of his town. But to those who have studied at all deeply the life and character of Chaitanya, the utter falsehood of this suggestion will be

apparent. His wanderings and pilgrimages, his strict avoidance of all publicity and display—above all, his life of simplicity and devotion and sweet companionship with all, the high and the lowly alike—are essentially inconsistent with the existence of such motives. On the other hand, the monkhood gave but full scope to a heart already full of missionary zeal and reforming enthusiasm. Modern Indian history cannot furnish a more remarkable example of religious missionary and preacher. All his great learning and intellect, Chaitanya bent with one supreme effort to the propagation of the new cult and we who can look back with impartiality cannot but admire his great zeal and single-minded devotion.

HIS PILGRIMAGES AND WANDERINGS.

The next six years of Chaitanya's life were spent in pilgrimages to Orissa, Southern India and Brindaban and in the preaching of the new cult in several parts thereof. The first year was spent at Puri, the city of the temple of Jagannath, in Orissa, which was soon destined to become the headquarters of Chaitanya and his followers. Chaitanya's first visit to Puri is characterised by a remarkable outburst of ecstasy and devotion. For some time after his arrival, he spent his days in performing his devotion at the temple. He and his disciples did not at first attract much notice: but soon Chaitanya was brought into contact with the learned Bhatta charya, Sarbabhauma, a great scholar and the minister of the Orissan king, Pratap Rudra, of the Gajapathi dynasty. The conversion of Sarbabhauma to the Vaishnavite faith by Chaitanya is the first great incident in the new life. Sarbabhauma was a great Vedantic scholar, proud of his learning and his Advaita philosophy. He at first proposed to teach Chaitanya, monk as he was, the principles of the Advaita faith. Chaitanya humbly listened to him for many days; the exposition ended, Chaitanya took up the Advaitin's arguments and, criticising them one by one, established the superiority of the Vaishnavite doctrine

and their consonance with the words of the scriptures. Sarbabhauma was convinced and adopted the new faith with exceeding ecstasy and admiration, Chaitanya's famous address to Sarbabhauma is quoted in a latter part of this sketch. It is sufficient here to notice the conversion of Sarbabhauma who, adopting Chaitanya's faith, praised him saying: "It was a high work to Thee to save the world, in comparison with the wonderful power Thou has manifested in converting me. Logic had made me hard like an ingot of iron. Thou hast melted me. Oh Thy wondrous might!"

After staying for some time more at Puri, Chaitanya started for the South. His pilgrimage, though undertaken with a view to visit the holy places, was also marked by missionary activity. He preached the new religion wherever he went and his preachings met with success and popular enthusiasm. "The people marvelled as they gazed at His golden hue, His crimson robe, and His tears of delight, His tremour and His perspiration, which set off His beauty. All who came to see forgot their homes and stayed to join in the dance and song of Shri Krishna Gopal; men and women, old and young, all were swept away by the tide of spiritual love." It was in the early part of this journey that a beautiful incident occurred which is thus described by the biographer of Chaitanya.

HEALING THE LEPER BASUDEV.

A high-minded Brahmin named Basudev was covered with leprosy; but, as the maggots dropped from his rotting limbs, he used to pick them up and restore them to their places. At night he heard of Chaitanya's arrival and next morning went to Kurma's house to see Him; on hearing that the Master was gone, he fell down in a faint and lamented in many ways. Just then the Master returned, embraced him, and lo! the leprosy as well as grief was gone at the touch and his body became sound and beautiful! He marvelled at the Master's grace and clasped His Feet and praised Him by repeating the following verse from

the *Bhagabat* (Rukmini's message to Krishna sent by the mouth of a Brahmin—X, xxxi 14.) Long did he thank the Master, saying "Listen, Gracious One! No man has Your virtue. *Even wretches fled from me at the stench of my body. But Thou, supreme Lord, hast touched me!* Better for me my former state of misery, because henceforth my heart will swell with pride." The Master soothed him "No, you will not be puffed up. Ever take Krishna's name and save men by teaching them about Krishna. Soon will Krishna accept you."

APPOINTMENT OF NITYANAND AND ADWAITACHARYA.

The next two years were spent by Chaitanya at Puri where pilgrims and disciples came to visit him during the season of the Jagannath festivals. The increasing numbers of converts and disciples and the necessity of inculcating in them the great truths of the new religion made some organisation essential. Chaitanya seems to have long thought over it and so, calling to his side his two great friends and followers—Nityananda and Adwaitacharya—he said to them "Teach the lesson of faith in Krishna to all men, down to the Chandalas." To Nityanand, he added: "Go to Bengal. Freely proclaim the gospel of devotion and love. Ramdas, Galadhar and some others will assist you. Now and then I shall be with you and, standing unseen, shall witness your dancing."

CHAITANYA'S VISIT TO BENARES AND BRINDABAN.

Chaitanya was now entering into the fifth year of his monkhood. A visit to Brindaban and the Jumna, the classic scenes of Krishna-lila, had long been the dream of Chaitanya's heart. He therefore, now, resolved to visit them before he could finally settle at Puri. Spite of the protests of his friends and disciples who were unwilling to part with him, Chaitanya started on his pilgrimage alone. Their importunities, however, made him accept one *sisya* to travel with him. The journey to Brindaban, spite of its hardships, was to Chaitanya one long journey of devotion and ecstasy. His soul was filled with delight as he

Chaitanya woke with the morning and went along with one or other of his disciples to the sea and bathed in its waters. From the sea-shore, his steps were directed to the temple of Jagannath and there he stood and prayed rapt in adoration long before the stream of pilgrims and daily worshippers began to pour in. Hours passed on but Chaitanya knew them not, till some friend or disciple reminded him that the noon was approaching. He then returned to his residence. If anybody, householder or *bhaktha*, had invited him for dinner, he went to his house and dined; but if the day was not filled with an invitation, he and his disciples ate the temple-*prasad* which the *paricha* (priest) brought to them. Often Chaitanya distributed the *prasad* to his disciples by his own hand, who received their portions with devout chantings of Hari's name. Chaitanya himself would then dine and, after a little rest, which the heat of the Indian climate makes necessary, he sat up to discourse to friend or foe, the greatness of the Vaishnavite faith, the sweetness of Krishna or the joys of Divine Love. Memorable were

As years rolled on, Chaitanya's religious ecstasy seems to have grown on him to too great a degree. He had repeated fits of religious transport and ecstasy in which he acted in utter disregard of his own life—once leaping into the blue ocean, at another time battering his face against the stone walls of the temple. "At last in June-July 1533, his physical frame broke down under such prolonged mental convulsion and self-inflicted torments and he passed away under circumstances over which the piety of his biographers has drawn the veil of mystery."

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God's nature consists of *sat*, *chit* and *ananda*. The *chit* power assumes three different forms in three aspects: it becomes *hladini* in the *ananda* aspect; it becomes *sandhini* in the *sat* aspect and *sambita* (known as 'knowledge of Krishna') in the *chit* aspect. The *chit* power is God's very essence (or inner nature); the life power (*jiba-sakti*) appertains to Him only occasionally; *maya* is entirely outside Him (i.e. affects creation only). But all these three offer devotion in the form of love. The Lord's six powers are only manifestations of the *chit* power. And yet you have the presumption to deny such a power? God and creation differ as the master and slave of illusion respectively, and yet you affirm that creation is identical with the Creator! In the *Gita*, creation is recognized as a force exerted by God, and yet you make such creation one

* Life of Chaitanya. Translated by Prof. Jadunath Sarkar.

pleasure. In this adoration, there is no shastraic reasoning, no solution of theological problems, because in His Nature sweetness predominates." The same doctrine is somewhat theologically expressed in the following passage: "What delights Krishna is named the *ahladini* power by which He enjoys delight. Krishna is Himself Delight and yet He tastes Delight. Hladini has been created to give enjoyment to the Faithful. The essence of Hladini is named *prema* (love). The emotion of *prema* is filled with the emotions of *ananda* and *chit*. The supreme emotion (*mahabhava*) is the quintessence of *prema*. The lady Radha is the personation of that supreme emotion (vide the *Brahma Samhita* V. 33)."

DEVOTION OR BHAKTHI.

Such a God who is all Love and Joy can be worshipped only in love—such Supreme *Rasa* can be tasted only by a heart full of longing and devotion. All the apparatus of religion—fast and ceremony and observance—are useless unless they lead to this love. Many are the eloquent passages wherein Chaitanya describes the characteristics of this *prem rasa* or love of God. "When passion (*rati*) in Krishna is deepened, it is called *prema* (love), the permanent form of *bhakti* in Krishna. It has two aspects. If any man has the grace to feel *shraddha* (faith), he consorts with pious men, from which companionship result the hearing and chanting of Krishna's name. From the attainment of *bhakti* all his troubles are removed; and as a consequence, his faith becomes constant which gives him a taste for listening and hymning of Krishna's name. From taste (*ruchi*) comes strong inclination (*asakthi*) which gives birth to the sprout of passion for Krishna in the soul. When their emotion is deepened, it takes the name of love (*prema*). That love is the ultimate fruit, the source of every bliss. The man in whose heart this emotion sprouts up is marked by the many qualities named in the *Shastras*. No earthly affliction can disturb his mind. Such a man never wastes his time without communing with

Krishna. He never fears attack by enjoyment, material success or the objects of sensual gratification. Even the noblest *bhakti* considers himself as lowly and firmly believes that Krishna will take pity on him. He is ever expectant, ever passionately longing." Such love or devotion, however, is not fraught with any reward. "As wealth gives pleasure and drives away sorrow of itself, so *bhakti* kindles love of Krishna, and when love is turned to Krishna, man is freed from bondage to the world. The fruit of love is not riches, or the cessation of re-birth, but its chief object is the enjoyment of the beatitude of loving."

HOW TO CULTIVATE BHAKTHI OR LOVE OF GOD.

There is a famous passage in which Chaitanya describes how love of God can be cultivated. It is at once supremely psychological and comprehensive. He speaks of two paths—one, by means of spiritual exercises and the other, not exercises but intuitive longing, a spontaneous devotion such as is found in gifted mystics. Study, singing, prayer, temple-worship, pilgrimage, self-restraint, active deeds of compassion and good-will—these form the spiritual exercises by which love and faith may be induced. Some of these—visiting holy places, temple-worship, etc.,—work on the man's mind by association of thought; some such as scriptures and stories, by kindling man's knowledge and love. Others are exercises intended to train the mind and the heart. These are derived from the rules and ideals of the *Shastras*. The other kind of *bhakti* is a spontaneous one—a welling-forth of love out of the depths of a mystical and devout nature. It is not the fruit of observances nor of artificial study and practice. Like that of a father to his child, like that of a comrade or lover, it is intense, personal, comes out of the depths of the heart. Such a *bhakti* pays heed to no shastraic teaching: "he withdraws himself into his own mind, and there ever remains close to his object, the dearest Krishna, and serves Him incessantly."

santly." "Though he adores Krishna's feet rejecting shastraic rites, he feels nevertheless no temptation for forbidden sins."

CHAITANYA'S SECT.

While Chaitanya was spending the last years of his life at Puri, surrounded by his few friends of an ascetic disposition like himself, the new religion he had taught was spreading rapidly in Bengal and Central India through the instrumentality of his missionary disciples. The two men who laid the foundation of the sect in Bengal were Advaitacharya and Nityanand who, with Chaitanya, ere long came to be revered as the three Mahaprabhus of the new Church. Their descendants are still to be found in Bengal in possession of large religious establishments. Next to these Mahaprabhus came the six Gossains who appear to have all settled in Brindaban and Muttra. Their descendants are now found in those parts in possession of large mutts and temples. The foundation of the two great temples of Govind Deva and Madan Mohun is ascribed to their influence and celebrity. Rup, Sanatan and Jiv, their nephew, were the more celebrated of these six Gossains. A considerable portion of the literature of Chaitanya's sect owes its birth to the devout genius of these Gossains. Rup wrote

Vraja Vilasavarnana, an account of Krishna's sports in Brindaban, a collection of hymns, called *Bahustavavali*, and a drama entitled *Vidagdha Madhava*. Sanatan wrote *Haribakthivilas*, a treatise on the nature of God and Devotion, *Rasamrita sindhu*, a work of high authority on the same subject and *Bhakthamirta*, which contains the observances of the sect. The descendants of these Prabhus and Gossains are the leaders and high-priests of the Chaitanyite community. Though fallen off from the simple spiritual tradition of the early apostles, they still are men of some light and leading and their establishments are centres of popular culture and usefulness.

The strength of the community, however, lies chiefly in its lay members. The Chaitanyaite are a most inoffensive and peaceful community. Their learning, their humane principles, their recognition of the rights of women, their insistence on piety and love in preference to fast and ceremony, make them one of the most influential North Indian sects. Some of the greatest characters that modern Bengal has produced have belonged to this church and its members still form a large and intelligent portion of the Bengali-speaking people.

M. KERENSKY: THE RUSSIAN PREMIER

RECENT communication from Russia says: "Kerensky alone stands between Russia and ruin": and that is exactly the view of all who have been watching the extraordinary course of events in that country. Every great political upheaval in the past has succeeded in evolving a suitable leader to guide the march of the new movement. An American contemporary cites the instances of the rise of Washington and Jefferson and their peers in America and of

Napoleon in France. "Unless cut down by tuberculosis, from which he is suffering, or suppressed by jealous socialists or assassinated by the dark forces of reaction, there is every indication that in Alexander Kerensky Russia has produced a first class leader."

Kerensky who was born thirty seven years ago in the heart of Siberia, first came into public notice in 1912 when he made his famous public indictment of the military and the Police for the

massacre of the Lena goldfields in East Siberia. It was on the same day as the sinking of the 'Titanic' that the strikers were shot. A young lawyer, Kerensky's courageous defence first brought him the popularity which has since enormously increased among the workmen and soldiers and the common peasantry of Russia.

When the revolution broke out M. Kerensky, who by this time was leader of the Toil Group, drew to himself, naturally enough, the attention of the soldiers and workmen—who, be it remembered, made the revolution. He rose to the occasion. His popularity among the masses—soldiers and peasants—whose cause he had so often advocated, was well founded, and it was this popularity that induced the Provisional Government to give him first the portfolio of Minister for Justice and after the resignation of M. Goutchkoff, the post of Minister for War. For, the great bulk of the army, it should be remembered, are peasants who have not become infected with the military spirit and passive discipline. As in the Duma he had acted as leader of the Toil Group, which represented the peasants, it is not surprising that he became leader of the revolutionary soldiers, who are really peasants in uniforms. Herein lies one secret of his influence and power.

From the moment Kerensky became Minister of War in the new Coalition Cabinet he has been indefatigable in his efforts. But then the forces of reaction and duplicity are also strong in Russia and Kerensky has had to take matters into his own hands and deal with the offenders in the only way possible in time of war. His premiership was confirmed after a great deal of trouble over it on August 5, when a joint meeting of the Council of the soldier's and workmen's delegates and peasant's delegates approved the decision by 147 votes to 46. He has now formed his own ministry after arresting those who had muddled all through and dispensing with a lot of incompetents. He is now the only minister in Russia who has also sat in the Provisional Government and has now taken the portfolios of war and marine in addition to his Premiership. His troubles are by no means over. General Korniloff's counter-revolution and the resignation of General Alexieff have added considerably to the complications of the situation. But now that he has tided over the immedi-

ate danger by the surrender of General Korniloff, it is hoped that his hands will be sufficiently strengthened for the prosecution of the war with undivided interest and singleness of purpose. With his courage and diplomacy, his presence of mind on critical occasions and his intimate knowledge of Russian conditions, his long experience of administrative work and his legal and forensic abilities and above all his undoubted energy and enthusiasm for the cause of democracy, M. Kerensky may yet succeed where his predecessors have failed.

The French socialist journals are uniformly jubilant over the triumph of Kerensky; and we are told that he shares some of the strong points of the French revolutionary leaders. One holds him up as the Marat of the Russian revolution, with a touch of Camille Desmoulins, the journalist mob-leader of revolutionary France. "There are times when he roars with the lung power of Danton," says another. And yet it would appear that he is a timid conservative by the side of his compeer and friend, Nicholas Tcheidze, the most radical head of the soldier's and worker's Council. There is a characteristic story of the conversation between these two friends which is reproduced in the American journal, *Current Opinion*. Kerensky one day came over from the Winter Palace, where the Duma was sitting, to report to the Council of soldiers and workers in the Tauride Palace. "We have got rid of the Czar," explained Kerensky, "we have got rid of the monks, we have got rid of the bureaucrats." "Good!" cried Tcheidze, "Now we will start the revolution!"

"The Russian revolution," says Mr. Friedland, "has now revealed itself as a social uprising. It is a great, complex and bewildering actuality. There is only one man to day in Russia who would seem to be a cementing personality and he is Kerensky."

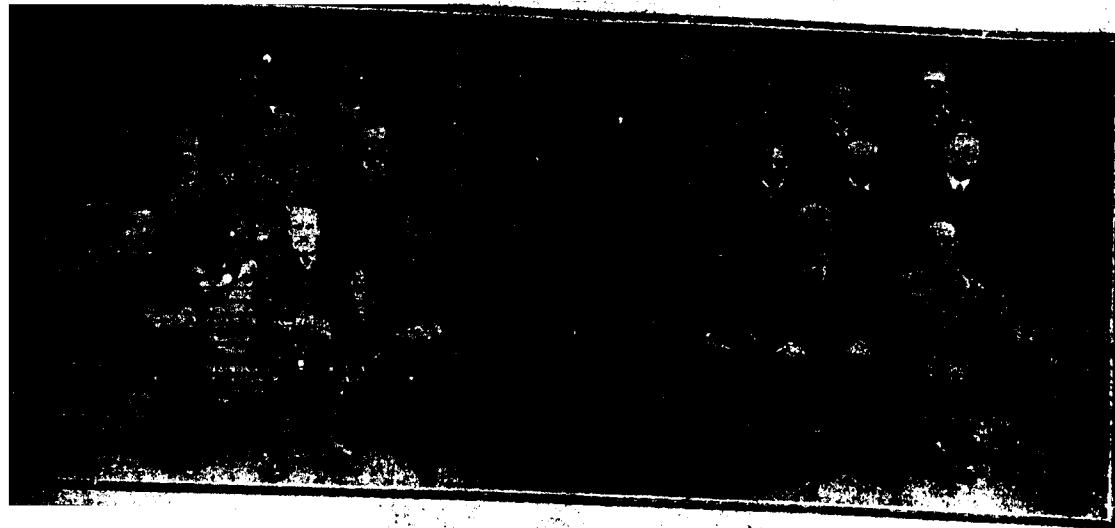


M. A. F. KERENSKY
The Lloyd George of Russia.

THE MAYFLOWER

BY THE REV. DR. R. A. HUME.

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THE IMPERIAL WAR CONFERENCE, 1917.

ON September 5th 1620 a wee barque of only 180 tons, the Mayflower, sailed from Plymouth, England, for the Western world.

The influence of that tiny vessel on the world has perhaps been more far-reaching and more beneficent than that of any other craft that ever sailed the sea. This is solely due to the character and the aim of the passengers. They were forty-one men, who with women and children numbered one hundred and two persons of the middle class, who had been worried and persecuted even in England because they were convinced and taught that spiritual life could come direct from God, without a formal compliance with any religious organisation controlled by a secular government. They were wholly loyal to their King. They had no quarrel with any or all who wished to follow a state-controlled religious system. But for themselves they were determined to have freedom to worship God according to the dictates of their consciences. Because the then Government of England and many of their neighbours denied them such liberty they emigrated to Holland. Even there their persecutors troubled them. So they resolved to seek freedom in the wilds of recently discovered America.

With difficulty they obtained from King James permission to found a Colony in North America, all of which was known as Virginia. After overcoming serious obstacles they sailed. Difficulties twice drove their barque back to port. Undaunted they sailed again on September 6th 1620. Huge palatial steamships, equipped with every comfort, now convey passengers across the Atlantic in five days. That tiny Mayflower, buffeting a stormy sea, in wintry and inclement weather, spent sixty seven days in making that same voyage.

Her brave voyagers knew that whenever they should reach the new world they would find it a

wilderness without a house, without a government, inhabited by hostile North American Indians, and without a single comfort. Yet it would at least be a spot where they could enjoy the supreme object of their lives, freedom to worship God according to the dictates of their consciences. Yet that very conviction compelled them to recognise that some kind of orderly government must be arranged even before they should reach their destination. Therefore, during the voyage, they drew up a plan for their government, the essence of which was a religious democracy, i.e., an orderly society of democratic principles and regulations, with officials chosen by themselves, under responsibility to God. In the cabin of the Mayflower those forty-one men formed themselves into a body politic by a solemn compact, the beginning of which was as follows:—

In the name of God, amen; we, whose names are under writing, the loyal subjects of our dread Sovereign King James, having undertaken, for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and honour of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do, by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid, and by virtue hereof, to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most convenient for the general good of the colony. Unto which we promise all due submission and obedience.

This compact was "perhaps the only instance in human history of that positive, original social compact which speculative philosophers have imagined as the only legitimate source of government." Yet more and more the peoples of the world are finding in it the seed and assurance of practical constitutional democratic government for to-day. It was the first bud of the Commonwealth which has now become the greatest Republic of the world. Later when the thirteen American Colonies (most of which had been started on monarchical principles) separated from

their Mother Country to form a new nation, their leaders, when drafting a constitution for the new-born nation, found their ideal in the compact of those Pilgrim Fathers. It was the principle of government of the people, for the people, by the people under responsibility to God.

Practically all the nations of North and South America now have democratic governments. Several of the nations of Europe and even huge China are now republics. A form of government alone cannot make it truly democratic. The semi-monarchical government of Great Britain is really more democratic than that of some nominal republics. The determining principle in the aim and practice of the Pilgrim Fathers was a sense of obligation to God. First God and then, yet because of Him, His people. The greater any peoples' conception of God and the greater their sense of dependence on Him, the greater will be their conviction of their own possibilities and duties, and the greater their determination to meet their duties and to achieve their possibilities. On one American coin there is always the motto, "In God we trust." The last verse of the best American national hymn is this:—

Our Fathers' God, to Thee,
Author of liberty,
To Thee we sing.
Long may our land be bright
With freedom's holy light;
Protect us by Thy might
Great God, our king.

As sure as God is Almighty, and as sure as He will not bless the aims of those who disregard Him, so sure is it that if our India desires more and more of self-rule, she must more and more know, revere and obey the wise, the good, the Almighty God who holds in His paternal hands the destinies of men and nations. *Swarajya* is the basis of good *Swarajya*. Those Pilgrim Fathers best served the political development of the world because they rightly gave pre-eminence to God even in their political plans. On September 6th we in India may well learn a lesson of political wisdom from the voyagers of the Mayflower.

An American poetess has sung their story:—

The breaking waves dashed high
On a stern and rockbound coast,
And the woods against a stormy sky
Their giant branches tossed;
And the heavy night hung dark
The hills and waters o'er,
When a band of exiles moored their bark
On the wild New England shore.
Not as the conqueror comes,
They, the true-hearted, came;
Not with the roll of the stirring drums,
And the trumpet that sings of fame;
Not as the flying come,
In silence and in fear;
They shook the depths of the desert gloom
With their hymns of lofty cheer.
Amidst the storm they sang,
And the stars heard, and the sea;
And the sounding aisles of the dim woods rang
To the anthem of the free.
The ocean eagle soared
From his nest by the white wave's foam.
And the rocking pines of the forest roared,
This was their welcome home.
There were men with hoary hair
Amidst that pilgrim band;
Why had they come to wither there,
Away from their childhood's land?
There was woman's fearless eye,
Lit by her deep love's truth;
There was manhood's brow serenely high,
And the fiery heart of youth.
What sought they thus afar?
Bright jewels of the mine?
The wealth of seas, the spoils of war?
They sought a faith's pure shrine.
Ay, call it holy ground,
The soil where first they trod;
They have left unstained what there they found,
Freedom to worship God.

AN APOLOGY

BY MR. BALINDRALAL DAS, B.Sc.

O dear, if in blinding light, I clutch,
The motes, that float in it so much,—
—I am of darkness, and in Thy love,
I hanker for the mote,—Thy touch;

O dear, if in Thee I find,
The glamour, that has made me blind
To all th' lights of Heaven and earth,
—To my own bondage I have signed!

If my fleeting voice inapire,
Thy love-song or Thy mocking ire;
—I am of earth, of gloom,—and lost,
To all Thy sacred Heavenly fire!

If my little breath fail Thy flute,
—And hushed in shame, I am mute;—
Wake up Thy melodies, and let me hear,
Thy song that made me man from brute!

MR. L. CURTIS ON INDIA'S FUTURE 595

BY

DR. PATTABI SITARAMAYYA, B.A., M.B. & C.M.

MR. LIONEL CURTIS who was recently charged by the Indian public with having conspired to bring India under the control of the Dominions, explains his position very clearly in his "Letter to the People of India*" and supports his conclusions by impaling the Indian publicists on the horns of a dilemma. He begins by presuming that unless the councils of the Empire are reconstituted on a domestic and a federal basis, this fabric which has been fashioned after much labour and efforts is bound to perish. He straightway predicts that in the reconstruction of the Empire, while each country or Dominion may have its State Legislature or Parliament, the Empire as a whole must have its Imperial concerns entrusted to a central Parliament consisting of a Lower and an Upper House to each of which Indian representatives will be admitted. He then asks us whether we shall link ourselves and our country as an appanage to the domestic Parliament of Britain in which India cannot possibly have any representation whatever or whether we shall agree to entrusting our destinies and the decision of "how fast India is to travel towards responsible Government" to that larger body—the true Imperial Parliament upon which all the communities of the Commonwealth can find a place along with those of India and to which "the English members of Parliament upon whose sympathy you have learned to count are just as likely to seek election as to the new Parliament created to deal with the local affairs of the British Isles." In formulating these positions he has probably little doubt that all sensible and thinking politicians in India would yoke themselves to the Central Parliament of the Empire rather than the domestic Parliament of Great Britain, and this means that India

*"Letter to the People of India." By Mr. Lionel Curtis. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London.

would entrust its destiny to the decisions of a body on which the Dominions as well as the United Kingdom are proportionately represented. If Indian politicians agree to such a plan, where then is the so-called conspiracy—either of Mr. Curtis or of the Round Table Politicians!

The argument would be unanswerable if the presumptions leading to it were correct. Is it then taken for granted that immediately upon the close of the war the existing mother of Parliaments will dwindle down to a domestic legislature concerned merely with the affairs of England; that separate Parliaments will be established for Wales and Scotland and that the settlement of Ireland will follow similar lines? It is true that neither the Imperial Conference nor the Imperial Cabinet which have just concluded their memorable sittings have yet come to a decision on the matter—have not even seriously considered this question in a comprehensive manner, but have held over the consideration of these complicated problems to a special sitting to be convened sometime hence. But English public opinion as well as the considered opinions of the Overseas delegates have left little doubt as to whether the plans of Lionel Curtis and Basil Worsfold are at all within the pale of practical politics.

It is true that the movement for Home Rule all round, and the establishment of autonomous subordinate legislatures in England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales, has been in existence for wellnigh 40 years and has been steadily gaining strength and support. From the time of Sir Robert Peel complaint has been repeatedly made of the immense multiplication of details in public business; Parliament has become overweighted with duties and functions of a most trivial character unworthy of such an august body. Again the assumption of sovereignty over India

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by the Crown, the vast growth of the Empire itself since 1833, the dominant position of Great Britain in world-politics during the past 50 years, the rapid extension of legislation to social questions have all tended to increase Parliamentary business to such a degree that the administration of Imperial affairs as well of outlying parts of the Empire has made it impossible for a Central Legislature to transact its functions with efficiency or quickness. Reorganization of the Empire's councils has therefore become urgent, but at the same time the conservative forces at work cannot be ignored. The Britisher is a matter-of-fact individual noted for his deep attachment to what is time-honoured and traditional, for a keen sense of the practical and a constant striving after the immediate. He abhors violent changes and there is little doubt that the changes proposed by Mr. Curtis and Mr. Worsfold necessitating as they do a new Imperial Parliament, a new Imperial Treasury and a new Imperial Taxation are of altogether a "violent character," however noble, imposing and logical in themselves they may be.

The revolutionary character of the proposals has been so far admitted by Mr. Worsfold himself that he has thought it necessary to describe in his book "Empire on the Anvil," some half-way schemes one of which is "to maintain the Imperial Conference and the Committee of Imperial Defence and to make effective provision for the representation of India in both bodies, and for the attendance of Dominion Members at the meetings of the Defence Committee. The other scheme is to constitute a "Dominions' Council of Delegates" elected for a period of three years by the several Dominion Legislatures, in some manner to be agreed upon. The Dominions are to agree for a period of 10 years to contribute proportionately to their populations and upon a fixed basis of assessment, to the annual cost of the Imperial services, provided that the estimated appropriations for these services from the respec-

tive revenues of the United Kingdom and the several Dominions shall have been first submitted to and approved by the Council of Delegates. The Council is to meet in London, at least once in every year and the Ministers of the Imperial Government are to have the right to be present at and take part in its proceedings but not to vote in any division. The voting is to be either *per capita* or by States, but provision is to be made for the contributions to be voted or withheld as a whole, so that it shall not be possible for any one Dominion singly to refuse its quota. These are the alternative schemes of Mr. Worsfold and it is claimed for the latter of these proposals that the "Dominions' Council of Delegates exercising the power of granting or withholding supplies delegated to it by the Dominions' Parliaments will be an intermediate body between these and the British Parliament, establishing a chain of responsibility on the Foreign Secretary to the British Parliament, the British Parliament to the Dominions' Council of Delegates and the Council to the several Dominions' Parliaments. Human ingenuity has indeed been strained to the full in devising such alternative schemes and all these only indicate how revolutionary and repugnant to the United Kingdom would be the original plan of an Imperial Parliament with an Upper and a Lower House, with a separate Executive and with autonomous domestic Legislatures for England Scotland and Wales. An Imperial Executive requires an Imperial Legislature. Both require an Imperial treasury which in its turn must be filled by the levy of Imperial taxes. Few can disguise from themselves the positive opposition of the Dominions to the levy of an Imperial taxation, which is not mitigated by the mere fact of their representatives being given a place on the body which may lay and levy them. The warning of 1783 is still fresh in the minds of statesmen and the fact is not forgotten that what the Americans resented

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was not merely the imposition of taxation without representation but the very idea of Imperial taxation itself. There is little doubt that adequate contributions will be made to the Imperial Defence whether *pro-rata* or otherwise, but it is equally beyond doubt that the Dominions will never consent to the levy of Imperial taxation. To determine these contributions the Imperial Conferences are quite competent. The constitutional position has changed considerably since Mr. Curtis published his proposals. A momentous session of the Imperial Conference has been held in 1917, India has been acknowledged a partner in the Empire and not a mere dependency. She has been assigned representation on the Conference on terms of equality with the representatives of the Dominions. What is more, the portals of the British Cabinet have been thrown open to the Oversea Dominions and to India. "While it was in session," says Mr. Lloyd George, "the Overseas Members had access to all the information at the disposal of Government and occupied a status of absolute equality with members of the British Government. . . . As far as Government were concerned they could state with confidence that the experiment had been a complete success. Accordingly it was agreed that the meetings should be held annually or more often when urgently necessary." These innovations or the alternative proposals of Mr. Worsfold are regarded as quite sufficient to determine the contributions of the Oversea Dominions to Imperial Defence and to ensure their participation in the settlement of Imperial affairs, and when the question of contributions is settled by the Imperial Conference meeting annually or oftener, and by the enlarged Cabinet, there would be little necessity for Imperial taxation without which there would be neither an Imperial treasury nor an Imperial Parliament.

At the last Imperial Conference Sir Robert Borden speaking on the resolution dealing with the constitution of the Empire looked forward

to development along the line of increasing equalization of status between the Dominions and the Mother Country. He believed that the Dominions fully realized the ideal of an Imperial Commonwealth of United Nations with the Crown as a tie but under the present conditions he held that it would be unwise for the Conference to attempt to enter upon the subject. Mr. Massey expressed similar views in seconding the Resolution. General Smuts, however, considered that the British Empire was the most important and most fascinating problem in political and constitutional Government, the world had ever seen. He said when they came to the question of the Constitution they touched the very gravest issue. "As a matter of fact," he said "we are the only group of nations that ever successfully existed as founded on principles of equality. We hope we may become an instrument for good in the whole world." Yet too much of the old ideas still clung to the new and growing organism. Although in practice there was great freedom, yet in theory the Dominions are the subject provinces of Britain. This would be a most important question when the permanent basis came to be considered. *The circumstances of the Empire entirely precluded a Federal solution. An attempt to so run different races, languages, economic conditions and even common concerns would be absolutely to court disaster.* It was not beyond the wit of man to devise a scheme of continuous consultations to keep the various groups together. Sir Joseph Ward strongly opposed any attempt to hand over the control of individual Defence Forces, to any Empire Parliament, but he reiterated his previously expressed views on the necessity for such a Parliament. Mr. Lloyd George practically confirmed the views expressed by General Smuts. "It is true," as he said, "that no attempt had been made to settle the constitutional developments to which the War Cabinet might lead. The whole question would be reserved for consideration by a Special Conference

to be summoned as soon as possible after the war to readjust the constitutional relations of the Empire. It was felt, however, that the experiment of constituting an Imperial Cabinet in which India was represented had been so fruitful in better understanding and unity of purpose and action that it ought to be perpetuated and it was believed that the proposal would commend itself to all the nations of the Empire." This guarded but unequivocal pronouncement from the most radical, enthusiastic and courageous of Premiers leaves little room for doubt regarding the future reconstruction of the Empire. Few can fail to detect in the speeches of General Smuts in London a note of caution in regard to this matter friendly and earnest, to those who think the time is ripe for revolutionizing the constitution on the lines adopted by Mr. Curtis. However commendable the idea may look, "it is none the less full of perils and quicksands and above all it is open to the fatal objection that it does not seem to be desired by the spokesmen of the Dominions," says the *Daily Telegraph* (May 16-1917) and the same journal adds: "It may be taken, therefore, as certain that the special War Conference which will be called at the end of the war to consider the general problem of Imperial reconstruction will not favour the idea of a unified Parliament of the Empire. Reconstruction will proceed on lines less sensational but far more consonant with the British tradition of gradual evolution. Indeed it has already begun during the last few weeks in the admission to the Imperial Cabinet of the statesmen of the Dominions and the representatives of India." Professor Keith has clearly shown that the plan of a Federal Parliament for the Union has to contend against numerous difficulties and has little chance of acceptance by the statesmen of the day. Sir Charles Lucas lays emphasis upon the 'invincible instinct' in Carlyle's words, of the English race 'to expand, if it be possible, some old habit of method already found

fruitful, into new growth for the new need.' Says Sir C. P. Lucas: "They will not have anything wholly new as long as there is something in existence which can in any way be recast, amplified, distorted, if you like, but in one way or another to suit the purpose. Another feature of the race is that it is the most practical race in the world. They ask for and they get what will meet the obvious need of the moment. They ask for and they get, under any name and in any guise you please, what will work from day to day. They do not ask and will not thank you for a far-reaching logical plan which gives more than is actually required at the present time and professes to provide for an unknown and therefore speculative future." One has to remember the truth of these observations in interpreting aright Mr. Lloyd George's statement regarding the War Cabinet and the Imperial Conference and their unqualified success. These institutions called into being under an emergency have served the national purpose and may be trusted to do so for sometime to come. An Imperial Parliament, and Imperial Treasury and Imperial Taxes are but institutions of a remote future. They may come into being in good time but before the day arrives, the domestic constitutions of the Empire will have undergone changes of a far-reaching character. The problem of Home Rule for Ireland which has been hanging fire for over three decades is in sight of an early solution, and a Parliament at Dublin will transact the domestic affairs of Ireland. In due course, England, Scotland, and Wales will have their autonomous domestic Legislatures. When the different parts of the United Kingdom and Ireland obtain their subordinate State Parliaments, India will have succeeded in working her way onward to complete internal autonomy within the Empire and the Secretary of State for India if the office will not be then absorbed into that of the Colonial Secretary, will be to India, what the

latter will be to the Colonies. Until then the British Parliament in its existing form will continue to be in the ascendant, may be with new creations such as the Imperial Cabinet and the Imperial Conference or a Standing Committee of Imperial Defence and a Foreign Relations Committee as Sir Charles Lucas suggests or a Council of Dominion Delegates which has been recommended as a half-way house by Mr. Worsfold. Judging, then, from the tenor of events in England and the tendencies of statesmen in the Empire, it will be easy to see that Mr. Lionel Curtis' questions need no answer now as the probabilities are against the establishment in one bound of an Imperial Parliament just at this juncture; his questions will need no answer then as by that time India hopes to work out her Home Rule in common with Ireland, Scotland,

Wales and England. The questions will not arise so long as the British Parliament continues to play a dominant part in Imperial affairs and the day on which it ceases to do so will be the proud day in the history of India when she will hold a position of partnership in the Empire such as the one promised to her by the *London Times*, Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Chamberlain and such as the component States of the United Kingdom, Ireland, and the Dominions shall enjoy. Till then India pleads for two privileges that must justly fall to her share—namely that she shall be represented at the Imperial Cabinet as well as the Imperial Conference by duly elected representatives and that in the former as in the latter she shall have the right of equality of Vote and Voice.

THE ASPIRATIONS OF JAPAN.

(Letters of a Japanese Scholar to an English Friend).

EDITED BY MR. V. B. METTA.

MY DEAR WILSON,

We came out of our past about fifty years ago, because we realized the danger of an inactive life, when the old order was confronted by the new. We then worked with lightning-speed to be an up-to-date race. And as we have now succeeded in learning all that we wanted to learn from the West, we are at leisure to consider the effects of our adoption of certain Western ideas and institutions. It must be admitted that our contact with the West has done us some good. We are becoming richer as a nation. Our people have become more enterprising. We feel a new kind of life throbbing within us. We have won the admiration of the world,—which is never unwelcome to any race on earth. But another and quite a different picture can also be painted side by side with the above one. Instruction is spreading among all classes now, but it has brought superficiality and love of rhetoric in its

train. Our new ideas of political economy have made our poor people a little poorer. Litigation has increased. I am also obliged to say, that the average Japanese is not improved by coming into contact with Westerners. He becomes vulgar, and uses gross expressions, and swear-words, which he has picked up from his Occidental friends. (Do you know there are no abusive terms in our language?) The feeling of reverence for elders is also dying out among those of our people who have been too much influenced by Western ideas.

If we do not wish our national soul to die, or to be merged into that of the West, we must try our best not to forget the ideals of a 'bushi.' We must keep up our ancestor-worship in order to preserve the sense of continuity with our past. And we certainly shall continue to keep alive our artistic ideals, which like all other Oriental ideals, seek the Ultimate and the Universal only.

I might have written to you before, that we do

not want a 'democratic' form of Government, in the sense in which you Westerners understand it. But that does not mean that there is no 'freedom' in Japan as some of our Western critics seem to think. Are we all 'political slaves' as they imagine us to be? Well, they ought to have read the license with which our newspapers wrote about the Peace of Portsmouth in 1905! Almost every important member of the Government was then criticised furiously. Mass meetings were held in Hibya Park at that time, whence the Police were obliged to beat a precipitate retreat. The Tokyo mob is as unmanageable when it is once disaffected, as an English or French mob. It pulled down half a dozen buildings in a fit of rage. The rioting then increased to such an extent that martial law had to be proclaimed in the city. Now, do such things happen in countries which are not free?

We pass strictures on our government as freely as in any other country in the world. Those of our ministers who do not discharge their duties faithfully are practically compelled by us to resign. There have been even political murders in New Japan. The great Okubo, one of our earliest reformers was assassinated by the people. Neither the civil nor the military party in our country can do anything which the people do not like. But, in spite of all this, we do not wish to make the Mikado, a servant of the people! We have been taught the virtue of obedience to him from time immemorial, and there is no reason why we should now behave towards him like disobedient children.

He is the embodiment of all that is highest and best in the Japanese race. We do not want any socialists in Japan, because their doctrines are more necessary in your society than in ours. Are we not justified in that case, in nipping those movements in the bud, which are likely to do more harm than good to our society?

What glorious future do we see before our country?—What is our greatest ambition?—to words what goal are we now marching?—these are some of the questions which our Western friends ask us repeatedly. To begin with, let me assure you, that we are not hatching a great plot for exterminating the so-called white races. (Do you know that many Asiatic races,—like the

Ottoman Turks, the Arabs, the Persians, the Armenians, and the Circassians are as 'white' as any of the Southern European races? As for Northern Europeans—I wonder whether they should be called 'white' or 'red'?) That would be quite beyond our powers! what we wish to do is to lift up other Eastern races from the mire of degeneration. We want to be their guides, philosophers, and friends. Some of them have benefited us morally or spiritually in the past, and so, it is now our ambition to quicken the flow of life-blood in their veins. We want the races of the Asiatic Continent to learn from us the art of self-rejuvenation. There are many thousands of Chinese students studying in Japan at present. We have also large colonies of Chinese and Indian students in our midst. Other Oriental races will soon look upon Japan as the land of light. We also hope to influence the West considerably in days to come. We know that our art has already influenced some of the most famous European artists. Before the end of the present century, we might succeed in influencing your literature, your philosophy, your science and your religious ideas. By that time, Tokyo will have become a second Athens or Cordova in learning, and a second Rome or Bagdad in imperial majesty. The Far-Eastern civilization is likely to become the dominant civilization of the world sooner or later.—Do you think it is a mere dream of mine? No!—for, we are marching towards our great Future with steps as firm as when we began to march about fifty years ago to our present position among the great Powers of the world.

And what will the future civilized races of the world think of your civilization when it is dead? They will praise it for certain reasons, no doubt! But they might condemn it also, in as superior a manner as you now condemn the various Oriental civilizations of the past. They will perhaps say, that you were so blinded by your 'Science,' that you could not see the greater light of Religion. In other words, the Finite was always more important than the Infinite in your eyes. They will say that you were very heavy and clumsy in your thought and actions as compared with themselves. They will laugh at your 'International Law,' your Hague conferences, your suffragettes, your fondness for spirituous drinks, and a hundred other subjects which you seem to take very seriously just now.

Yours Sincerely,
J. OKAKURA.

SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR INDIA

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Lord Islington*

I would say at once that if the ideals of the British Empire stand for anything, India's future must be in accord with those ideals and her ultimate ambition which she must one day realize after successfully surmounting the difficulties before her is the attainment of responsible Government within the Empire. This ideal, which took this country many centuries to achieve, cannot be reached in a day, nor can it be given by Acts of Parliament alone. The journey may be long and arduous, and the dangers of a false step cannot be ignored. It is the task of British statesmanship, which alone has the necessary experience, to guide India so that she may not falter or relapse on the way.

Immediate developments should, (said Lord Islington,) begin in the Panchayats (the organs of village Government), in Municipalities, and in the District Boards administering country areas. With regard to the Presidency and Provincial Governments and the Legislative Councils, he was of opinion that much could be done with great benefit in the direction of decentralization. The development of the country had outstripped the capacity of any central Government to exercise effective administration. Such matters as police, education, agriculture, forestry, and public works and industrial enterprise might be handed over entirely to the larger of the Provincial Governments. Each Province should be allowed to work out its own redemption by itself in accordance with its own capacity.

They must aim more representative control in Local Governments through the medium of elected representatives, perhaps best done by the creation

* Speech at the Oxford Summer Meeting, July, 1917.

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on the French plan of Standing Committees of the Legislative Councils. He would like to see a Government consisting of a Governor and four Executive councillors (nominated by the Crown on the recommendation of the Governor), two Europeans and two Indians, and he would regard members of the services as eligible for the post of Governor. If in deference to the Legislative Council, the Government modified their policy, the Council would have to shoulder responsibility for the results. That was the essence of responsible Government as we understood it, and to secure its introduction into Indian Local Government a suitable system of election was important. The method of election should continue as at present based on a community franchise, but where possible the system of election should be direct instead of, as now in certain cases, indirect.

Adequate powers of taxation must be given to the Local Governments. Some means must be found of leaving provincial balances to a greater extent than at present under the control of the Local Governments, though power would have to be retained by superior authority to intervene in the last resort should a province squander its resources.

But even (continued Lord Islington) if these changes, and they are all changes which could only be introduced slowly and on careful enquiry were made, the Government of India would still, and always must remain responsible for the Imperial side—or I must say federal side—of Indian Government. It is impossible that the Government of India should ever divest itself of the control over the Army and the forces for the local naval defences, foreign relations, communications (including railways posts and telegraphs), customs,

currency, all of which Services are of wider than local range. The liberalisation of the supreme legislative and executive councils would follow the lines which I have sketched in the case of the provincial councils, but in view of the greater importance of the matters in which the Imperial authorities have to deal, progress would necessarily be slower and would be dependent on the success of the changes in the Provincial Governments.

If all the changes that I have mentioned could in due time be carried out, the picture that India would present would resemble, with the necessary differences entailed by local conditions, in particular the existence of the native States that of the Commonwealth of Australia which as you know, is a Federation of Self-Governing States in which the central authority exercises control over matters affecting equally all the component units.

In any final scheme of Indian Self-Government provision must be made for the Native States, which in area and population cover one third of the Peninsula. They did not form part of His Majesty's Dominions and though proud to recognize the paramountcy of the British Crown their rulers enjoyed almost complete internal sovereignty. Lord Islington held that those Native States must come into the scheme of their own free will, their treaty rights must be scrupulously respected, and nothing must be done to impair the personal link which binds them to the Crown.

British and Indian public men and officials must for years to come carve out in joint efforts the destinies of British India. Their continued co-operation is a vital element in this great undertaking as every patriotic Indian who loves his country must realize. The opportunity for India is great. May it be granted that both races, British and Indian, will with single-minded endeavour, combine to avail themselves of the occasion,

H. E. Lord Chelmsford*

At the very first Executive Council which I held as Viceroy and Governor-General I propounded two questions to my Council: (1) What is the goal of British Rule in India? (2) What are the steps on the road to the goal? We came to the conclusion, which I trust most Hon. Members will agree was inevitable, that the endowment of British India as an integral part of the British Empire, with self-government was the goal of British Rule, and His Majesty's Government have now put forward in precise terms their policy, which I may say that we as the Government of India regard in substance as practically indistinguishable from that which we put forward. With regard to the second question, after careful and detailed examination of the ground, we arrived at the decision that there were three roads along which an advance should be made towards the goal.

The first road was in the domain of Local Self-government, village, rural, town or municipal. The domain of urban and rural Self-Government, is the great training ground from which political progress and a sense of responsibility have taken their start, and we felt that the time had come to quicken the advance, to accelerate the rate of progress, and thus to stimulate the sense of responsibility in the average citizen and to enlarge his experience. The second road, in our opinion, lay in the domain of the more responsible employment of Indians under the Government. We felt that it was essential to progress towards the goal that Indians should be admitted in steadily increasing proportion to the higher grades of the various services and departments, and to more responsible posts in the administration generally. It is, I think, obvious that this is a most important line of advance. If we are to get real progress it is vital that India should have an increasing number of men, versed not only in the

* Speech in opening the autumn session of the Imperial Council at Simla on September 5, 1917.

details of every day administration, but in the whole art of Government. I doubt whether there is likely to be anyone who will cavil at the general conclusions at which we arrived as to those two roads of advance, but agreement must not blind us to their instruction. The first and foremost principle which was enunciated in Lord Ripon's Self-Government resolution of May 1882, and was subsequently emphasised by Lord Morley and Lord Crewe in their despatches of November, 27th, 1908, and July 11th, 1913, respectively, was that the object of Local Self-Government is to train the people in the management of their own local affairs, and that political education of this sort must take precedence of mere considerations of departmental efficiency. We are in complete accord with the principle, hence our advocacy of an advance along the first road. Equally we realise the paramount importance of training in administration which would be derived from an advance along the second road. There is nothing like administrative experience to sober the judgment and bring about an appreciation of the practical difficulties which exist in the realm of administration, and it is from this source that we look forward in the future to an element of experienced and tried material for the Legislative Assemblies.

We come now to our third road, which lay in the domain of the Legislative Councils. As Hon. Members will readily appreciate, there is no subject on which so much difference of opinion exists, and with regard to which greater need is required for careful investigation and sober decision. I may say frankly that we, as the Government of India, recognise fully that an advance must be made on this road, simultaneously with the advances on the other two, and His Majesty's Government, in connection with the goal which they have outlined in their announcement, have decided that substantial steps in the direction of the goal they define should be taken as soon as

possible. Some criticism has been directed against the Government of India on the score that we have not disclosed the policy outlined in our despatch. I must remind Hon. Members that the decision on such a question rests not with the Government of India but with the authorities at Home. Moreover, on the larger question of a declaration of policy, in view of its unique importance, I have steadfastly refused in the face of much adverse criticism to anticipate by any statement of my own the decision of His Majesty's Government, who alone could make a final and authoritative statement, and I was careful to warn Hon. Members in my opening speech to them last February of the likelihood of delay owing to the grave preoccupations of the Home Cabinet.

This, however, is I hope now immaterial, for His Majesty's Government have announced their policy and have authorised the Secretary of State, with His Majesty's approval, to accept my invitation to visit India and to examine the issues on the spot. I had invited Mr. Chamberlain to visit India, some time back. He was on the point of accepting when his resignation took place. Immediately on Mr. Montagu's assumption of office I expressed the hope that he would see his way to accept the invitation which I had extended to his predecessor, and I am delighted that the Cabinet have decided that he should accept. Some apprehension has been expressed in that the Government of India is about to be superseded temporarily by the Secretary of State. There need be no anxiety on that score. As I have told you, Mr. Montagu is coming on my invitation to consult informally with myself, the Government of India and others. He will make no public pronouncements of policy, and the business between the Government of India and the Home Government will be conducted through the regular channels and the Council of India. There is no question of suppression, but the outstanding advantage of Mr. Montagu's visit is that he will now have the opportunity of

making at first hand an examination of the questions in issue, and for my part I shall leave nothing undone to enable him to receive all the suggestions of representative bodies and others which he may desire. In these circumstances, and in view of Mr. Montagu's assurance that there will be ample opportunity for public discussion of the proposals which will be submitted in due course to Parliament, I would suggest to Hon. Members that the intervening time before his arrival might be spent in quiet examination of the arguments to be placed before him. For myself, I am anxious that when Mr. Montagu arrives we—and in that pronoun I include all those representative bodies and others mentioned in the announcement—should have ready to place before him all the material which will enable him to form a reasoned judgment. I hope Hon. Members will not regard my advice as suspect, but I would press it on their attention that when Mr. Montagu arrives in India he should find a calm atmosphere, suggested policies carefully thought out and supported by sober arguments and concrete facts, and a spirit of sobriety dominating everyone of the issues to be examined.

H. H. The Maharaja of Alwar*

I say to you, students, whatever sphere of life may lie before you and whatever careers may open out in your future, pray, remember that you are first an Indian, a patriotic Indian, a loyal Indian. These terms can be synonymous to each other and need not at all be contradictory. The air is rife in these days in India with questions of Home Rule and Self-Government within the Empire and, the war, in the words of the British Prime Minister, has made us a thousand years more advanced in our notions of life and people. All these questions of politics to my mind do not rest so much on pious hopes and concessions as they do on self-realisation which comes from

within and when this light dawns within, the darkness of ignorance disappears and gives place to freedom, which, when applied to countries and peoples as a whole, acquires such names as Home Rule, Self-Government, etc. I cannot conceive any Indian who is true to his country and to the blood of his parents not uniting in the legitimate aspirations of India towards its ultimate goal of taking its rightful position within the Empire. This is the time when you must prepare yourself in order that you may fulfil the needs that will come before you, so that with ripe judgment and sound education, you may be able to take your rightful position in the Empire and be citizens of a country or of a State which may feel proud of its gallant sons.

The Hon. The Raja of Mahmudabad*

I appreciate fully the importance of Mr. Montagu's decision to come to India and examine Indian problems on the spot. But we must prepare ourselves to do all we can to enable him to understand what exactly the real situation here is and I might as well say here as emphatically as I can that we intend to support, and support as firmly and unflinchingly as possible, the Congress-League reform scheme.

One of the chief difficulties no doubt which any Indian reformer would have to face and to successfully overcome is the adjustment in as happy a manner as possible of the relations between the Ruling Chiefs and the British Indian Government. While not desirous of entering into the question fully I would lay it down as guiding principle that unless we of British India are allowed to have a voice in the affairs of the Native States, the Princes should not be given any hand in shaping our destinies at this critical juncture. I have great hopes in the statesmanship and liberal instincts of our present Viceroy.

* Address to Students at Alwar, Sept. 1917.

* Interview to a Press correspondent, Simla, Sept. 1917.

Mr. H. S. L. Polak *

I have felt more and more that it is not possible to expect any people to rest content with being governed by another people. (*Cheers.*) And it is not possible to expect the Indian people to rest content with being prevented from giving the best content to its own aspirations. Nobody else is capable of expressing Indian aspirations so well as Indians themselves, through their own representatives, by means of their own institutions and through their own Government eventually. And until this is done, obviously there can be no rest, there can be no peace in this country. I well remember the statement made by Mr. Bernard Shaw in his "John Bull's other Isle" where he was discussing the question of Irish Nationality. He regarded the question as in the nature of a national curse, and so far as Ireland was concerned, it was absolutely broken by the evil disease and all its activities were frustrated because it was not capable of the fullest expression of its national feeling. We all look to the greater federation of the world in course of time. No nation with a broken nationality can rest content until a healthy nationality is once more restored. I do not regard this national movement as being in any sense a political movement, for my interest in the political movement would be very little of a politician, but of a servant of humanity. I regard this movement of nationalism in India as a very great humanitarian movement. It is a movement to enable the people of India to enjoy freedom of conscience, freedom of thought, freedom of expression, freedom of speech and freedom of action. Unless all these are granted in the fullest measure, there is bound to be continued unrest. As a Britisher myself and as a believer in the general confederacy of the British Empire, I think that the absence of these conditions in India makes for ill-will in the Empire. I do not believe that it is possible to apply fine

* At an entertainment given by the Indian Colonial Society, Madras, on Friday, 24th Aug. 1917.

principles in Europe and not to apply the same fine principles in Asiatic countries. Humanity, so far as I have been able to observe, is one and indivisible. If you pinch a man in England or in South Africa he winces. If you prick a pin into him he objects to the pin-pricking policy. Then I say that if you want to get rid of these conditions, you should have the full expansion of your energies. It is necessary for you yourselves to set the basis to do the work and to lay the foundation and then you will be able to achieve the object. By what we have done we deserve. I believe that my second Motherland, India—my spiritual Motherland will take her place in the comity of nations as an equal. You should lose no opportunity of self-sacrifice, you should think of no effort too great to lay your labours on the altar of your country in order that your efforts may bear fruit and so that your children may not undergo the same conditions you find yourself in.

The Hon. Mr. M. A. Jinnah*

"The selection of Mr. Montagu to the Secretary of State for India has given, as was but natural, the people of this country great satisfaction and the Prime Minister deserves the best thanks for his choice at the present critical juncture. Whatever may be the causes that led to his coming to India, in order to ensure the success of his mission before he sets to work at his task there should be, in my opinion, a general amnesty declared and all those interned as political prisoners released and I hope that Lord Chelmsford at whose invitation the Secretary of State for India is coming to this country will respond to the public feeling and sentiment on this matter which is very strong. Indeed the internment of Mrs. Besant is universally resented not only on principle but because it is understood in view of the pronouncement of the heads of Provincial Administrations to be a direct blow to the general national movement in this country and this was

* To a Press representative in Simla, Sept. 1917.

the cause that led the people to consider the question of passive resistance. Repression with one hand and concession with the other is a policy which no self-respecting people can accept. We are determined to stand by the principles of the memorandum of 19 members of the Council and the reform scheme of the Congress and the Moslem League and I would urge upon the leaders and every organization and the people at large in the country to lose no time in properly organizing so as to be ready when Mr. Montagu comes here to place the situation before him, and to be able to do so we must set to work at once. I notice that already interested parties are setting up people against the Home Rule League which is being misrepresented as going beyond the demand of the Congress and the League. As President of the Bombay Home Rule League I cannot but repeat what all that we want is and that all that the entire organization of ours is devoted to is the realization of the scheme of reforms adopted at Lucknow, with this difference that the Home Rule League is an educationist propaganda and the Congress is more a deliberative body. I feel sure that the Mussalmans and Hindus will stand together on this matter and I trust that whatever intrigues might be set up by interested parties to detach any section of the landed aristocracy or Hindus or Mahomedans is doomed to failure. Personally I appreciate fully some of the questions affecting the Ruling Chiefs of India and I am sure that they feel for India as much as any one of us was clearly demonstrated by the speeches at the historic send off that was given to the Maharaja of Bikaner at Bombay by the Ruling Chiefs prior to his departure to England as a representative at the War Conference. But the question of British India and its administration should not be allowed to be mixed up with that of the Native States."

Hon. Pandit Motilal Nehru.*

We claim to be reasonable men and as such we have through our great National institutions submitted a scheme of reforms to which we consider we are entitled as a first instalment towards the grant of full responsible Self-Government in due course. What we have asked for is to our minds the irreducible minimum of real power which ought to be invested in us. But we grant that we are not infallible. We are open to conviction and are prepared to negotiate on the basis of our scheme. It is not correct to say that we are asking for the whole loaf in the expectation of getting a slice.

It is equally incorrect to say that we are revolutionaries and will have nothing but full responsible Self-Government at once. Much powder and shot have been wasted by certain Provincial Governors to demolish this fanciful idea. Our position has been clearly stated in the representation recently made by the joint conference of the National Congress and the Moslem League held at Bombay. That representation embodies our answer to the policy of repression in a dignified and emphatic manner. It makes it clear that the newly awakened spirit is not to be suppressed by the Defence of India Act or the Press Act. It asks for the complete reversal of the policy of repression and the immediate release of the interned patriots. While demanding that the Congress-Moslem League scheme of reforms be given effect to after the close of the war it invites the Government to publish its own proposals for public discussion. It insists on an authoritative pronouncement pledging the Government to a policy of making India a self-governing member of the British Empire being made at an early date. We ask for no more and shall be satisfied with no less.

* Presidential address to the Special Provincial Conference of the United Provinces, Lucknow, August 10, 1917.

SEPTEMBER 1917.]

Mr. Syed Hasan Imam*

My heart has always beaten in unison with yours in longing for the realization of those great aspirations for constitutional reforms which will make our country a fully self-contained and self-governing member of the confederacy of commonwealths constituting the British Empire.....

It is because we are satisfied that there can be no political and economic progress in our land till the bureaucracy is replaced by popular legislatures with full control over the executive and the judiciary, that we have placed before us as the goal of our aspiration, the establishment of self-governing institutions in this country. It is idle to tell us that the bureaucracy have done for us this, that and the other, that they have given us good government with its concomitants of peace and contentment. Good government which the bureaucracy profess to have given us is no doubt better than no government, but in the first place good government need not be necessarily synonymous with bureaucratic government. Even a fair-minded member of the Indian Civil Service—Mr. Bernard Houghton—has had the candour to admit in his well-known work called *Bureaucratic Government* that "the menace, the real peril, lies not in the grant of more popular government to India; it lies in the continuance of the present bureaucratic system—a system which has served its purpose and which India has now outgrown." We are grateful for this unequivocal admission in our favour by a retired Civilian, but as a matter of fact we scarcely need any such outside support. Our knowledge of the deficiencies and limitations of the Indian bureaucracy is too subjective to make us require an objective proof. The weaver whom his shoe pinches feels it but too keenly to need any confirmation on the point from the onlooker. We who have lived these many years under the administration of the Indian bureau-

* Presidential address to the Behar Special Provincial Conference at Patna, 26th August, 1917.

cracy do but too well realize its inevitable shortcomings—the inelasticity of its system, the rigidity of its method, the soullessness of its administration, the super-sensitiveness to and impatience of even the most moderate criticism, the intense anxiety to retain, at all cost, the power and influence it has so long enjoyed and last but not least the passion for docile obedience and subservience to its authority. These are realised in a more or less large measure in all parts of India, but in a somewhat backward Province like ours they stand out in bold relief—especially the last. However it be, it is quite clear to us that now that we are demanding self-government, we shall not be placated by the good government offered to us by the Indian bureaucracy—be it howsoever best intentioned, conscientious or benevolent.

Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan*

It is your bounden duty to make it quite clear to His Majesty's ministers and advisers in England and his representatives and agents in this country that not only industrially but even politically and administratively, India is resolved not to be content any longer with being a mere "hewer of wood and drawer of water." No, she is determined that though like the self-governing dominions she may be a daughter in her mother's home, she shall be a mistress in her own. The whole country from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin spoke out its mind to this effect, last Christmas at the Lucknow sessions of the Indian National Congress and the Moslem League, and it now rests with us to make our dream of Self-Government within the Empire or Home Rule for India, a living reality.....

For years I gave the best of what God has given me to loyal co-operation with those in whose hands Providence has placed our destinies, but I feel bound to confess that of late the conviction has been growing upon me more and more that

* Presidential address to the Ninth Behar Provincial Conference at Monghyr, held on 29th July, 1917.

while co-operation with the officials is good, self-dependence and self-reliance are even better and that while good Government, such as has been established in this country by our British fellow-subjects, is to be appreciated and supported, yet Self-Government for India within the Empire would be even immeasurably better and should therefore, be sought after by every constitutional means at our disposal. It is in the fulness of this conviction that I stand before you to-day as an avowed Home Ruler so that the few years that may yet be vouchsafed to me by Providence may be devoted to the service of my Motherland.

But when I find that the demand for Self-Government is echoed from end to end in this country, and that all classes and communities are united in its insistence as the first plank in Indian progress, I feel doubly strengthened in asking you to press it, with all the earnestness and enthusiasm you may command, on the attention of His Majesty's Government, and to strain every nerve in securing it by constitutional methods, buoyed up with the conviction that good government can never be a proper substitute for Self-Government.

H. H. THE MAHARAJA OF TRAVANCORE

The festivities in connection with the *Shashtyab-dapurthi* or the 60th birthday anniversary of H. H. the Maharaja of Travancore were celebrated with befitting enthusiasm all over His Highness' territory on the 24th of September. Travancore residents in other parts of the country were no less enthusiastic in their celebration in honour of their Maharaja. Indeed as was observed by one of the speakers at the great public meeting at Trivandram, presided over by Dewan Krishnan Nair, the event is unique in the history of the Rulers of the State. It is some 150 years since such a festival was ever celebrated in Travancore. The last ruler who witnessed his *Shashtyabdhapurthi* was H. H. Marthanda Varma who reigned for 62 years.

H. H. Sir Bala Rama Varma, G.C.I.E., G.C.S.I., the present Maharaja is one of the premier princes of India. His Highness has been thirty-two years on the *gadi* and the period of his rule has been one of continued progress and prosperity. When His Highness came to the throne in 1885, the State was, from all accounts, in a backward condition. But His Highness has been fortunate in his Dewans with whose assistance the revenue and police administrations were improved by successive Ministers not to speak of the great progress in educational and legislative departments in

recent years. An ex-Dewan of the State, in one of the State manuals, gives this account of the progress made in His Highness' time. It reads:

In no similar period of Travancore history have so many improvements and reforms been so quietly effected. Several useful schemes have either been inaugurated or completed since his accession to the Musnad, and these have already begun to bear fruit. Such are the Kothayar Irrigation project; the Parur and Kaipuzha reclamation schemes; the Kyn-kari and Puthenvelkara bunds; the restoration of the banks of several rivers; the construction of several bridges across rivers and streams throughout the State; the introduction of the Railway; the thorough restoration of the old main lines of communication; the construction of several new ones; the opening up of the high range and other mountain regions; the abolition of the Virahi service; the remission of several obnoxious taxes; the organisation of a sanitary Department including Vaccination, Vital statistics, rural sanitation and itinerant medical relief; the large extension of medical aid; the medical grants to private dispensaries and native Vidyasalas; the promotion and extension of the benefits of Education by establishment of new schools and colleges both for boys and girls; the founding of Technical scholarships and the encouragement of Technical education and of free Primary Education to the backward classes; the offer to the public of agricultural loans on liberal terms; the holding of agricultural exhibitions and the establishment of agricultural schools; the introduction of a compulsory system of State Life Insurance; the reorganisation and reformation of nearly all the Departments of the State; and above all the establishment of the Legislative Council, the Sri Moolam Popular Assembly and the abolition conditionally of taxation in kind.

We congratulate His Highness on the beneficence of his administration and the deserved popularity he enjoys among his loyal subjects in Travancore.



H. H. THE MAHARAJA OF TRAVANCORE.

A high-contrast, black and white photograph of three people. On the left, a man stands wearing a dark, patterned jacket. In the center, a child stands wearing a light-colored, patterned dress. On the right, a woman stands wearing a light-colored, patterned dress. The background is dark and textured.

MR. G. S. ARUNDALE.

of Mrs. Besant and her two followers has been welcomed throughout the country as a just and statesmanlike action to the furious and insensate agitation created and fomented by certain Anglo-Indians against the release, H. E. the concluding speech at the Imperial Council on Thursday, the 27th inst., made the following pertinent reply:—
Government would surely have shown little faith in the policy recently made public or in the appeal for concord and which I made in my opening speech of this session, if we had adopted any other course than that which we Previous to the announcement of that policy the position was somewhat difficult. We have gladly taken the has now offered itself for opening a new chapter. The Home Member informed you on Monday that Mrs. for work to me that she will co-operate in obtaining a calm atmosphere for Mr. Montagu's visit. and I am sure her remarkable energies will be directed in the way she has indicated.

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Mr. A. C. Chatterjee, I.C.S., writing in the *Hindustan Review*, (July 1917) pleads the urgent necessity for the understanding of the institutions of our neighbouring countries like China, Siam, Japan and Persia, and urges that in our sociological studies we should not concentrate our attention too exclusively on the history of the West, for there are equally valuable lessons to be learnt nearer home. In many respects there is a great similarity between present conditions in India and China. Both have clung until it is almost too late to the ideals of an ancient civilisation, and both are now faced with the competition of the whole world and must, in order to preserve national existence, organise themselves on new lines which should not, if they are to be at all successful, involve an absolute breach with the present foundations of society. India and China have, therefore, much to learn from each other, and the success as well as the failure of one in any direction should be a lesson to the other.

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prevailing in both countries which are similar in nature might have had a similar evolution from common originals. We should no longer stick fast to the belief that the systems of caste and joint family and the position held by women in the social fabric have been evolved by us independently of the mutual influence of neighbouring races or communities. The tendency to look upon our ideals and institutions as peculiarly Indian is due to the very little direct communication with other Asiatic countries and nations which we have had since 16th century. Since that time the trade-routes that served for commerce as well as for intellectual and spiritual contact between Northern India and China were virtually closed. The Portuguese navy which was then dominant in the Eastern waters entirely isolated the various countries. And China and Japan themselves followed a policy of mutual exclusion.

In the course of an article on the above subject the *Investor's Review* points out :—

India, Official India, failed to rise to the measure of efficiency demanded and expected of it, and its failure illustrates once more, in a too lurid fashion, alas; the essential inefficiency always displayed by and to be expected from a bureaucracy responsible to nobody. Having no master, the uncontrolled functionary almost invariably becomes in the lump, a bad servant. We know here what it is to leave everything to the 'constituted authorities,' although here, there is through questions in the House of Commons principally, a certain amount of check upon the vagaries of the covenanted functionary. That does not help us much or carry us far; but in India, it is nobody's business to make sure that any man is qualified for the post to which he is assigned, that any official highly placed has capacity for doing his duty, or that any man in a position to direct a policy is capable of framing one or of understanding a policy when provided for him.

An Appeal to the Civil Servants of India

There is published in the *East and West* for September, an outspoken letter from 'Sexagenarian' addressed to the Civil Service about the present political situation in India. The writer says that he will not object to a mere doctrinaire or theoretical amendment of the Government of India Act of 1915 to the effect that Self-Government within the Empire shall be the goal of the administration. To make India truly fit the Civil Service has to make a sacrifice and asks whether it is prepared to allow Indians a fair share of offices in order that they may acquire administrative experience of a high order, and that experience may not be lost to India as it is now lost, when the English servants go back to their country; and he tells them that they will not be losers if they give up their monopoly and come in as friends or advisers, rather than as masters, for the Indians are a grateful race. He exhorts them to engage the people by their affections, to convince their reason, and assures them that they will be loyal from the only principle that can make loyalty sincere, vigorous or national, a conviction that it is their true interest and government is for their good. The administration is very costly; and even the army charges are in excess of the whole land-revenue, while James Mill thought that the revenue from land alone in India, would suffice for all the expenses of government, if properly managed. The administration is also top-heavy, as even the *Pioneer* admitted in 1908; and it is moreover not in touch with the people or alive to their needs; and the *Times of India* says plaintively, "that none can live in this country, without being conscious of the yearning amongst the very best minds for a quickened policy of political, social and economical development, which will speed up measures to enable India to take her full place amongst the people of the world with a full sense of responsibility, we say the Government of India

and the services in the Provinces are not in full harmony with the times."

I don't think you will ever say that India should be governed by force or fraud. The only other alternative is to govern it by good-will, and in order so to govern, you should introduce popular responsible institutions, upholding economy in every detail, and adapting their arrangements to the needs of their people. Your Taluka and District Local Boards and your Municipalities can never be responsible popular bodies, so long as they are not allowed to deliberate and decide as representative bodies liable to account to their constituents for their behaviour, and subject only to the advice and guidance of a sympathetic Local Government Board, possessing as in England the confidence of the public. It is quite time, therefore, to do away with the system of nomination, except in very backward parts of India. By all means let the minorities be adequately represented, but the best way to secure that object is to give them the right of election, and not to give yourselves the right of selection. The same remark applies to the Provincial Councils and to the Imperial Council. Gentlemen, I do not blame you for a moment, remember. If we knew all we would forgive all. You are creatures and servants of a bad system under which India has a governing caste. But it has lasted long enough. Do not believe in "muddling through." It means an enormous waste. Do not go in for a policy of "Drift" or a policy of "Divide and Rule." Do not lend your ears to time-servers, tale-bearers, "eye-pleasers," "humour-feeders," and "double-faced" men, like those who in the time of the Tudors and the Stuarts did your country enormous harm. Do as you would be done by, and practise that charity which has been called "the grandest of illuminations."

The Conscience Clause in Indian Schools

The Rev. W. S. Holland, in a recent issue of the *East and West* examines the grounds upon which the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri bases his demand for the introduction of a conscience clause, and urges many reasons against its introduction. Loyalty to the missionary commission makes it impossible for missionaries to give themselves to the work of education, unless they may deliver the Christian message to all their pupils. As against this, it may be declared that loyalty to the missionary commission does not preclude them from recognising that the atmosphere of voluntariness on the part of those to whom Christian message is given, is of great value for, and even essential to the success of mission work. And moreover the value of missionary work lies quite as much outside the scrip-

ture class-room as in it. The second point of objection against the introduction of a conscience clause is that we all believe religion to be essential to a complete or worthy education, and character being regarded as the chief element in education, education without religion will be very futile. Mission supporters at home, may withdraw their help from schools and colleges, all of whose pupils do not receive Christian teaching. A conscience clause leading up to a voluntary period in the time-table will introduce into the institutions an element that does not harmonise with the genius of their régime and discipline. Moreover Government cannot very well draw definitely the limit of its efforts to secure the pupil immunity from Christian influence and teaching. And it is necessary to distinguish clearly between the general principle that Christian propaganda must throughout be based, not on coercion, but on voluntary consent and the particular proposal to realise this principle by the legislative introduction of a conscience clause.

Missionary opinion may be summarised according to the writer in the following paragraphs:

No solution of the problem under consideration can be satisfactory which does not

- (1) leave room for entire loyalty to our missionary commission;
- (2) cohere with sound educational method and discipline;
- (3) commend itself as fair and honourable to the Indian conscience;
- (4) present a line of policy that Government can adopt.

Now the introduction of a conscience clause, while consistent with the last but one of these tests, is in at least possible collision with all the other three. Can a solution be found that satisfies all four conditions? We think it can. And the way lies, not in a conscience clause, but in the provision by the authorities of an alternative institution wherever Christian education is not desired.

First, we must make it plain to the Government and the public that missionaries are not responsible for the general education of India. We are here to give Christian education to those who are willing to receive it. Government cannot demand of us that the education we give shall be less than Christian. Where Christian education is not desired, the Government's business is to provide an alternative school. We claim no monopoly anywhere. Government may everywhere provide an alternative to the Christian school; where this is honestly desired we shall welcome it; but Government cannot require us to mutilate the education to the giving of which we have freely devoted our lives.

A Colonial View of Imperial Unity

Mr. F. S. Tatham, writing in the pages of the *Royal Colonial Institute Journal* (July 1917), puts forward certain practical suggestions which he thinks will be of great value in maintaining the right sentiments both at home and abroad on which the future of the Empire so largely depends. Artificial means such as tariffs will, indeed, make it more profitable for the colonials to trade with Britain than with foreigners, but self-interest may become too strong to allow this to continue indefinitely and in any case, the natural desire of the Dominions to establish their own industries may lead to heavy protective duties aimed at British-made goods as well as those that are foreign-made. In this conflict between self-interest and filial devotion, the latter tie will necessarily be weakened. Nor should Imperial Unity be permitted to rest only on the foundation of national safety. It is conceivable that the Dominions or any one of them may become powerful enough to depend upon their own means of defence, either alone or in alliance with a foreign power. Great attention should be concentrated on the best way to maintain and cultivate a right sentiment in the Dominions. Much may be done in the Dominions and in Great Britain to bring home to children what the Empire means, what it stands for and how its solidarity secures the liberty of all its citizens. Another way of influencing colonial sentiment is through the navy; and their colonial cadets as well as their families and friends will be largely influenced by means of their personal interest in the navy which makes for Imperial Unity. The presence of colonial garrisons in the British army and their stay occasionally in the Colonies will be of very great value as fostering a sense of Imperial unity, and moreover colonial experience will be of great value to the troops. Education may be co-ordinated throughout the Empire, and the Colonial public schools may very well be linked up with those of England.

The National Spirit and the Indian Church

The Rev. Herbert Anderson, Secretary of the National Missionary Council, writing in the July number of the *International Review of Missions* describes the influence of the National Spirit upon the development and progress of the Indian Church which shows itself in appeals to the missions for India for more autonomy and liberty for self-expression. It corresponds to the appeals of Indian politicians to the Government for a larger control in the administration of the country's affairs. It is also seen in a growing disregard for Western denominational differences and a desire to introduce Oriental customs of worship, and also in the demand which is certain to become intense in the near future for the complete equality of Indians in status and responsibility with their European fellow-workers.

The duty of missions in the face of this situation is very clear. First of all there must be the fullest, deepest sympathy with all aspirations after a Church of India, free from foreign control, and desirous of developing its life, under the guidance of Christ in its own way. The authorities of all foreign Missionary Societies must accept the principle of a comprehensive Church organisation adopted to the country, and should approve its European Staff giving every facility for the spread of this desire. Free discussion among Indian Christians must be encouraged. And practical steps should be taken towards giving into Indian hands, the baptism of all Indian converts, the marriage and burial of all Indian Christians etc., and as far as possible, control of all Church or Chapel properties and buildings. Foreign missionary societies must make evangelism their primary work. The findings of the Indian Christian National Conference held in Calcutta in 1912 sum up the ideals of the Indian Church in a succinct way as follows.

Development of the Church.—It is the conviction of this Conference that the stage has been reached when

every effort should be made to make the Christian Church in reality the most efficient factor in the Christian propaganda in this land. To this end it is essential that the Church in western lands should continue to co-operate in the further development of the Indian Church that it may most effectively accomplish its providential mission in the regeneration of India.

Desire for a comprehensive Church.—This Conference is of opinion that there is undoubtedly a strong desire on the part of many of the leaders of the Indian Christian community for a comprehensive Church organization adapted to the country. While the community as a whole, as might be expected from its origin and history, cannot be said to have shown any strong and widespread desire in this direction, neither can it be said that there is anything within the community itself which would militate against the realization of such an ideal. This Conference, therefore, considers that every facility should be afforded for the spread and development of this desire in the Indian Christian community at large.

Freedom for self-expression.—While this Conference believes that the Indian Church should continue to receive and absorb every good influence which the Church of the West may impart to it, it also believes that in respect of forms and organization, the Indian Church should have entire freedom to develop on such lines as will conduce to the most natural expression of the spiritual instincts of Indian Christians.

Development of Indian leadership.—This Conference rejoices to recognize widespread indication of the awakening of a true spirit of sacrifice and service in the Indian Church, and especially the inspiration which the growing Student Christian Movement is bringing to Christian students all over India, leading them to offer themselves for direct Christian work. This Conference regards it as of primary importance that every suitable effort should be made to present the highest ideals of sacrifice and service to our Christian youth, so that the best type of consecrated leadership may be secured for the Indian Church.

This Conference desires further to record the conviction that whenever capable and spiritually-minded men and women are discovered, churches and missions should make a real and unmistakable advance by placing Indians on a footing of complete equality, in status and responsibility, with Europeans, and thus open for them the highest and the most responsible positions in every department of missionary activity.

In this connection this Conference would emphasize the principle that the work carried on by foreign missionary societies should be gradually transferred, as opportunities offer, to the Indian Church, and that suitable plans and modifications of existing organizations should be adopted, wherever necessary, so that this principle may be carried out by missionary bodies.

The Educational Service

"Vetus," writing in the August number of the *Modern Review* describes the recommendations of the Commissioners regarding the constitution of the educational services, and explains how Indians have been harmed in various ways. He then examines the effect of the Majority Report on Education in India, and Islington's arguments for racial favour. The new recommendations, he says, will aggravate the colour distinction and make the position of the Indian professors both in the upper and lower branches of the service distinctly worse than before. The old theory that the I. E. S. and P. E. S. are parallel services equal in status though differing in pay has been abandoned; while Indian professors however old and experienced belonging to Class II (i.e. P. E. S.) are to be styled assistant lecturers or demonstrators throughout their career. The maximum of $\frac{1}{4}$ of the posts in Class I cadre for Indians may never be worked up to in practice; and in future Indians with British University qualifications, when appointed to Class I will get Rs. 200 a month less, or be four years behind Europeans recruited like themselves. The effect of the Majority Report will be to make colleges under Government extremely inexpensive, because extremely costly; and this is for doing the work of colleges in India, which, in the opinion of the Commissioners is of the nature of that performed in the upper forms of a secondary school in England. By the deliberate lowering of the status of Indian professors and keeping them in subordinate positions, all spirit would be crushed out of them. The result would be that fewer and worse Indians will be available for the P. E. S. (Class II) than even now and the bulk of the teaching service in colleges will have to be done by cheap subordinate service men. The justification for the high pay of the Europeans on the ground that the European branch is a *corps d'elite* is not true when the majority of recruits to that service are

men of low qualifications and belong to cheap provincial universities of the British Isles.

Mr. Rahim's proposal to divide the service into two, a specialist branch with 100 posts, and an ordinary branch with 485 posts, together with the details connected therewith will remove all reasonable discontent among Indian teachers, greatly cheapen the educational machinery, attract the best Indian talent to the work and raise the efficiency and general intellectual level of our professoriate.

Mr. Montagu's Opportunity

"If Mr. Montagu proves to be a pliant tool in the hands of his subordinates," writes Mr. St. Nihal Singh in the August issue of the *Review of Reviews*, "it will not be because he lacks knowledge of India. He has travelled in India, and he knows just what Indians want." Mr. Singh says that the memorable speech that Mr. Montagu made in the House of Commons five days before he was appointed, was at first ignored by the Press, and then "the reactionaries and their friends began to say that he spoke when he was 'irresponsible.'" Mr. Montagu, however, affirmed, within a week of his appointment, that his statement in the House of Commons "embodied the opinions that I held and still hold." The gist of the advice that Mr. Montagu gave to the members of Parliament was: "whatever be the object of your rule in India, the universal demands of those Indians . . . is that you should state it. Having stated it, you should give some instalment to show that you are in real earnest, some beginning of the new plan which you intend to pursue that gives you the opportunity of giving greater representative institutions in some form or other to the people of India, of giving them greater control of their Executive, of remodelling the Executive . . ."

India, says Mr. Nihal Singh, is waiting to see Mr. Montagu carry out this advice.

The Transmission of Religious Legends

Mr. J. Kennedy writing to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (April 1917) contributes the first part of his thesis on the transmission of legend and ritual through secular contact from the 2nd to the 12th century A.D. between Buddhism and Christianity. He says there are also a large number of cases where Hinduism and Christianity seem to have borrowed from each other. Sir G. Grierson has shown reason for thinking that Ramanuja was influenced by Christianity, while a great European schoolman, Albertus Magnus, who was the master of St. Thomas Aquinas taught doctrine characteristically Indian. Omitting all questions of dogma there is one important Hindu cult, the worship of the child Krishna, which has been supposed to owe not only some of its legends, but its entire conception to Christian influences. The controversy over this problem has lasted for nearly three quarters of a century.

The *Lalita Vistara* and the *Vishnu Purana* share a whole series of stories in common with the *Gospels of the Infancy*. And if one can find in any of these three cycles of stories, doctrinal matter peculiar to one of the three religions and foreign to the other two, then it will be decisive of the question of origin. But Kennedy, before going to the question of origin, brings out in the present part, all the materials which show what points of contact there were between Buddhism, Christianity and Hinduism. He is of opinion that such matter can be found.

Buddhism ante-dated Christianity by about five centuries, and attempts are frequently made to show that Buddhist stories and Buddhist expressions found their way into New Testament, and more especially into the first three Gospels. To justify this contention, it is alleged that Indian stories reached the Near East long before the Christian era; and Pythagoras and Æsop are quoted as instances in point. Indian stories of

course did reach the West in pre-Christian times, although they were neither so early nor so numerous as some scholars imagine. Mr. Kennedy is of opinion that Buddhism and Christianity first met in fruitful contact—A.D. 100—and that any prior contact was impossible. He says that it is the fashion to credit the Achaemenian period (6th to 4th centuries B.C.) and even the times that preceded it with an active importation of Indian stories and ideas. The Neo-Pythagoreans first gave rise to this opinion; and Max-Müller quoted Æsop's fables to prove the umigration of Indian stories; while other scholars have suggested an Indian origin for Greek and Persian stories which we find in Herodotus. The stories which are admittedly Indian were first told by Herodotus and Ctesias, who could not have known the 'Middle Land' and Magadha, the land of the Epics and of the Jatakas, as it was unknown to the West before the Indian campaigns of Alexander. (325 B.C.) The historians of Alexander's campaign and those who visited the court of the Mauryas had personal knowledge of Northern India; but the fresh stories they relate are few; and regarding Indian religions and religious practices they are more communicative. The Indo-Greeks of the second and first centuries B.C. added nothing to the store of information which reached the West, not even geographical knowledge, and their Buddhism never got beyond their pale. Up to the Christian era, therefore, the knowledge of Indian religions which reached the West was too superficial and too slight to make any impression while the tales were of freaks of nature, of monsters and of marvels.

But in the early centuries of the Christian era all the peoples between Egypt, Syria and India began to intermingle with each other; and as the centuries passed, their intercourse grew greater and more intimate. The real meeting ground of Christians and Indians was in Babylonia and

the group of countries, north and west of the Indus, i.e., Bactria, Kabul and Arachosia which may be said to have formed the Greater India. In all these countries we have Indians, Kushans, Jews and Christians. We read of Christians in Bactria by the end of the second century; and a monk of the sixth century, Kosmos Indikopleustes finds in Persia bishops and very large communities of Christian people. The Christians were equally at home in Syria, Persia and Greater India; their relations with each other were close and the bishops and clergy of the Far East held constant communication with Seleucia and the West. The Brahmin and Buddhist monks, Jewish rabbis and Christian priests living in this Greater India formed a very learned class especially occupied with religious questions; and they, in the opinion of Mr. Kennedy, would be the only medium for the transmission of novel ideas about religion and legends. In a later article the writer proposes to explain his conclusions and his reasons for adopting them.

Droupadi and the Pandavas

This is the title of an interesting discourse published in the current number of the *Vedic Magazine*. The arguments put forward that Droupadi was the wife of Yudhishthira alone, and not of the five Pandavas seem to be clean enough; and those chapters which make Droupadi the common wife of all the five brothers seem to be clearly interpolations. There are, however, distinct indications that Droupadi was the wife of the eldest alone. In verse 6, Biratparva, chapter 3, Yudhishthira tells his brothers that his wife is to be worshipped like the mother and elder sister. Again at para 208, Shalyaparva, chapter 60, Yudhishthira on the fall of Duryodhana says to Bhima, "by fate you have paid debts both to your mother (Droupadi) and to your anger." Here the word mother distinctly refers to Droupadi and not to Kunti. The fact that Yudhishthira had no other wife, than Droupadi, while the other Panda-

vas had all separate wives, is also another argument. In the Mahabharata, the words 'am wives' are used by Yudhishthira to mean the wives of Duryodhana and his brothers, the word, literally meaning one to be maintained and protected, it being the bounden duty of a man to maintain and protect his own wife as well as those of his brothers. The passages in the *Adiparva* dealing with the birth of the five sons of Droupadi from the five Pandavas are clearly interpolations; and the story about the reincarnation of Sachi, the wife of Indra, in the person of Droupadi is inconsistent in itself. In the writer's opinion, these are all clearly interpolations, written by Bammargis to discredit the Vedas and our saints.

INDIA IN INDIAN & FOREIGN PERIODICALS.

- CO-OPERATION IN BENGAL. By Prof. P. Mukherji, M.A., F.R.E.S. ["The Bengal Co-operative Journal," July, 1917.]
- SIR ABBAS ALI BAIG, K.C.I.E. A STUDY. By "One Who Knows Him." ["The Hindustan Review," August, 1917.]
- SIDE LIGHTS ON SHIMOGA—BHATKAL RAILWAY SURVEY. By Mr. Rahintan N. Mirza. ["The Mysore Economic Journal," July 1917.]
- SANSKRIT AND PERSIAN LITERATURE. By Prof. Ram, Chandra. ["The Vedic Magazine," June and July, 1917.]
- RAILWAYS, AND INDIANS AND ANGLO-INDIANS. By Brabhatkumar Mukerji. ["The Modern Review," September, 1917.]
- SOCIAL REFORM LEGISLATION IN BRITISH INDIA. By H. V. Divetia Esq., M.A., LL.B. ["The Bombay Political Reformer," August 1917.]
- THE TASK BEFORE MR. MONTAGU. ["The New Review," August, 1917.]
- SRI RAMAKRISHNA: THE FULFILMENT OF HINDUISM. By Dr. Radhakumud Mukerjee. ["The Vedanta Kesari," August, 1917.]
- A CO-OPERATIVE PILGRIMAGE TO THE KARNATAK. By Rao Saheb A. U. Malji. ["The Bombay Co-operative Quarterly," September, 1917.]
- A DAY AT THE MULTAN GURUKULA. By Mr. Chaupati Rai, B. A. ["The Educational Review," August, 1917.]

"The Lifted Veil." by Basil King. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London.

This is a novel of absorbing human interest. The story is laid in New York and gives a good idea of society there. Clorinda Gildersleeve *nee* Rinfoul a widow young, beautiful and rich is the heroine. She is an intensely human woman with much that is good in her temperament. An early indiscretion prompts her to seek the advice of a clergyman. He eventually falls in love with her without being aware of her identity. This leads to complications, while the return of a former lover at the critical moment but helps to magnify the situation. It would not be fair to show how the story ends and it is well worth reading to fun away.

Beckoning Hands from the near Beyond: By J. C. F. Grumbine, L. N. Fowler & Co., London.

A rationally written exposition of the new psychology in a quasi-scientific vein, without taking note of the innumerable superstitions and follies of the so-called spiritualistic school. "Spirituality" as distinguished from "Spiritualism" has little to do with spirits or mediums, chelas or table-rapping. There is no truer indication of the serious turn given to real introspection of the inner values of life by the turmoil of the war than the increase in the output of really helpful literature of the kind under notice, dealing in close grip with the issues of life.

A Dictionary of Jaina Biography: By Mr. S. Tank. Published by the Central Jaina Publishing House, Arrah.

This is a useful compilation and must be valued by all lovers of Jainism and its writers. It contains valuable information on the life, times and work of principal Jaina writers, and of many others who in anyway came in contact with Jainism, like Akbar and Aurangzib. The present pamphlet is Part 1-A of the Dictionary and covers practically only the letter A.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

NOTES ON THE CONSTITUTIONAL RECONSTRUCTION OF THE EMPIRE. By the Rt. Hon. J. A. Murray Macdonald, M.P. P. S. King & Son., Ltd., London.

THE ESSENTIALS OF ENGLISH GRAMMAR AND COMPOSITION. By B. Ramachandra Rao Joshi. Mission High School, Benares.

EVOLUTION AND CHRISTIANITY. By the Rt. Rev. H. Pakenham-Walsh, B.D. The C. L. S. I. Madras.

STORIES IN VERSE. Selected by V. H. Collins, M.A. Oxford University Press, Bombay.

MANUAL OF A MYSTIC. By F. L. Woodward, M.A. Oxford University Press, Bombay.

THE WAR OF IDEAS. By Sir Walter Ralieg. Oxford University Press, Bombay.

BOOKS RELATING TO INDIA.

AKBAR THE GREAT MOGHUL 1542-1605. By Vincent A. Smith. Oxford University Press, Bombay.

THE PROBLEMS OF INDIAN NATIVE STATES. The "Karnataka" Office, Bangalore City.

THE STORY OF BENGAL LITERATURE. By Pramatha Chaudhury, "Weekly Notes," Printing Works, Calcutta.

THE OFFICIAL SECRETS ACT. By G. K. Roy, Simla, E.

IRRIGATION. BY R. CECIL WOOD. Govt. Press, Madras.

CIVICS (TAMIL) By M. K. Sundaravaradachari, B.A. R. Ganapathi & Co., Perambur.

READINGS FROM INDIAN HISTORY PART II. By Ethel R. Sykes. C. L. S. I., London.

EDUCATIONAL IDEALS. By Prof. N. Salva, M.A., Bangalore City.

STATE INSURANCE: A SUGGESTION. By Prof. M. T. Naraniengar, M. A. Malleswaram, Bangalore.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

August 22. German Chancellor's statement in the Reichstag *re* the Pope's peace note.

August 23. British warships bombard Zeebrugge. Kerensky's speech on the Stockholm Conference.

August 24. Capture of Monte Sante. Kaiser's Conference at headquarters.

August 25. Meeting of the special Provincial Conference at Madras.

Sahebzada Aftab Ahmad Khan was entertained at the Islam Club, Bombay.

August 26. Meeting of the special Provincial Conferences at Nagpur and Bankipore.

August 27. United Provinces Congress Committee elects Mrs. Besant as President of the Congress.

August 28. Allied capture of Beaumont. Trial of General Sukhomlinoff.

America's reply to the Pope's Note.

August 29. Meeting of the Inter-Allied Socialist and Labour Conference in London.

August 30. Hon. Mr. Basu and Hon. Sahebzada Aftab Khan were entertained at Bombay.

August 31. Deputation to H. E. Lord Ronaldshay in connection with the question of the adulteration of ghee in Bengal.

September 1. Election controversy in Calcutta and split in the Reception Committee Meeting.

September 2. Anti-Revolutionary plot in Russia. Adjournment of the Stockholm Conference.

September 3. Evacuation and fall of Riga. Successful British raid north of Lens.

China's entry into the war.

September 4. President Wilson's message to the American Army.

Another G. I. P. strike in Bombay.

September 5. Viceroy's speech in the Imperial Council on reforms and the interned.

September 6. German Chancellor on the Allies. President Poincare's visit to the American army in the field.

September 7. Premier's speech at Birkenhead. Gerard's revelations on the Kaiser's treachery.

September 8. The Swedish disclosures.

A Portuguese steamer blown up.

September 9. Severe struggle in Hermada.

Home Rule meeting at Lucknow.

September 10. Recruiting in the Punjab.

Meeting of the Mahars in Poona *re* recruiting.

September 11. General Korniloff heads a counter revolution against Kerensky.

Mr. N. M. Samarth suggests change of venue of the Congress.

September 12. Kerensky-Korniloff conflict in Russia.

September 13. Sir Michael O'Dwyer's sensational speech in the Viceregal Council.

Failure of Korniloff's plot.

September 14. Russian recovery on the Riga. French Cabinet crisis.

September 15. Arrest of Korniloff and formation of the new Cabinet.

September 16. Manifesto of the Russian republic. Mr. Gerard's scathing indictment of Germany.

September 17. Release of Mrs. Besant and Messrs. Wadia and Arundale.

Costa Rica's break with Germany.

September 18. H. E. Lord Willingdon presides over the Co-operative Conference in Poona.

September 19. H. E. the Viceroy's appeal for co-operation.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer's apology in Council.

September 20. Startling revelations of German diplomacy in America.

General Alexieff has resigned.

September 21. Great demonstrations in Madras in honour of Mrs. Besant's arrival.

September 22. Sir Harcourt Butler's farewell to Burma.

September 23. Presentation of addresses to Mrs. Besant by Madras Political bodies.

Revocation of the Bombay Government's order against Mrs. Besant.

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

Mr. M. K. Gandhi and Self-Government

The following circular letter has been addressed by the Gujarat Sabha to all the District Congress Committees in India :—

The Right Hon'ble Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of State for India, has announced his intention to visit our country for studying at first hand the present political situation in India. He is expected to be in India by the end of October,* 1917.

Mr. Montagu will in due course discuss the question of Reforms with the authorities and will also receive suggestions from representative bodies. But in view of the attitude which the Anglo-Indian Press has begun to take and is sure to take, it is not sufficient for us merely to discuss the question with the Secretary of State as representative bodies but it is imperatively necessary to strengthen his hands against the reactionary anti-reform forces by clearly and emphatically bringing to his notice the volume of public opinion in favour of Reforms. The opportunity is unique and to miss it would be almost culpable.

With this view our Sabha, at the suggestion of its President, Mr. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, has resolved to present a petition to Mr. Montagu, signed by the British subjects of Gujarat. The petition is short and is drafted by Mr. M. K. Gandhi in consultation with R. B. Ramanbhai M. Nilkanth. A copy of the petition is enclosed herein.

You will note that the original petition is in Gujarati accompanied by an English translation. The Sabha has advisedly done so, as it is not possible to reach the masses of our countrymen through the medium of English. The Sabha is organising a volunteer corps for lecturing to the masses and explaining to them the Reform Scheme. The instructions to volunteers framed

* Now officially stated to arrive in the middle of December.

by Mr. Gandhi himself, specially enjoin every volunteer not to take the signature to the petition of any person who does not understand the scheme and of persons who are minors, students, and Government servants. Every volunteer is supplied with Gujarati translation of the Reform Scheme with a few introductory remarks printed in a pamphlet form and the volunteer is strictly to confine himself to the contents of the pamphlet.

Mr. Gandhi is of opinion that such petitions written in different vernaculars, should be presented to Mr. Montagu on behalf of all the various provinces of India. You will agree that such a course will not only result in convincing the Secretary of State of the intensity of popular feeling in favour of Home Rule or Self-Government but will also be a positive step forward in the political education of our countrymen.

TEXT OF THE PETITION.

To The Right Honourable Mr. E. S. Montagu, the Secretary of State for India.

The Petition of the British subjects of Gujarat humbly sheweth :—

(1) The petitioners have considered and understood the Swaraj Scheme prepared by the Council of the All-India Moslem League and the All-India Congress Committee and unanimously adopted last year by the Indian National Congress and the All-India Moslem League.

(2) The Petitioners approve of the Scheme.

(3) In the humble opinion of the Petitioners, the reforms proposed in the aforementioned Scheme are absolutely necessary in the interests of India and the Empire.

(4) It is further the Petitioners' belief that without such reforms India will not witness the era of true contentment.

For these reasons the Petitioners respectfully pray that you will be pleased to give full consideration to and accept the reform proposals and thus render successful your visit taken at great inconvenience and fulfil the national hope.

And for this act of kindness the Petitioners shall for ever remain grateful.

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QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE.

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The Calcutta University

The following resolution has been issued in the Education Department :—

The Governor-General in Council has decided to appoint a Commission to enquire into the condition and prospects of the University of Calcutta and to consider the question of a constructive policy in relation to the questions which it presents. An announcement on the subject was made by H. E. the Chancellor of the University at the Convocation held on the 6th January, 1917. It is the desire of the Governor-General in Council that the constitution of the Commission should ensure an investigation of the problems connected with the University and the formulation of recommendations in the light of the best expert opinion upon the present requirements of University instruction and organisation. The assistance of His Majesty's Secretary of State was accordingly enlisted for the selection of persons fully acquainted with recent developments of University education in the United Kingdom. With these will be associated three persons competent to advise upon the peculiar conditions which prevail in India. The composition of the Commission will be as follows :—President—Dr. M. F. Sadler, C. B., M. A., LL. D. Vice-Chancellor of the University of Leeds. Members—Dr. J. W. Gregory, F. R. SC., D. SC.; M. I. M. E., Professor of Geology at the University of Glasgow; Mr. P. J. Hartog, M. A., B. SC., Academic Registrar, University of London; Professor Ramsay Muir, M. A., Professor of Modern History at the University of Manchester; the Hon'ble Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee, Kt., C.S.I. M. A.; D. L.; Puisne Judge, High Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal; the Hon'ble Mr. W. W. Hornell, M. R. A. S., M. A. Director of Public Instruction, Bengal; Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed, C. I. E.; M. A. D. SC. PH. D., Senior Tutor and Professor of Mathematics, Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh. Mr. G. Anderson, an Assistant Secretary in the Department of Education of the Government of India will be Secre-

tary to the Commission. As regards general terms of reference, the Commission will be empowered to enquire into the working of the present organisation of the University of Calcutta and its affiliated Colleges, the standards, the examination and the distribution of teachers, to consider at what places and in what manner provision should be made in Bengal for teaching and research for persons above the secondary school age, to examine the suitability of the present situation and constitution of the University and make such suggestions as may be necessary for their modification, to make recommendations as to the qualifications to be demanded of students on their admission to the University, as to the value to be attached outside the University to the degrees conferred by it and as to the relations which should exist between the University and its Colleges or departments and between the University and the Government, and recommend any changes of constitution, administration and educational policy which may appear desirable. It is expected that the Commission will assemble during the first week in November, 1917. The President of the Commission will decide on the times and places of its meeting, on the witnesses to be called and on other similar matters. It is possible that the Commission may for purpose of comparison, desire to study the organisation and working of Universities in India other than that of Calcutta. The Commission will accordingly through their Secretary, acting under instructions from the President, correspond direct with Local Governments, the Universities and any education officers and local authorities with whom direct communication may be authorised by local Governments as a matter of convenience. The Governor-General in Council trusts that all communications or requests for information which may be issued by the Commission may be treated as urgent and that in the event of the Commission or its members visiting any locality, every facility may be afforded for their enquiries.

Mr. Montagu's Visit

A Press *communiqué* dated Simla 15th September says *re.* Mr. Montagu's visit that his absence from England during the war cannot be prolonged, and it will be necessary for him to concentrate his attention upon the particular questions at issue. It will, therefore, be impossible for him to receive addresses or memorials on any other subject. Representations and memorials on the subject of reforms should be addressed to him through the Governor-General in Council. Deputations will be received by Mr. Montagu and H. E. the Viceroy jointly. To such deputations it will not be possible to give a considered reply, but it is hoped that great advantage will be secured from private interviews with selected members of deputations after they have presented their addresses.

Persons or associations wishing to have interviews or to present addresses should make their wishes known to their respective Local Govern-

ments who will submit their recommendations to the Government of India for submission to the Secretary of State. This procedure is necessary in order to enable a daily programme of engagements to be prepared, and every endeavour will be made to secure that all important associations and persons should be allotted a time for the desired deputation or address. It will be a convenience if copies of any addresses presented could be sent in some little time beforehand, in order that there might be an opportunity of appreciating the points to be raised, and it will add greatly to the value of the discussions at private interviews if the gentlemen who are accorded that honour will similarly send in beforehand a summary of points they desire to lay before the Secretary of State and Viceroy. It is desired that the views of representatives of all sections of the community should be heard, and these suggestions have been made in order that the time at Mr. Montagu's disposal may be distributed to the best advantage.

UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

H. E. the Viceroy's Appeal for Co-operation

In concluding his lengthy speech in opening the autumn session of the Imperial Legislative Council at Simla on September 5, H. E. Lord Chelmsford said:—

Perhaps I need hardly tell you that my task in addressing you to-day has been easier and more congenial to me personally than on any previous occasion. My Government, through no fault of their own but by the force of circumstances, have till recently occupied a position of much difficulty. Criticisms and misunderstandings have beset us, yet we were not in a position to speak. Now I am able to lift the veil and I feel that Hon'ble members here and those whom they represent outside will realise from my narration that our administration has not been sterile nor our policy illiberal. To-day I can point to something accomplished, something done. The announcement now

promulgated is a landmark in the constitutional history of India. It is not an edict which fixes and crystallises the Indian policy in a mould of cramped design; it is an announcement resonant with hope. It invites you forward at once along a stage of political progress and points you to a goal ahead at this great epoch in your national evolution. I earnestly appeal for co-operation. Let us look upon the bitterness of the past merely as the growing pains of a great people straining towards fuller development. Believe me, the years of guardianship and tutelage have not been so barred as some would have us think; the pace of India's political growth as measured by the development of her political machinery may have seemed slow, but who would deny that meanwhile her intellectual, economic and national faculties have gone on from strength to strength,

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"For while the tired waves, vainly breaking,
Seem here no painful inch to gain
Far back through creeks and inlets making,
Comes silent flooding in the main."

So much for the past; but what of the future? Do you for one moment think that in their relations with India the British people and the British Government will be guided otherwise than by those standards of justice, and good faith which alone have kept India attached to the Empire and on which you have learnt to rely from the King Emperor down to his humblest subject?

The British people are proud of the bonds which link them to India and never more so than at this moment when the sons of India are fighting the battles of the Empire with such courage and devotion. Can any body doubt that the persistence of these ties of affection is a matter of vital importance to the future well-being of India and that it will be an evil day when those who are working together in this country are no longer inspired by their common share in a great and glorious page of history, but forgive me if I warn you—and this warning has no special application to any community but includes British and Indian alike, the public leaders and particularly the press representing every interest and every class—forgive me if I warn you that sentiment is a delicate plant which withers beneath the rude breath of uncharitableness. It is only by constant and watchful regard for the feelings of others that a sweet and healthy sentiment for the Empire can be brought to blossom, and bear fruit in Indian soil. Let it not afterwards be laid at the door of this generation that in these specious times of Imperial regeneration we allowed the sense of Imperial attachment through any fault of our own to lose its vitality. Of the Indian leaders I have a special request to make, it is that at the present juncture and throughout the difficult stages of transition which lie ahead of us they will believe in our goodwill and in our sincerity of purpose.

After all, whatever our differing points of view, we all have at heart the same thing, the welfare of India. The task we have to approach is no easy one. There are conflicting interests to adjust, grave difficulties to overcome. Who knows them better than yourselves? Heroic remedies endanger the body politic no less than the human organism. I doubt if there is among us here any man who could propound a scheme of reform in which he put full confidence and satisfaction, as possessing exactly what the best interests of India require, with due regard to the circumstances of her development, and her present position. The questions at issue must be approached in a spirit of reason and in an atmosphere of mutual confidence and co-operation. Let us then sit down together as friends, mindful of old historic associations, harbouring no mistrust, and let us examine these great problems solely from the standpoint of what is judicious, what is practicable, and above all what is right.

It is indeed meet and proper that we should seek to put our house in order, but beyond our gates stern and insistent, there still stands the great imperative of the war. Hon'ble members will, I trust, realise from my words to-day that I have not in the past nor shall I in the future minimise the importance of the great question of reform, but we must not allow ourselves to forget for one moment that far from India's shores a question far more vital to the future of India is being desperately fought out, that the Empire is still calling upon her sons for their help and that it is our first and paramount duty to throw our all into the scale. It is perhaps only natural from our remoteness from the scene of conflict that the call should sometimes seem faint and far away, but I know that it has only to be sounded in clear notes for India's response to be as great and as ungrudging as of yore.

Lord Chelmsford on India's Services

In the course of his speech in opening the autumn session of the Imperial Council at Simla on September 5, H. E. the Viceroy while detailing the various services of India in the war said after dealing with the work of the Munition's Board:—

It is an open secret that the last few months have witnessed great activity in the way of railway construction in Mesopotamia. The whole of the rails sleepers, bridging material, engines, rolling stock, and *personnel* required for the construction and working of these lines have been provided by India. We have also provided technical, *personnel* and railway material in large quantities to Egypt and East Africa besides meeting the heavy demands of oversea railway. We have drawn largely upon India's limited resources in the matter of electric plant and *personnel* in order to equip the power stations which have been established at various places in Mesopotamia, and provided the generating plant required for the electric lights and fans of general hospitals in the field.

The Telegraph Department is another branch of our administration which has been called upon to meet the demand of the army in Mesopotamia and East Africa. Some 9,000 miles of line with all the posts, stores, tools, instruments, offices and *personnel* required for their construction, maintenance and working have been provided by it since the beginning of the war, and the workshops of the department have in addition carried out a great deal of miscellaneous work for the army. Our farms-department has provided the experts, *personnel*, cattle and plant required for the military dairies which have been established in Mesopotamia as well as the *personnel*, implements, and seeds required for vegetable cultivation on a considerable scale. These measures which illustrate how varied and numerous are the requirements of a modern army in the field should, when fully developed, have a beneficial effect on the health of the troops which has already improved

in a marked degree. General Maude reported only a few days ago that the general opinion of officers and men is that they have never seen troops so well fed. The great decrease of scurvy, which is now almost a negligible cause of inefficiency, and the absence of other diseases due to mal-nutrition afford eloquent testimony to the success achieved. I hesitate to be dogmatic in such a matter, but the evidence which comes to me from many sources justifies me, I think, in saying that our troops are now well cared for and liberally supplied and the knowledge of this will, I feel sure, cause the liveliest satisfaction throughout India. Coming now to men the extent to which our recruiting activities have increased will be appreciated when I tell you that previous to the war our average enlistments for the army did not exceed 15,000 per annum. The briskness of recruiting has enabled us to maintain a steady flow of reinforcements to the various fronts and facilitated the raising of a number of new units. With the increase of combatant units there has, of course, been a corresponding expansion of departmental service such as engineering, medical transport, ordinance and supply, *personnel*—to say nothing of organised labour which is now represented by some 20 Corps in Mesopotamia and another 25 in France. Besides the above, upwards of 60,000 artisan labourers and specialists of various kinds have been enlisted for service in Mesopotamia and East Africa and some 20,000 menials and followers have been recruited and despatched overseas. To meet the demands created by wastage in the field, the raising of new units and the ever increasing of soldiers and followers under training in depots, we have had to provide for corresponding increase in officers. This has been and is still one of our difficulties but in the Indian Army Reserve of Officers which consisted of 40 members at the beginning of the war now number over 3,000 and I take this opportunity to express my high appreciation of their services.

FEUDATORY INDIA

The Viceroy on the Ruling Princes

In the course of his speech in the Imperial Council on September 5, His Excellency the Viceroy made the following observations on the Ruling Princes and their services at the present crisis:—

Their Imperial Service Troops, to which must now be added the Imperial Camel Transport Corps from Bhawalpur and Khairp, are serving beside our own in almost every theatre of our operations while money and contributions in kind are constantly being offered for the acceptance of the Government. The Nizam's munificent gift of one lakh towards the anti-submarine campaign shows how truly His Highness has appreciated that important factor in the struggle, and the conditions which have brought the peril by sea to the very gates of India. His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala has presented a flotilla of motor launches for Mesopotamia at a cost of over one lakh of rupees and His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala has given motor ambulance launches for the same destination. Aeroplanes have been purchased for Government by the Feudatory Chiefs of Bihar and Orissa, while contributions towards the cost of war have been made by the Maharajas of Indore and Bharatpur, the Maharaja of Danta, the Raja of Dewas and many other Princes. It was with very keen pleasure that I was able to announce that, in recognition of the great place which the Indian Princes hold in the Empire, His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir had been selected to be one of the representatives of India at the Imperial War Conference recently held in London. Those of us know, His Highness will agree, that no better choice could have been made, and what we have heard from England amply confirms our opinion. Since his return to India, His Highness has again been called upon to assist the Government in its deliberations and as a member of the Central Recruiting Board

both he and His Highness the Maharaja Scindia have been engaged with my officers in solving the difficult problem of maintaining adequate numbers of recruits for all branches of the Indian Army. His Highness the Maharaja or Patiala, as representative of the Chiefs of the Punjab, whose people have hitherto led India in the matter of recruitment, has also helped the Board with his presence and advice. While sharing with us these Imperial interests, the Princes and Chiefs have also their own State questions and problems, and for the discussion of some of these I have invited their Highnesses to another conference at Delhi early in November next. I look forward to that opportunity of thanking them in person for the loyal, consistent and generous support which they have ungrudgingly given to the Government of India in these times of stress and anxiety.

I may mention a question of great importance, affecting particularly the interests of the maritime States in Kathiawar, which has recently been under the consideration of the Government of India. Hon. Members are no doubt aware that some years ago it was found necessary, in order to protect the revenues of British India, to institute a preventive custom line at Viramgam. Complaints have been received from time to time of the detrimental effect of this line on the trade of the country and of the hardships caused to the travelling public. Negotiations were, therefore, undertaken with the Baroda Durbar and the Kathiawar States with a view to their adopting measures which would safeguard Imperial interests. These negotiations, I am glad to say, have now been successfully completed and I hope that it may now be possible to take immediate steps for the abolition of the customs line. I would point out that this question has been outstanding for some twenty years and it is a great satisfaction to me to see it finally settled.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

Indian Emigration to Colonies

The following report of the Inter-Departmental Conference recently held in London to consider proposals for a new assisted system of emigration to British Guiana, Trinidad, Jamaica and Fiji is published for public information and criticism.

The Secretary of State has desired that it should be made known that his Majesty's Government, in agreement with the Government of India, have decided that indentured emigration shall not be reopened. They also consider that no free emigration can be introduced into any colony until all Indian immigrants already there have been released from existing indentures.

REPORT OF THE INTER-DEPARTMENTAL CONFERENCE.

It was decided towards the close of 1915 to hold an Inter-Departmental Conference to consider the questions raised by the Government of India in their despatch on Emigration (No. 41 of 1915.) dated 15th October 1915. The Colonial Office wished first to consult the various Colonies concerned, and in order to enable them to do so, the Conference was tentatively fixed for the autumn of 1916. But, meanwhile, at the instance of the Government of India, the Government of Madras had deputed an official and a non-official to visit Ceylon and Malaya, and to investigate the conditions of emigration to those countries. It was thought desirable that these gentlemen should complete their enquiries before the Conference was held. This necessitated the postponement of the Conference till May 1917.

2. The Government of India nominated as its representatives at the Conference Sir James Meston and Sir S. P. Sinha, both of whom had, however, to return to India before the Conference could meet formally. It is greatly to be regretted that, in consequence, they were not able to take any part in the deliberations, though they had been able to discuss the question informally with the two Secretaries of State.

3. The Conference was purely official in composition and did not summon witnesses. The following members of the respective Secretaries of State's Establishments attended:—

Lord Islington, G.C.M., D.S.O., (*Chairman*), Sir A. H. Steel Maitland, Bt., M.P.; M. C. Seton, Esq., C. B.; G. E. A. Grindle, Esq., C. M. G.; J. F. N. Green, Esq., and T. C. Macnaghten, Esq.

4. The Conference held some informal meetings during May to consider preliminaries and clear the way for the formal discussion. Ten formal meetings have been held, at the earlier of which Mr. James McNeill, Indian Civil Service, retired, was able to give the Conference valuable information regarding Indian labourers in the Colonies, while at the later meetings the Conference had the benefit of the knowledge possessed by Major de Boissiere, protector of immigrants, Trinidad. Lieutenant-Colonel W. M. Kennedy, C.I.E., President of the Assam Labour Board, and Mr. N. E. Marjoribanks, Indian Civil Service, who had been deputed by the Government of India to furnish the Conference with any information that might be required, attended all the meetings. The Conference desires to express its great obligation to all these gentlemen for the valuable advice and assistance which it received from them.

5. The following scheme of assisted emigration combined with colonization for Indians in these colonies was agreed to as one that could be recommended to the Government of India and the Colonial Governments for adoption:—
A SCHEME OF AIDED COLONISATION FOR INDIANS.

I. THE NEW SYSTEM.

The new system will be entirely free, and the indentured system together with the titles and characteristics attaching to it will be abolished. The system to be followed in future will be one of aided colonization, and its object will be to encourage the settlement of Indians in certain Colonies after a probationary period of employment in those colonies to train and fit them for life and work

there, and at the same time to afford a supply of the labour essential to the well-being of the colonies themselves.

The immigrant will, as at present, arrive in the Colony entirely free of debt and of any financial liability connected with the cost of his introduction into the colony. He will be in no way restricted to service under any particular employer except that, for his own protection, a selected employer will be chosen for him for the first six months. He will, however, be encouraged to work for his first three years in agricultural industries by the offer, should he do so, of numerous and important benefits subsequently as a colonist.

II. METHOD OF FINANCING THE SCHEME.

In order that no employer shall be able to claim that he had paid the expenses of introduction of any particular immigrant, such expenses will be borne by the Government of each Colony concerned out of a common fund raised by rateable contributions from the employers either (1) of all Indian immigrants other than those locally born, or (2) of an immigrant during the first three years of his residence, or (3) during the period laid down as necessary to qualify him for a free return passage.

III. LAND SETTLEMENT.

Steps will be taken to ensure that land may be made available at once in the simplest and cheapest manner that can be devised for all immigrants who desire it and who have completed a qualifying period of three years' employment under employers on the register. To secure this end a department in each colony will be responsible for the provision of sufficient land to meet all *bona fide* applications, for rendering it suitable for agriculture by adequate clearing, irrigation and drainage, where this is considered necessary by the department, and for the distribution of it among applicants, and the due control of their management of it subsequently. It will be the duty of this department to advise immigrants on

questions relating to the acquisition of land, to explain fully to them the conditions upon which land can be obtained and to assist them in every possible way to obtain it.

In Fiji, these objects will probably be attained by the Land Trust Committee instituted under Ordinance No. 15 of 1916. In British Guiana the Crown lands are in places not cultivable except after a large expenditure on irrigation and drainage than the individual immigrant can afford to incur. In Jamaica, it is understood that suitable Crown land is scarce, and land for the settlement of Indians can only be provided by purchase from private owners. In Trinidad, settlement is retarded by the restrictive conditions that the occupancy price must be paid in one lump sum and that the minimum area that can be granted shall be five acres. It will be the business of the responsible department in each Colony to remove all obstacles of this kind to the free settlement of Indians upon the land.

Land not exceeding five acres in extent will be granted to an immigrant after three years' employment under employers on the Register subject to a reasonable annual rent in the case of leaseholds. The rent will vary according to the fertility and position of the land and will be subject to revision every 30 years. For ten years after the grant the immigrant will be prohibited from alienating or encumbering his right in the land except with the sanction of the responsible department, and that department will have power further to resume any land not brought under cultivation within two years of the grant.

IV. CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT.

Terms of Engagement.—An employer specially selected as being able to provide conditions of employment and living, which the Governor in Council may deem to be adequate, will be chosen by the Protector of Immigrants for each immigrant on arrival. The immigrant will be required to remain with this employer

for six months, the Protector of Immigrants having power to sanction or require during that time a change of employment should he see reason to do so. After this first period of six months the immigrant will have perfect liberty to move from one employer to another upon one month's notice. At no time will the immigrant be under any indenture or any contract other than the above, and the relation between him and his employer will be purely that prevailing in the colony between any master and servant. The immigrant can only be proceeded against for any breach of engagement by way of a civil suit in the ordinary course of law, and will be liable to no criminal penalties.

Wages.—(a) A minimum wage will be fixed which will bear to the minimum wage at the time of Mr. McNeill's visit the same proportion that the cost of living when the wage is fixed bear to the cost of living then (when it was estimated at 3s. 6d. a week). This minimum wage will require revision every five years on the same proportional basis. In the calculation free rations to women and children granted in accordance with IV (3) will be excluded.

(b) All wages be paid regularly and in full *i. e.*, without deductions.

Rations for Children.—(a) During the first 12 months after arrival in the colony children under 11 years of age will be entitled to free rations on a scale to be determined by the Colonial Government; while children under 5 years of age will be given free milk ration during the whole time that their parents remain in the employment of an employer on the Register.

(b) *For Pregnant and Nursing Women.*—Free rations will be issued for at least six months to pregnant and nursing women working under an employer on the Register.

Housing.—The provision of married quarters, separate from the 'single' quarters, will be made compulsory upon all employers of more than 20

adult male Indian immigrants, and will be insisted upon as far as practicable in the case of all other employers on the Register.

Grant of land.—Each adult male immigrant employed in an agricultural industry will be granted for his personal use and cultivation a garden plot of one-tenth acre, if he desires it, after six months' service. A larger plot, up to one-third acre, will be made available, wherever possible, to industrious workers in the nature of a reward.

Medical Treatment.—The existing regulations and provisions will continue in force, and will be applicable to immigrants under the new system. Under the present regulations, in addition to other medical care, hospital, public or private, are provided at which immigrants are treated free of charge, either as inmates or out-patients.

V. THE EMPLOYER.

All persons desirous of employing assisted immigrants during their first three years of residence will be required to apply to the Protector of Immigrants, and if the conditions of employment and living which they offer are found after enquiry to be suitable, and in accordance with the standard required, the Protector will place them on the register of approved employers. An approved employer will be any employer who is deemed qualified by the Governor in Council to employ an immigrant under proper conditions of wages, labour, medical attendance and housing, and who has received a licence to employ and has paid for it. Any employer not fulfilling the above conditions, found employing an immigrant, will be liable to a fine on prosecution in a criminal court at the instance of the Protector of Immigrants.

VI. EMIGRATION STAFF AND SUPERVISING AGENCY.

(1) A Protector of Emigrants appointed by the Local Government in India, to supervise emigration in the Province.

(2) An Emigration Commissioner appointed by the Colonial Governments with the approval of the Local Government in India, who will be a colonial civil service official.

(3) Inspectors of Emigration. Officers, who may be Indians, shall, if necessary, be appointed for this purpose. They shall be under the Emigration Commissioner, and shall supervise the work of emigration in the villages. They shall be men of standing and on a graded scale of pay. The actual area of each inspector's charge will be settled by the colonial Government subject to the approval of the local Government in India.

(4) Emigration Agents licensed by the Emigration Commissioner, the licences being countersigned by the magistrate of the district in which the agent works and also by the Protector of Emigrants. Emigration agents will be paid a fixed salary with possibly in addition small money grants at the end of the year to reward meritorious work. Men who have actually worked in the Colonies will be preferred as emigration agents provided that the Emigration Commissioner certifies their character and respectability.

(5) A Protector of Immigrants, a colonial official (in each Colony) with a good knowledge of the principal Indian languages used by immigrants and of their customs.

(6) An official of standing from India or a non-official will be deputed every three years by the Government of India to visit the colonies and report upon the conditions prevailing.

VII. DEPOTS.

In each district from which assisted emigration proceeds there will be a conveniently situated depot where emigrants will be assembled by the agents and passed as suitable by the inspector. The depots will be freely open to the emigrants and their friends and in them emigrants will be under no restraint. Depots will be open to inspection at any time by the district magistrate or any magistrate deputed by him, but the

production of emigrants before a magistrate in India will not be required. Non-official gentlemen of standing in the District will be appointed visitors to each depot.

From these district depots emigrants will be sent down to a central depot, where they will be examined medically and passed by the emigration commissioner as suitable. Non-official gentlemen will be appointed visitors to these depots also.

The emigration commissioner will be responsible for the central depots and also for the district depots which will be in charge of officers to be selected by him.

VIII. CONDITIONS OF EMIGRATION.

(1) While it is considered impracticable to insist upon any hard and fast proportion of single men to families, the emigration of whole families will be encouraged, and particularly, of families containing young married girls, but persons below the age of 18 will be assisted to emigrate only when accompanied by their parents or guardians. To discourage, the emigration of women of an undesirable class, women unaccompanied by their families will not be assisted, and the rule requiring a certain proportion of women to men will be abolished.

(2) The non-working dependants of an immigrant will not be rejected medically merely on the ground that they are physically incapable of work or on the score of age.

(3) A written statement shall be given to each intending emigrant and explained to him, stating the terms of his employment and the conditions of life in the colony to which he proposes to emigrate.

(4) Emigration from pilgrim centres will be prohibited during times of pilgrimage or festivals.

IX. SURGEONS ON EMIGRANTSHIPS.

If the Government of India so desire, a proportion of the surgeons employed on emigrant-ships shall be Indians.

X. REPATRIATION.

(1) Any immigrant wishing to return to India will be granted for himself and his dependants half the passage money after three years', three-quarters after five-years', and the whole after seven years' continuous residence in the colony. But the acceptance of a grant of land under the special facilities outlined in paragraph III will be held *ipso facto* to extinguish all claim to a free or assisted return passage. By this it is not to be understood that the immigrant will, at any particular period, be required to make a choice between a return passage and a grant of land, but merely that the acceptance of a grant of land under the special conditions outlined above will be taken as extinguishing his right to return passage.

(2) An immigrant who has availed himself of a free or assisted return passage under these conditions, should he return to the Colony, shall have no right to a second free or assisted return passage to India.

(3) Six months' previous notice must be given by any immigrant of his intention to claim a free or assisted passage.

(4) The Protector of Immigrants shall have the right, subject to approval by the Governor in Council, to grant at any time free return passage in full in cases where he deems repatriation desirable. This right will extend to the cases of immigrants whose claim to a return passage has been extinguished by the grant of land, and who may have been reduced subsequently to indigent circumstances.

XI. CANCELLATION OF INDENTURES.

(1) No emigration will be permitted to take place under this scheme to any Colony until ordinance is passed in that colony providing for cancellation of all existing indentures, such cancellation to take effect from the date when the first immigrants under the new scheme arrive in the colony.

(2) All labourers who are at present under

indenture or who after completing their period of indenture have not yet qualified under the existing rules for a free or assisted return passage, as the case may be, shall have the option of remaining under the existing terms as to repatriation or of coming under the new terms on the condition that in the latter case the first five years of service in the colony shall be excluded in calculating the amount of service qualifying for a free or assisted passage.

XII. CONDITIONS IN THE COLONIES.

Marriage Law of Immigrants.—A marriage which in accordance with the religion or caste custom of the parties to it is valid and which is duly celebrated according to the rites of the particular religion or caste and is not repugnant to the marriage laws of the colony shall be valid, provided, it was registered before a registrar within 15 days of its celebration by the person celebrating the marriage, or, in the case of castes whose customs do not require the presence of an official celebrant by the parties to the marriage themselves.

Divorces duly pronounced according to the customs of the religion or caste to which the parties belong shall be held valid if registered.

Educational Facilities.—Indian immigrants already enjoy the same facilities for primary education as are possessed by other inhabitants of the colonies concerned. Education is universal in the West Indies. In Fiji recent legislation has been enacted in 1916, and further efforts will be made to reach the same standard there.

Political Rights.—The Indian immigrant already acquires exactly the same political and municipal rights as any other inhabitant, except only that in Fiji he is specially represented on the Legislative Council by a nominated member instead of taking part in the elections by which European members are selected. The Government of Fiji will, if desired, consider the question of adapting the electoral system so as to include Indians on the same terms as Europeans.

INDUSTRIAL & COMMERCIAL SECTION

British Colour-Making

The new British colour-manufacturing industry makes more progress than is popularly known. The output of coal-tar dye-stuff, says the *Sind Gazette*, increases in current quantity, despite an accident which severely hampered the production of alizarine. In quality the British makes are better than ever, and impartial witnesses give their admiration spontaneously to the success attained in standardising successive lots. The variety is increasing, and the production of fair quantities of an entirely satisfactory sapphirol, a bright blue for wool-dyeing, is one event which can be noticed. The manufacture of fully half a dozen of the most complex and valuable colours has been mastered in a textile works, and one of these days the country will awaken to the discovery that surprising headway has been made under circumstances of the utmost difficulty. Preparations for a much greater production of intermediates and colours are well advanced, and the records of the progress, says the journal, give the feeling that English manufacturers are by no means doing badly. Probably much more money is being made by American colour-makers, but no available reports go to show that either they or the Japanese colour-producers are earning any good name for their dyes.

Industrial Commission

It is understood that the Industrial Commission will assemble in Bombay in the first week of November and resume work under the presidency of Sir Thomas Holland. The Commission will spend the whole of November in the Bombay Presidency and will then proceed to the Punjab and thence to the frontier. After touring in Assam the Commission will visit Burma and return to Delhi to write the report. Sir Thomas Holland will then return to Delhi to be present at the Lady Willingdon Exhibition which opens on November 26.

Paper Manufacture in India

The Blue Book on the trade of India in 1915-16 gives the following interesting particulars regarding the paper industry in India. There were altogether eleven paper mills working in India at the end of 1915, with an authorised capital of £330,000 and 4,665 persons employed. The output in 1915 amounted to 30,361 tons valued at £600,000. The total consumption of paper in India is at present estimated at about 80,000 tons per annum, of which 50,000 tons of paper was imported from foreign countries. Since the war began the total output of paper from Indian mills has increased by 5,000 tons, that is, while the total output before the war was 25,000 tons, it now stands at over 30,000 tons per annum. The largest of the eleven mills in India belong, to the Titaghur Paper Mill Co., which run two mills, one at Titaghur and the other at Kankinara, both near Calcutta, with a combined output of over 15,000 tons of paper per annum. The mill which is next in importance is the Bengal Paper Mill of Raneegunj with an outturn of 6,700 tons, the Upper India Paper Mill Co; at Lucknow coming third with an outturn of 2,500 tons annually.

Bottle-Making Machinery

At a recent meeting of the United Provinces Board of Industries, an application from a Glass Factory to the effect that certain bottle-making machinery, recommended by the Government Glass expert, should be imported by Government and installed in their factory on condition that they should have the option of purchase of the plant within two years was favourably considered by the Board; the Secretary reporting that the Glass expert had concluded that bottle-making machinery was essential to the progress of the industry in India. The Board decided to recommend to Government that the proposal be accepted.

AGRICULTURAL SECTION

Lord Ronaldshay's Message

H. E. Lord Ronaldshay gave the following message to the Bengal co-operative movement.

On July 16th I visited several villages in the neighbourhood of Dacca and discussed the advantages of co-operation with the villagers. I inspected the books of the co-operative credit societies, and found them well kept. The co-operative movement in this part of the Presidency is, at present, confined mainly to co-operative credit. The advantage of pooling their credit which results in their being able to borrow money on favourable terms, is gradually coming home to the cultivators, though membership of the societies does not appear to increase as rapidly as one would expect. The societies which I saw had been in existence for three years, and so far as membership is concerned were practically where they were when they were first formed. This is probably due to the innate conservatism of the cultivator which makes him slow to appreciate the advantages of new ideas.

It is at any rate gratifying to find that those who have ventured into this new field of social economy thoroughly appreciate its benefits; and it can only be a question of time before others who are still sceptical, come in.

Cultivation in the Punjab

The following Press *communiqué* has been issued:—"It has already been announced in the Press that as the demand for good grains in Europe is expected to be very large next year every effort is being made to extend the area under food crops, especially wheat, in India in the next rabi harvest with the object of increasing the exportable surplus. To this end the Punjab Government has decided: (1) To allow temporary cultivation of Government waste lands on ordinary land revenue rates without *malikana* (rent paid to

Government) on the condition of growing food crops; (2) to allow temporary cultivation on similar term of areas ordinarily reserved for grazing in the canal colonies; (3) to forego the charge for *vahn* irrigation i.e., the charge for a single watering before ploughing when not followed by crop; (4) to allow one watering to sow wheat, barley or gram on *banjar gadim* (old fallow) land at a concession rate of one-third of the full crop rate subject to a minimum of Rs. 1-8 an acre, full rates to be charged if a second watering is taken; (5) to make liberal grants of *takari* loans for the purchase of seed and bullocks. These concessions with the exception of (4) will apply to all food grains and not to wheat only."

Reclamation of Lands

With reference to the announcement of the Punjab Government respecting the possibility of reclaiming for cultivation the large areas in that province rendered sterile by kallar it may be recalled that a paper dealing with this question from the scientific stand-point was read at the last Indian Science Congress at Bangalore. The writers Mr. J. B. Barnes, late Agricultural Chemist to the Punjab, and Mr. Barkat Ali, of the Punjab Agricultural College, gave an account of some of the results achieved at the Narwala farm and mentioned the fact, now officially announced, that the experiment had proved so successful that the Punjab Government were considering a proposition to apply the methods of Narwala to the reclamation of Crown lands on the Lower Bari Doab Canal on an extensive scale. If this can be done, it is estimated that the capital value of the land in the colony may be increased by some six millions sterling at a cost which could be liquidated within five years of the reclamation being effected.

Literary

THE DAY IS COME.

Sir Rabindranath Tagore writes:—

Those who defied suffering
have crossed the wilderness of death and have
shattered their prison of illusions.

The day is come.

But where is India?

Her listless arms are idle and ashamed and futile
her days and nights, lacking in joy of life.

Touch her with Thy living breath,

O Lord ever awake!

The morning sun of the new age has risen.

Thy temple hall is filled with pilgrims.]

The day is come.

But where is India?

She lies on the dust in dishonour, deprived of her
seat.

Remove her shame,

and give her a place in thy

House of Man,

O Lord ever awake!

LITERATURE OR WORDS?

Sir Henry Newbolt, in the *English Review* for June, writes an article in which he endeavours to show how life may be restored to the dead bones of linguistic teaching. For the existing deadness he does not blame the schoolmaster, except in so far as he assents to an impossible system imposed upon him by "orders from above." The last phrase seems to refer mainly to school examining bodies. Grammar is science, and in teaching this science the language-master often finds that literature is crowded out. Often, too, he is made to feel that "wasting time" on literature does not pay for examination. "Life," says Sir Henry, "is a highly complex activity..... the intellectual, the æsthetic, and the moral activities should all be trained and stimulated. Science is the province of the intellect, Art of the æsthetic power,

and Conduct of the moral sense..... The three natural affections of the human spirit are the love of truth, the love of beauty, and the love of righteousness; man loves all these by nature, for their own sake, and no system of education can claim to be adequate if it does not help him to develop these natural and disinterested loves." Schoolmasters, for perhaps one hour in the week, may realize the truth of these claims; but, if during all the other hours they are forced by the conditions of their employment to think of examinations, small wonder if their teaching is apt to become lifeless.

TO THE FIRST ARMY: AUGUST 4, 1917.

Mrs. Beatrice Allhusen writes in the *Westminster Gazette*:—

Three years, oh brothers of our race and soul,

Since to the other world you fought your way;

In honour of that fierce and hard-won goal

We lift the cup of memory to-day.

A line of steel against the advancing foe,

Unbroken through the hour of destiny,

You held, 'mid all that hurricane of woe,

The road that led to Calais and the sea.

Now once again the wind of autumn sighs,

The splash of autumn rain is charged with tears,
At thought of that triumphant enterprise.

That shall astonish through the future years.

England's tradition kept in bold disdain,

That valour must prevail—or death set free;

Tradition learnt where cliffs in storm and rain

For ever face the thunder of the sea.

Victors have changed the world and passed away,

To be forgotten as their weapons rust,

Great conquerors have gloried in their day,

Leaving no record save their wind-blown dust;

But still hearts quicken, and are set aflame

At the grand Time-defying elegy

That rolls and echoes through the Halls of Fame

The immortal Challenge of Thermopylae.

Educational

LORD HALDANE ON STATE CONTROL OF SCHOOLS.

"In no other country but this"—(Great Britain and Ireland,) "and this shows our chaotic condition—would people have been permitted to open schools and to teach in them without giving some proof that they were not likely to blast more chances in life than they were to do good. The State has no power to prevent anyone opening a school notwithstanding that it may do infinite damage. The state may prevent a man practising as a doctor or as a dentist without the necessary qualifications, but it cannot prevent him from being a schoolmaster. Yet perhaps the most serious of all pursuits for the community is that taken up by the schoolmaster who has under his care a vast number of boys whom he will influence permanently through their lives. I hope the time is not far distant when no school, public or otherwise, will be allowed to exist which does not teach up to the standard that is requisite for doing what is best for the national life."

EXAMINATION CHANGES.

In his article in a recent issue of the *English Review* Sir Henry Newbolt says:—"The method of examination must be changed. . . . the boy must be asked such reasonable questions as might occur in conversation between two intelligent and interested talkers, and he must be classed according as he answers them in his own way, with understanding and sincerity." Sir Henry continues: "The scheme which I have faintly outlined may prove to be unacceptable to those in authority who rivet the chains of education upon our schools. If so, we who are not in authority must do our best to correct and supplement a defective system. By all means in our power we must see that the generations which are to be touched by the great scientific minds shall be touched also by the great creative minds."

EDUCATION OF INDIAN WOMEN.

Justice Sir John Woodroffe, speaking at a recent public meeting on Female Education and the position of Indian women, said:—

There are a class of people who think that "Hinduism" (meaning thereby every thing which so calls itself) is immobile. Such neither know history nor their own Shastras. It is true that there is a Sanatan "Dharma." But if every rule and custom which exists is unchangeable, pray what is the meaning of Desha, Kala, Patra, of Yuga, Dharma, of Lokachara and other similar terms? They all imply this, that we must take into account time, place and circumstances. We must all move on and with the vital current of our age or we shall be left stranded high and dry on the banks to wither and die. Remember that all civilizations work on woman as one of their main pivots. They are the source whence men and women spring. Honour woman. Remove all customs which stand in the way of her true freedom and advancement. If you do not, your race will pass away by the will of that great "Shakti" whose earthly representatives (vigraha), according to your Scriptures, all women are. One need not, however, believe in "Shakti" but need only have common sense to know the reason why. As that great American, Walt Whitman, said:—"Unfolded only out of the superbest woman of the earth is to come the superbest man of the earth. Unfolded out of the justice of the woman all justice is unfolded." In an old 'Shakta' hymn it is said:—"Striyoh devah Striyoh pranah"—"Women are Devas, women are life itself." Mark the words "life itself" for all that I might say to you is concisely stated there. If you will not give women your education, others than yourselves will give theirs. I would ask you one and all to do what you can to defer the year of marriage and so extend the years of education and to make that education real."

Legal

SON'S LIABILITY FOR FATHER'S DEBTS.

At the High Court of Madras on August 28 the Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Kumaraswamy Sastri delivered judgment in an important case of Hindu Law, in which the questions raised were—(1) whether a son is liable for the debts of the father during the father's lifetime, having regard to the recent decision of the Privy Council; and (2) assuming that the son is liable for the debts of the father even during the father's lifetime, whether he is liable in respect of a debt incurred or renewed by the father after partition between him and his son. With regard to the first question their Lordships held that the Privy Council, in the recent case, did not mean to lay down a rule different from what had been laid down in the earlier cases, that the son was liable for the father, even during the father's lifetime. With regard to the second question, their Lordships, while holding that the son continues to be liable to the extent of the family property in his hands in respect of debts contracted by the father prior to partition with his son, declared that the liability does not extend to the case of a debt incurred or renewed by the father after partition.

THE LATE BABU SARADA CHARAN MITTER.

The death of Babu Sarada Charan Mitter, late Judge of the Calcutta High Court, has caused deep regret in Bengal and elsewhere. He was born on the 19th December, 1848, in the village of Panisohola, in the District of Hooghly, and had a brilliant career in the Calcutta University. In 1873 he took his degree in Law and was enrolled as a Vakil of the Calcutta High Court on the 22nd March of that year. In February, 1902, he was appointed to officiate on the Bench of the Calcutta High Court and in February, 1904, he was permanently appointed a Judge of that Court. He retired under the sixty years' rule from the Bench on the 18th Decem-

ber, 1908. Babu Sarada Charan was one of the foremost leaders of the Calcutta Bar in his time. His success at the Bar led to his elevation to the Bench and it is common knowledge that he proved to be the most masterful Judge at the time of the Midnapur bomb case. After retirement he joined the Congress and was one of the framers of the proposals in the Hindu-Moslem *Entente* during the Allahabad session when Sir William Wedderburn presided. He was also an ardent social reformer and linguist and readers of the *Indian Review* will recollect some of his contributions that have appeared in these pages from time to time. Mr. Sarada Charan was sixty nine when he died.

PATNA HIGH COURT.

Presiding over the recent Beharee Provincial Conference, Khan Bahadur Surfaraz Hussain made some remarks regarding the Patna High Court. He said:—"So far as the administration of justice is concerned I have reasons to believe that criminal justice as administered by our High Court, and for obvious reasons the public are more concerned in it than in civil justice, has failed to inspire the same confidence as did that of the Calcutta High Court. It seems to be a popular view that the magistracy and police in the province are no longer so watchful and vigilant in conforming to the strict rules of the law as they were when our courts were under the jurisdiction of the Calcutta High Court. This is evidently because there is an impression abroad that our High Court is not disposed to exact from them the same strict standard of discipline and obedience to the provisions of the law as did the Calcutta High Court. Civil justice is not so much a matter of public concern as criminal, and yet, clamour has been persistent and cannot, therefore, be ignored that under the scheme desired by the Patna High Court, the cost of civil litigation has been unnecessarily increased to an extent which amounts to almost a judicial scandal."

Medical

SMALL POX IN BURMA.

The Sanitary Commissioner of Burma in his latest report contends that small-pox is brought into Burma chiefly by sea, and that epidemics in Indian provinces on the Bay of Bengal are generally followed by an outbreak in Burma. Rangoon, it appears, is never free of small-pox, but the disease is kept in check there by the efficiency of the vaccination department. But vaccination of the residents of Rangoon alone could not prevent the spread of the disease to rural areas where the population is not so well protected as in Rangoon. Accordingly the Local Government some years ago felt called upon to take special precautions and the necessary power to deal with immigrants of the labouring classes was given by the Vaccination Law Amendment Act of 1909. Since 1915 the prevalence of the disease in India, coupled with the anticipation of a severe outbreak in 1917, has induced the Local Government to enforce the Act more vigorously. A Committee however has been appointed to enquire into its working and to make recommendations as to necessity of continuing the precautions adopted.

TEMPORARY I. M. S. COMMISSION.

In view of the present shortage of Medical Officers for Military Service in India, the Secretary of State has sanctioned granting of temporary Commission in Indian Medical Service to Medical men holding either L. M. and S. Madras, or Membership of College of Physicians and Surgeons of Bombay, or Membership of State Medical Faculty of Bengal, on conditions that they are only employed east of Suez and that they be not considered for permanent Commissions unless and until they obtain qualification recognised by General Medical Council as registrable in Great Britain.

PLAGUE IN INDIA.

In his annual report for 1916, Dr. Bentley, Sanitary Commissioner for Bengal, remarked that last year 110 deaths only were due to plague as against 199, 554, 984 and 1,995 in the four previous years. Of the plague deaths in Bengal last year 78 or 71 per cent. occurred in Calcutta. The returns for the week ending the 15th August show that apart from the Rawalpindi district, where there were 18 seizures and 9 deaths, the Punjab was practically free from plague, the only other cases recorded being one seizure in Lahore city and one death in the Jhelum district. The grand totals for India for the week were 6,493 seizures and 4,724 deaths. The Bombay Presidency and Sind have the worst records, the seizures numbering 2,823, and the deaths 2,030.

THE NEED FOR NURSES.

Sri Harcourt Butler has issued the following letter to all the Commissioners and heads of Departments at the request of the Commander-in-Chief in India. "It is proposed to hold in Rangoon, Maymyo, Mandalay, Meiktila, Shwebo and Thayetmyo a course of lecture and instruction in First Aid, home-nursing and sanitation. It is not likely that many ladies will be required for the hospitals in Burma, but in view of the great usefulness of this instruction under all circumstances, ladies over 20 years of age living in these stations, who are free from domestic ties, are requested to attend these courses. In view of the special object for which this course is being given it will probably be desirable it should be separate from the course already arranged by the St. John Ambulance Association but not independent of the association. The ladies of Burma have not been backward in Red Cross work and supplying comforts for the troops and I doubt not they will respond with alacrity to this further appeal for our brave soldiers who are making many sacrifices."

Science

WIRELESS TELEGRAPHY IN WARFARE.

We find a number of interesting subjects dealt with in the May issue of the *Wireless World*. Under the heading of "The Fog of War" the Editor indicates the way in which American intervention affects the wireless situation, summarizing the situation in the phrase that "A great curtain has been let down, shrouding two-thirds of the world entirely from German ken." The wireless situation in China is briefly touched upon; whilst a number of instances in which discovery has recently been made of the enemy's employment of surreptitious wireless installations in America, Brazil, Denmark, and Russia, are used to point a moral for the benefit of panic-mongers at home.

IMPERIAL MINERAL RESOURCES.

The War Cabinet has appointed a committee to prepare a scheme for establishing an Imperial Mineral Resources Bureau in order to collect information regarding the Empire's mineral resources and metal requirements and to advise on methods of development.

A NEW WATERPROOF CLOTH.

A new waterproof fabric has been introduced in France and is proving very satisfactory for hospital sheetings, etc., as well as for waterproof garments. Very thin slices of cork are cut from the block by special machinery, according to the *Journal of Industrial Engineering Chemistry*, which describes the special process. These slices are placed in chemical baths to remove the resinous parts which make the cork more or less brittle. After this treatment, the cork sheets may be folded or bent without breaking. They are then attached on both sides to layers of cloth, and the resultant material is not only very light and the resultant material is not only very light but porous, thus providing for ventilation. It is said to be desirable in every way as waterproof fabric.

WORLD'S OUTPUT OF GRAPHITE.

Interest in graphite at present is widespread. According to the Canadian Mining Institute "Bulletin," the two principal forms in which the mineral is found are amorphous and crystalline, the former being very common. The world's production statistics for 1912, the latest available, are (in tons) as follows: Ceylon 36,660, Canada 2,060, South Africa 42, Austria 50,017, Madagascar 3,011, United States 3,835, Mexico, 3,158, Korea and Japan 8,363, Germany 13,814, Italy 14,517, Sweden 87, Norway 285, France 661, giving a total of 136,510 tons.

MINER'S ELECTRIC LAMPS.

Electric safety lamps for detecting fire-damp and other combustible gases in mines are new inventions in the line. In this apparatus the presence of fire-damp is indicated by the fluctuation in intensity of the light of an electric lamp, the fluctuation being caused by the action of a catalytic body, (e.g., platinum wire) inserted in series with the lamp. The catalytic body employed has such resistance that it becomes fused and the lamp is extinguished in the presence of a dangerous proportion of fire-damp.

PLANT SURGERY: MASSAGE.

The idea of applying massage to plants is probably Japanese in origin. Gardeners all over the world are now beginning to realise the value of the treatment. It may be successfully carried out in the case of any growing or non-woody part of the plant. Much attention is now given to the production of well-balanced plants, but quite often, a part of the specimen, it may be only the stalk of a single flower, persists in growing out of character. Such a case is an ideal one for massage. Gently but firmly the wayward part is induced to assume a better position and, although an obstinate case may take some time, the plant finally yields to the persuasive touch and regains its correct posture.—*Scientific American*.

Personal

NAPOLEON AND THE KAISER.

The following contrast between the genius and character of the two Emperors will be read with interest.

There is rather a curious parallel to be drawn between Napoleon and the Kaiser. The former, after a career of almost unprecedented brilliancy, alike as a general and an administrator, succeeded in setting the whole of Europe against him. After a succession of defeats, in which his military skill transcended all records, he was sent off to Elba as a prisoner. He escaped and fortune turned against him again at Waterloo. There he should have finished his life by charging at the head of the Imperial Guard. Probably the cancer in his stomach, of which he died, had already weakened his nerve; for, when in full health, his personal courage was remarkable. As it was, this extraordinary man came to a miserable end, amid the squalid surroundings and petty squabbles of St. Helena. The German Emperor has never at any time shown either the military or civil capacity of the great Corsican-Frenchman. He has been a versatile and superficial amateur, who posed as a genius, and was flattered and kotowed to by British statesmen merely because he was an Emperor. Now this personage is a complete failure, without ever having been a success. His much-boasted armies are being beaten in battle after battle, in spite of all the advantages of preparation and position and the tenacity of the common soldiers. While this is going on William the organiser of German infamy, as used against children, women, prisoners, hospital vessels, and unarmed ships and crews, has retired to Hamburg. Surely even cancer and Bright's disease could not prevent him from being carried under fire and showing the spirit of his race in order to encourage his troops. A Hohenzollern in decay, thinking only of how to prolong a useless existence, is a splendid advertisement just now for hereditary monarchy!

THE AUSTRIAN EMPEROR.

The Vienna correspondent of the Associated Press of America telegraphed recently the following account of the methods and character of the young Emperor Karl:—

The Emperor Karl has been a tireless worker in the effort to relieve economic conditions. His teams are still hauling coals for the poorer classes. He recently banished wheat bread from officer's messes and from general and other headquarters. From the special train which was taking his brother, the Archduke Maximilian, to Constantinople, the Emperor had all wheat bread and flour removed, saying that if the common soldiers, the people, and himself were content with black bread, the party in the train could likewise be so. That the Vienna street trams are still running all day is due entirely to the Emperor's initiative. The Burgomaster had decided that no cars should run between 9 A. M. and 5 P. M. The Emperor told him that this could not be thought of. The Burgomaster was far from complaint, but the Emperor told him that the trams must run, and that coal for the power must be found. The Burgomaster replied that he couldn't procure coal. The Emperor insisted that he must go and find some. In the end coal was procured, the cars are still running. Some official circles in Vienna and in the Monarchy are still almost swooning under the energetic measures applied by the young Emperor. Consternation reigns where formerly red tape was supreme. The Monarchy never experienced such a shake-up. Official heads continue to fall in the general clearance now going on. Sad times have also come for the army officers who have been enjoying staff sinecures. In a single instance the Emperor sent a batch of 70 to the front, replacing them by invalids. While official classes at first were inclined to offer passive resistance to the Emperor, they have now resigned themselves to the inevitable.

Political

THE RELEASE OF THE INTERNED.

There has been universal rejoicing in India over the following release order given on the 17th September night to Mrs. Besant, Mr. Wadia and Mr. Arundale:

"His Excellency the Governor in Council is pleased to rescind the order issued by him on the 7th June, 1917, under Rule 7 of the Defence of India Consolidation Rules, 1915, directing Mrs. Annie Besant, Mr. G. S. Arundale, Mr. B. P. Wadia to take up her (his) residence in one of the areas specified in the said order prohibiting her (him) attending any meeting, from delivering any lecture or speech and from publishing or procuring the publication of any writing or speech composed by her (him) and subjecting her (his) correspondence to censorship and the said order is hereby cancelled by order of the Governor in Council."

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT.

The following Press *communiqué* is issued in Madras:—

The Government have had, under their careful consideration, the advisability of associating non-official agency more closely with the administration of local affairs by the experiment of appointing non-officials as Presidents of District Boards in a few selected districts. They have now decided to appoint non-official Presidents in four districts, the local conditions of which vary to such an extent as to afford sufficient material to enable it to be thoroughly tested. In order to enable the non-official Presidents to enter upon their new duties under conditions which will permit of their devoting their energies and time to the important functions of supervision and inspection on the proper discharge of which the success of the experiment will depend, arrangement will be made to appoint as Vice-Pres-

sidents officials on whose experience they may safely rely for the control of all routine and account of work and for supplying knowledge of the working of other departments and ensuring co-operation with them. His Excellency the Governor-in-Council while, as in duty bound, reserving the right to terminate it, should the public interests so require, trusts that this experiment which will thus be initiated with the cordial assent of the Collectors concerned may be justified by results.

ALL-INDIA MOSLEM LEAGUE.

The Council of the All-India Moslem League, at its emergency meeting in the last week of August, adopted the following resolutions and cabled the first to the Secretary of State for India:—

(1) The Council of the All-India Moslem League, while thanking the Secretary of State for India and His Majesty's Government for the declaration that responsible Government is the aim of British policy in India, trusts that the reforms outlined in the joint scheme of the League and Congress shall be granted immediately after the war as a first instalment thereof. The Council welcomes the decision of His Majesty's Government that Mr. Montagu should visit India. The announcement removing the bar against the admission of Indians to the commissioned ranks of the army has created a feeling of satisfaction. The Council, however, hopes that the rules regulating appointments thereto will be so framed as to meet the wishes of the people of India.

(2) The Council of the All-India Moslem League places on record its deep sense of grief at the untimely death of Mr. Ghulam Hussain and considers that by his death the country has lost a true patriot and an earnest worker. The Council expresses its deep sympathy with the bereaved family.

General

MR. EARDLEY NORTON AND STUDENTS.

At the thirty-third annual meeting of the Students' Literary Association, Coimbatore, Mr. Eardley Norton, who was there on a professional visit, delivered an address in the course of which he said :

He had lost touch with the Indian Congress. He would have the Indians claim for more seats in the Secretary of State's Council and in the Imperial and Provincial Councils and have a decided voice with the Governor-General-in-Council and the Secretary of State-in-Council. He would like them to get a decided majority in the Legislative Councils in India. He should like to see that they (Indians) should not only have a decided majority in the Councils but also be able by a majority to pass resolutions which the Executive must carry out with result unless the Viceroy vetoed them. The resolutions should then have the force of law. The Government were well aware how to manipulate their various Councils. The supporters of a measure, if they were in a majority, were very easily converted into a minority, but they could not succeed if they would only turn their noses against the titles and ribbons which they bestowed upon them (Indians). These titles and ribbons simply entitled them to private entry and to being introduced levees and invited to dinners. As regards Home Rule, they should change the nomenclature of the political boon they clamoured for under the name of "Home Rule." As it stood, it conveyed to Englishmen no idea of the boon they asked for. They the Indians, had had the privilege of representation in the Secretary of State's Council within the time of one man's life. They should agitate, and unless they did that, they would get nothing. By agitation, he meant constitutional agitation. He did not mean bombs. He thought he once heard

of bombs in Southern India. If, as a matter of fact, they got anything, it was by agitation. But it was a matter of great regret to him (the speaker) that they had to make this demand for Home Rule at a time of great trouble to Great Britain. He was putting it upon a platform of tactics. If they could wait,—they had not to wait for long, for the War should end soon—they could then formulate their scheme of Home Rule more definitely and the people of England would surely recognise their claims.

THE BOND OF WESTERN CIVILISATION.

Mr. Balfour in a recent speech made these observations :—

"Hitherto, from the necessities of history, battles that have been waged on American soil have been battles waged between peoples of the same speech and of the same traditions. In the future the ideas which, even in the moment of struggle were always fundamentally and essentially the same, find a sphere of action outside even the ample limits of the United States, and bind us together in a world task. That is the great thought. We are not brought together in this colossal struggle, we are not working together at this identical moment—this great and unsurpassed moment in the history of the world—aiming at narrow or selfish objects ; or bound together partly by antiquated traditions. We are working together in all the freedom of great hopes and with great ideals. Those hopes and those ideals we have not learnt from each other. We have them in common from a common history and from a common ancestry. We have not learnt freedom from you, nor you from us. We both spring from the same root. We both cultivate the same great aims. We both have the same hopes as regards the future of Western civilization, and now we find ourselves united in this great struggle against a Power which if it be allowed to prevail is going to destroy the very roots of that Western civilisation from which we all draw our strength."

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CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS FOR INDIA

The following expressions of opinion on the important question of constitutional reforms for India, received as forewords to Mr. Natesan's new book on "What India Wants: Autonomy within the Empire,"* are reproduced here with a view to give them a wider publicity. [Ed. "I.R."]

I. Sir Narayan G. Chandavarkar, K.C.I.E.

The present administration in India is virtually an administration of the Indian Civil Service, which is almost entirely composed of British officials. They are indeed capable and conscientious and have done good work ; but they are the slaves of a system, which makes the Service a close Service, wedded to red tape and routine, slow to discern and move with the times, jealous of outside and independent criticism and, owing to their comparative aloofness from Indian society, due to social and other causes, more or less out of touch with, because unable to find out, real Indian sentiment and public opinion. The result is that, in important matters affecting the Indian conditions, knowledge comes too late to the Service and to the Indian administration which it practically controls, too late i.e. after things have gone wrong, public dissatisfaction has become acute, and mischief has been done. Some of the best members of the Service have themselves admitted that. For instance, refer to the speech of the late Mr. Crosthwaite on the Jhansi Encumbered Estates Bill in the Imperial Legislative Council in May 1882 and to Mr. George Campbell's speech in the House of Commons on Feb. 28, 1879.

The Mesopotamia Commission's report, condemning the system of Indian administration, only repeats the lessons of the Mutiny of 1857, of the

Orissa Famine of 1866, of the sensational muddle of the Indian finances in 1880, of the famine administration of 1877, and of the legislative and administrative measures relating to the chronic indebtedness of the Indian *ryot* (agriculturist) and to the land revenue systems of India and to the partition of Bengal.

As Lord Northbrook in substance said, when he was Viceroy, in a despatch of 1875 to the Secretary of State for India, and subsequently also in the House of Lords, the present system of Indian administration suffers seriously for want of a constitutional machinery fitted to find out Indian sentiment and public opinion as the basis of legislative and administrative and especially financial measures.

There can be no other way to remedy that serious defect of the system than to provide a Constitution which shall make the administration primarily and at one end responsible to Indian public opinion, and finally, at the other end, to the British Parliament.

I am, therefore, generally speaking, in agreement with the proposals for Indian reform made in the memorandum of the nineteen non official Indian members of the Imperial Legislative Council and in the scheme adopted by the National Congress and the Muslim League at their respective sessions held at Lucknow in December, 1916. The best merit of the memorandum and of the scheme is that they aim on the whole at what Lord Ellenborough, who had been Governor-General of India for some years, and afterwards President of

* *What India Wants: Autonomy within the Empire.* By Mr. G. A. Natesan, B.A., F.M.V. Price Rs. 8. To Subscribers of the "I.R.," As. G. G. A. Natesan & Co., Publishers, Madras.

the Board of Control during the regime of the East India Company, wrote in 1859:—"We must abandon the exclusive British system and nationalise our Government."

The memorandum and the scheme have been condemned in some quarters as being revolutionary on the main ground that their proposals transfer power from the Indian Civil Service, who (it is said) are best fitted to represent the masses in India, to the Indian educated classes, who (it is maintained) are not the true representatives of the masses. We may, without fear of the result in favour of the Indian educated classes, invite one test, which is a sure test, on this question. If we take the history of the administration from 1858 down to now, with special reference to the amelioration of the condition of the Indian agriculturists, who form seventy-five per cent. of the people in India, we shall incontestibly find that measures advocated in their interests by the educated Indians through their newspapers and public associations and at public meetings had been strenuously opposed as chimerical by the British officials in India for a long time and were ultimately more or less adopted under the stress of circumstances. It is the view of the Indian educated classes regarding the ryot's lot which, generally speaking, has after more or less painful experience to some extent won; and the official view has yielded in the end.

In publishing this book on "What India Wants," and presenting to the British and the Indian public the view of the best mind of India on the change required in the Indian administrative system, Mr. Natesan is rendering very useful service to England and India alike. Such a book as this ought to clear the air and give us the Indian situation in its full and true perspective at this moment when England is proving ready to further justify her mission in India and to prove once more true to her ancient tradition of helping nations to govern themselves as parts of her world-wide Empire.

II. Hon the Raja Saheb of Mahomedabad.

The psychological moment when Britain should take a definite step towards conferring on India the right of managing her own internal affairs has in my opinion arrived. Any delay would be fraught with possibilities of danger.

India does not desire what have been termed catastrophic changes in the government and the administration of the country; but what she does desire is that she should be put on the road to self-government within the Empire; and that no obstacles should be placed in her way. To this end the reforms contemplated in the memorandum of the nineteen non-official members of His Excellency the Viceroy's Council, and the scheme prepared jointly by the Indian National Congress and the All-India Moslem League are the minimum which the United India urges the freedom-loving British public to promulgate in this great "dependency" of the Empire.

III. Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, C.I.E.

The appearance of Mr. Natesan's book on "What India Wants" is an event of first rate importance at this juncture. It presents in a succinct form facts and arguments for giving full Self-Government to India within the Empire. It gives the history of the British connection with India from almost the beginning of the last century and rightly starts with quoting the words of the Marquis of Hastings who laid the foundations of the Modern Indian Empire after putting down the lawless Pindaries and subverting the Mahratta power. The rulers of those days, possibly animated by the generous spirit of the French Revolution, looked upon the possession of India as a Trust and themselves as charged with the duty of preparing the people, who were the inheritors of an ancient civilization, to rule themselves. They contemplated their early retirement from the country when their work had been done and looked upon such retirement with complacency and with a sense of duty rightly discharged.

These generous sentiments were later on embodied in a legislative enactment, the Charter Act of 1833. But from this year onwards a change would appear to have come over the British Authorities as regards the spirit in which effect should be given to the explicit declaration of policy made in the Act, viz., Equality of treatment of Europeans and Indians as regards holding offices in the Government of the country. The book traces this change in the attitude of the authorities and quotes the utterances of responsible rulers to show how by the time the Charter had to be renewed in 1853, no progress had been made in giving effect to the liberal principles laid down in 1833. From the time of the Royal Proclamation of 1858, there was even a retrograde tendency and the regulations were so framed as to place positive obstacles in the way of Indians getting equality of treatment in spite of the noble utterances of the great Queen.

Mr. Natesan shews how the Council Act of 1892 in passing which such high hopes had been raised proved a dismal failure, and how the purposes of Act of 1909 which was looked forward to as giving Indian representatives an effective control over the everyday administration of the country were defeated by the regulations framed under it and the spirit of hostility shewn by the Executive towards the representatives of the people. A good case has been made out for transferring the Government from the Bureaucracy to the people. The author of the book has discharged the task undertaken by him with rare ability and the small handy volume though unpretentious in look, marshals facts and arguments in a manner that must drive even a most casual reader to the irresistible conclusion that India stands in need of a radical change in her system of Government. This admirable book will be invaluable to those who have to frame proposals for the introduction of Self-Government in its full sense and those who have to guide the investigations of Mr. Montagu when he visits India.

IV. Raja Sir Harnam Singh, K.C.I.E.

I have read Mr. Natesan's brochure entitled "What India Wants" with interest and some care. In my opinion it contains an admirably compressed historical account of the progress of constitutionalism in India. The necessity and advisability of the first demand in the memorandum of the nineteen is amply proved by this account and by the paragraphs cited from the speeches and writings of some of the best British statesmen both in India and England. A very good case is also made out for the urgent necessity of some definite steps being taken to confer a substantial amount of Self-Government on this country both as an earnest of the future and because the country has now reached the stage where it must make an experiment for itself and when even such mistakes as the people of India may make in the course of that experiment will be more fruitful and will conduce more to the ultimate progress of the country than the best form of external Government. Opinions may differ on the details as to the nature and amount, if one may so phrase it, of the Self-Government to be bestowed but I do not think there could be found a single dissentient voice among the best minds of India to-day on the principles involved in the memorandum of the nineteen. I think the circulation of Mr. Natesan's book in England would furnish information in a succinct form to the leaders of British public opinion who may not always have the time to look into Indian politics for themselves. I have every confidence that with a full knowledge of the facts the British democracy will realise that wise statesmanship requires the grant of Self-Government to India in the near future—since a beginning has to be made, this seems to be the most opportune time for Government to do so, at least to lay the foundation of Self-Government which is the goal the people are aspiring to.

It might be said the author has dwelt on one side of the picture overlooking the difficulties in the way. But I doubt if the difficulties are great or insurmountable. The country will not be satisfied without having Self-Government throughout India.

V. Hon. Pundit M. M. Malaviya.

Mr. Natesan's admirable brochure entitled "What India Wants" is a valuable contribution to the cause of Indian constitutional reform. The historical summary of the movement for self-government which he has given will show that though like many other movements it has received a great impetus from the present war, it is as old as the Indian National Congress and represents the result of the deliberations of the most thoughtful Indians during the last thirty years. The second part of the pamphlet makes an excellent presentment of the case for the reforms advocated in the memorandum of the nineteen elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council and elaborated in the scheme adopted by the Congress and the Moslem League. Altogether it is a very useful and timely publication, and will, I doubt not, be helpful in promoting a correct understanding and appreciation of the constitutional changes of which India stands in need.

VI. Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, Bart.

This admirable little summary of the demands of educated Indians deserves to be widely read. Differences of opinion may legitimately exist as to many of the proposals embodied in the scheme of reforms put forward jointly by the Congress and the Moslem League. There may be a divergence of views regarding the pace at which it would be safe to allow India to march towards her destiny. But the essential principle, viz. that her proper place is among the self-governing units of the Empire, has been accepted by the best minds in the country, and has been recently declared by the Secretary of State and emphatically reasserted by His Excellency the Viceroy, to be the true end and aim of British policy in India. This solemn declaration, which is a striking proof both of good faith and of statesmanship, must help to clarify the atmosphere and to create a better understanding between the two people, which augurs well for the future of England and India alike. Any effort which may be made in

this connection to bring about a closer appreciation of each other's point of view should be warmly welcomed and encouraged. Mr. Natesan's clear, concise and vigorous exposition of the demands of India stands in this category, and ought to be carefully studied even by those who find themselves in disagreement with the scheme of reforms dealt with in this neat little brochure.

VII. Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Banerjea.

Mr. G. A. Natesan has done a valuable service to the cause of Indian political progress by bringing out a little book which he styles "What India Wants." It is a vigorous plea for autonomy within the Empire and is a spirited appeal to the British democracy. It contains a vast amount of useful information and will be specially helpful at the present time when a scheme of readjustment is being seriously taken in hand by the responsible Rulers of India. It is a book which I think every student of present day Indian politics should provide himself with. It will be a valuable guide to every member of the Indian National Congress and the Moslem League in his efforts to help the political progress of India. I have myself found the book very useful in many ways.

VIII. Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyar, K. C. S. I.

At a time when the air is thick with proposals all the world over, for political reconstruction after the war, it would be singular, if India alone were left unaffected by the movement. While the discussion of such proposals is regarded with favour in other parts of the Empire, it has been deprecated in this country as being inopportune and mischievous. The proposals put forward in the Congress-Moslem-League scheme of post-war reforms have on the one hand been denounced as revolutionary and impracticable and have on the other hand been represented as the irreducible minimum of reforms required. The ultimate decision will of course rest with His Majesty's Government and indirectly with the British Public. Mr. G. A. Natesan's booklet is an

attempt to acquaint the British Public with the demands of the educated classes and the circumstances which have led to the formulation of these demands. Barring certain small sections in one Presidency, there can be little doubt that the Congress scheme represents the wishes of the educated classes in India and is therefore entitled to serious consideration. The constitutional changes wanted are in the direction of giving a real and effective voice in the administration of the people of this country and not the mere multiplication of throats to voice their wishes.

Mr. Natesan's booklet will be welcomed by the public as a timely and valuable exposition of the demands of the educated classes.

IX. Sirdar Jogendra Singh.

Sir Rabindranath Tagore in a moving poem which he published in a recent issue of the *Modern Review* in a pathetic parable asks the question:—

"The day is come
But where is India?"

The world has, perhaps, never seen an age with a larger faith or a nobler spirit of sacrifice. Democracy has proved itself. The morning sun of the new age has risen.

"The temple hall is filled with pilgrims
But where is India?"

What India wants is her place amongst the nations of the world. India wishes to share in the great movement of human progress, to offer her treasures of sweetness, reverence and knowledge to the Commonwealth of nations which meet under the British flag. India now seeks opportunities of growth under the impulse of new ideals which are not divorced entirely from the old. The orthodox may deplore a decline in the old idolatrous moods which ruled India yesterday, but the stirring of new life marks an awakening and the people are moving forward to partake in

the new redemption. India, therefore, expects of those who claim to be her friends to befriend her in this her hour of redemption and help her to achieve ideals of human freedom and human equality.

Mr. Montagu outlined the policy of His Majesty's Government and India expects Indians and Englishmen to come together and take in full faith the first steps towards the attainment of responsible self-government. The Englishmen in India owe to themselves and to His Majesty the King Emperor whom they serve to lay firm the foundations of the Empire in the hearts of the people. It lies with them to win affection for the King-Emperor or lose it. India wants all her friends to combine and surmount the difficulties, making her path smooth, helping in the advance which has been promised, and preparing her for a larger enfranchisement.

The advance towards self-government will help the administration in making it more fruitful and many things which baffled achievements from outside will be easily attained when the things move from within. The coming events proclaim the dawn of a new era in which both Englishmen and Indians should rejoice, for it promises fulfilment of the great ideals which have inspired British statesmen; ideals solemnly proclaimed and which Mr. Natesan has so judiciously brought together in his small book "What India Wants". The united effort towards the attainment of these ideals holds forth promise of future greatness not only for India but the whole British Empire.

X. The Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri.

Mr. G. A. Natesan has added to his numerous services to India by the publication of a little book written by himself and entitled, "What India Wants." Readers who wish to know the Indian case for constitutional advance in the internal governance of the country will find it in its

pages expounded with much vigour and directness and supported by an array of quotations which is both full and weighty. Few students of Indian affairs of the day will dispute its claim to be regarded as in the main a trustworthy presentment of the ambitions of the progressive school of political thought in the country. Mr. Natesan makes out that these ambitions are in the line of continuous growth of the Indian polity and involve no violent departure from the principles or methods of administration hitherto recognised by authority. What he advocates is a courageous and large step in realising those principles after the war, a step which may be taken, in the judgment of experienced Indian politicians with perfect safety, and which, too long delayed out of regard for vested interests, will be hailed as a measure of justice and beneficent statesmanship calculated to place this great country, as nearly as practicable at present, on a level of equality with the Self-Governing Dominions and enable her to share adequately in the mighty upheaval of the forces of freedom and national self-realisation which is expected to follow the termination of the war. Those who appreciate justly the value of India to the Empire and would ensure permanency of her connection with it will find in Mr. Natesan's booklet much guidance and necessary knowledge.

XI. Mr. M. K. Gandhi.

I have read Mr. Natesan's booklet with the greatest pleasure. It is a fine *Vade mecum* for the busy politician and worker. Mr. Natesan has provided him with a connected narrative of the movement of self-government in a very attractive and acceptable form. By reproducing in their historical sequence the extracts from official records he has allowed them to speak for themselves. The book is in my opinion a great help to the controversialist and the student of our present day politics who does not care to study musty blue books or has no access to them.

With reference to the joint scheme of Self-Government, though I do not take so much interest in it as our leaders, I feel that from the Government standpoint it must command their attention as a measure which has agitated the public mind as no other has, and I venture to think that there will be no peace in the country until the Scheme has been accepted by the Government

XII Mr. Syed Hasan Imam, *Bar-at-Law*.

Mr. G. A. Natesan in his book "What India Wants" sets out in a short form some of our grievances. We have an abiding faith in the justice of the British people and whatever the antagonism of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy to our aspiration, however much their desire to keep us in a position of inferiority, I have no doubt that our appeal to the great British nation to raise us from degrading servitude to the dignity of British citizenship will not be in vain. We ask for equality of treatment and for an effective voice in the internal administration of our country. Great Britain that is now fighting the battle for smaller or weaker nationalities, has undertaken in this war to demonstrate to the world that her policy is a policy for humanity and she has in no uncertain language given the assurance to our people that we are not outside the pale of her human sentiments. Mr. Natesan's book within its limited compass correctly states the principle of our demands and deserves to be widely read in Great Britain.

XIII. Mrs. Annie Besant.

With pleasure I recommend this booklet to the Democracy of Great Britain and Ireland, as a succinct and accurate compendium of the demand of India for Self-Government within the Empire. The need for acquiescence in this demand is pressing, for—not to speak of the birthright of freedom belonging to every Nation—the Imperial Parliament has neither the time nor the

knowledge to deal properly with Indian affairs. It leaves matters entirely to "the man on the spot," and takes his own account of his proceedings, although, as in Mr. Chamberlain's case, he may state to Parliament the exact opposite of the facts. India wants to manage her own affairs, for she has competent men, full knowledge of conditions, and time to discharge her public business. The control of Parliament, exercised for one day by "a beggarly array of empty benches" at the fag-end of a session, has become a farce and she needs men who will attend to her business as the legislative members of other Nations attend to theirs.

The vital point of the Congress-League Scheme is the control of the purse by the Legislative Council; this is not responsible government but it makes responsible government inevitable. By the control of the purse by the House of Com-

mons England won her freedom, and a similar result will follow here.

I especially recommend to the English reader the section of "the Reconstitution of the Indian Councils," as it will show him why the Minto-Morley reforms have proved to be infructuous, and will explain the Hon. Mr. V. K. Ramanujachariar's contemptuous statement that the Council meetings were "a farce". Out of 104 resolutions proposed in Indian Councils by Indian members, in the Budget debates of 1917, not one was accepted. Under such conditions does the Indian member work. One admires the perseverance and courage of the men who devote their time and their brilliant abilities to this thankless task, and sees alike in their capacity and in their failure to serve their country another argument for Home Rule.

"THE GOD BEHIND THE VEIL"

BY

MUSHTARI BEGAM.

They lie who say there is no God behind.
Whose is the artist's brush that paints the skies
Such gorgeous hues of crimson, blue and gold,
The alabaster snows of mountain heights
That gleam so vivid 'gainst yon dome of blue?
Who gives such plumes of blue to fisher-birds,
The splendour of the peacock's stareyed tail,
The cooing dove its tints so exquisite,
And flashing orange to the butterfly?
Where is the hand so delicate, that it
Could paint the wonder of the Lotus bloom,
Or give such scent divine to jessamine?
What equals, made by man, the Nirgis eye
What velvet like the petal of a rose?
Look at the mighty Banyan's spreading growth,

What work of man can match the cedar rare?
O rapt'rous nature, what compares to thee
With all thy subtle messages of truth
Or hie thee to the hills and see the stream
Leap down in foaming torrents far beneath,
Such crystal sparkling diamonds are there
That all the wealth of nations could not buy.
Or take the glory of a human face
The rounded cheek so soft and delicate,
The scarlet thread of lips so beauteous,
Long lashes veiling eyes of glorious hue.
What of the inner beauty too, that shines
From out a face and through all things that be
These all shout out, as from a mountain top
They lie who say there is no God behind.?

ENGLISH MYSTICAL VERSE

BY

THE HON. REV. G. PITTENDRIGH.

 HIS is a very excellent collection like all the books of the same type published by the Oxford University Press. Poems are gathered from about one hundred and eighty authors, and the list of those who have granted permission to the editors to quote poems covers about five pages. This fact, apart from any study of the contents, affords collateral proof of extraordinary and painstaking effort. A perusal of the poems selected reveals the fact that the editors' conception of mysticism is of the broadest. They refrain from defining the word. They include in their collection poems that in no specific sense can be called mystical,—poems that in some sense deal with the spiritual or inner aspect of life.

Take e. g. from Mary Elizabeth Coleridge these lines :—

Sunshine let it be or frost,
Storm or calm as Thou shalt choose ;
Though Thine every gift were lost,
Thee Thyself we could not lose.

Or, George Meredith's dainty piece "Outer and Inner" :—

From twig to twig the spider weaves
At noon his webbing fine.
So near to mute the Zephyrs flute
That only leaflets dance.
The sun draws out of hazel leaves
A smell of woodland wine.
I wake a swarm to sudden storm
At any step's advance.

Many similar poems might be quoted from the volume that pierce below the surface of things, but cannot in any sense be regarded as definitely

*The Oxford Book of English Mystical Verse :—
Chosen by D. H. S. Nicholson and A. H. E. Lee, Oxford,
Clarendon Press, 1916.

mystical. Probably it would be more correct to say that the poems are religious, but not theological, although even this would not be literally true.

It will be interesting to Indian readers to learn that three of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's poems find a place in the book.

These are more truly mystical than many of the poems. We quote the following verses :—

In childhood's pride I said to Thee :
'O Thou, who mad'st me of Thy breath,
Speak, Master, and reveal to me
Thine inmost laws of life and death.

'Give me to drink each joy and pain
Which thine eternal hand can mete,
For my insatiate soul would drain
Earth's utmost bitter, utmost sweet.'

Lord, Thou didst answer stern and low :
'Child, I will hearken to thy prayer,
And thy unconquered soul shall know
All passionate rapture and despair.

'Thou shall drink deep of joy and fame,
And love shall burn thee like a fire,
And pain shall cleanse thee like a flame,
To purge the dross from thy desire.'

It is impossible to read this collection without the impression how utterly erroneous is the constantly reiterated statement that the West is materialistic. English Literature from its dawn to the present day is the very reverse of this. Trade and industrialism have done much to materialise life, but the literature of England, that which expresses the soul of England, has never bowed the knee to Baal.

The Reduction of Infant Mortality

BY MRS. SAINT NIHAL SINGH

 NE of the greatest problems confronting men of action is the reduction of infant mortality, to half, or even less, of what it is to-day.

It has been computed that a baby dies somewhere in the world every three seconds. This means that the lives of about 10,500,000 infants are snuffed out every year.

The civilised world pays almost as heavy a toll to Death as the uncivilised. The nations that call themselves enlightened lose over 3,000,000 babies annually.

Out of every hundred children born into the world last year, only 75 are living to-day. Next year there will be five less of them—that is to say, only 70 of them will survive. Many more will die off during their second, third, fourth, and fifth years, reducing the number to something like 60 four years hence.

In some countries the death-roll of children is less heavy than in others. New Zealand is in the proud position of losing the smallest percentage of babies born. Unfortunately, India is one of the lands where infant mortality is the heaviest. According to the *Annual Report of the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India for 1912*, it is estimated that 216.01 males and 198.71 females or a total of 414.72 babies under one year of age, out of every 1,000 of the population, died in that year; and that 50.87 males and 44.48 females or 95.35 little ones between the ages of 1 and 5, out of every 1,000 of population, died in the same year.

Medical authorities of many nations agree that if Government and individuals organise in a vigorous crusade against infant mortality, they can, within a few years, reduce it to one-half of what it is to-day.

Experience in New Zealand has proved that this is no idle boast. Ten years ago Dr. Truby King, a medical man of Dunedin, determined that an

organised effort should be made to lower the rate of infant mortality. At that time eight babies out of every hundred were dying there during the first year of their life.

With the influential support of Lord Plunket then Governor of New Zealand, and Lady Plunket, he founded a society known as "The New Zealand Society for the Health of Women and Children," chiefly consisting of and largely officered by women, to exterminate the deadly enemies of infant life. It took for its motto: "It is better to put a fence at the top of a precipice than to maintain an ambulance at the bottom" a good paraphrase of the old sur: "An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure."

Literature describing, in plain, ordinary English, the causes that bring about the death of babies and remedies that can be easily applied to save them, was prepared and broadcasted. The publications included "What Baby Needs (Whether Well or Ill); "What is Best for Baby;" "Feeding and Care of Baby;" "Feeding by the Clock;" and reprints of addresses delivered before the Society by medical authorities.

A service of competent nurses, full of enthusiasm for the crusade on behalf of children, was created. The "Plunket Nurses," as they were called, were placed at the disposal of actual and expectant mothers, entirely free of charge, to render them all possible assistance. The nurses and officers came into personal touch with the women whom they wished to help. They saw them in the home and at the clinic (of which more later). Where personal attendance was impossible, they wrote letters—heart-to-heart talks on paper from one woman to another, bound to each other by the tie of that maternal instinct innate in every woman.

Work along these lines brought infant mortality down a-flying. Within six years the death rate of babies under one year of age was reduced

to less than half what it was when the Society began its propaganda.

Dunedin has become the centre of baby-saving in New Zealand. The head-quarters of the Society for the Health of Women and Children are there. A clinic, known as the "Plunket room", is maintained there, where babies are weighed and examined to determine whether they are being given the right kind of food in sufficient quantities, and whether it is agreeing with them or not. In the Karitane-Harris Hospital at Dunedin accommodation is provided for the mothers as well as for their ailing babies, to enable the doctors to make a thorough diagnosis of the infant's ailment before and after feeding, and to afford the mother relief from work and worry, which, in many cases, is all that is needed to restore the child to health.

No other country has engaged in so comprehensive an effort for child-saving as this, and consequently, there is nothing outside New Zealand comparable with the results accomplished there. Communities in Europe and America have, however, made isolated endeavours, some of which have been crowned with success.

Take, for instance, the case of Montclair, New Jersey, one of the most pleasant suburbs of New York City. It was found, in 1912, that twice as many babies died in ward 4—the most congested part of that town—as in other wards. A baby clinic was at once established. Arrangements were made for nurses to visit the mothers. Municipal officials gave special attention to the the careful supervision of the housing and sanitation of the district. In two years infant mortality in this ward fell below the average of the town.

A survey of infant mortality in Montclair, made by the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labour, shows how children thrive in healthy suburbs, where Municipalities do not stint spending money upon sanitary measures, and place their health departments under qualified,

energetic officials. This town has about 22,000 inhabitants. Its climate is salubrious. Its scenery is pretty, and nature's handiwork has been further beautified by man. Wealthy men who carry on business in New York live there in large, commodious houses, with ample front and back yards—or "compounds," as they would be called in India. More money is spent upon sanitation in Montclair than in any other town of its size in New Jersey. It has a splendid system of sewers and of water supply. A double check is imposed upon the milk supply. The dairies in the rural districts are under strict inspection, and the results are published so that the housewives of Montclair know exactly what they are getting from the individual dairymen whom they patronise. A trained bacteriologist analyses samples of milk in the fully equipped laboratory maintained by the municipality.

The greatest possible vigilance is exercised to ensure the prompt registration of births. A card containing the following announcement is sent to the mother of every baby as soon as information regarding the birth is received by the Registration Officer:

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT.

The attention of parents is called to the fact that a clinic for babies is held at the day nursery, Glen Ridge Avenue and Grove Street, Montclair, N. J., at 3 o'clock every Thursday afternoon. If your baby is sick, or if its food does not agree with it, you may obtain medical advice free by taking the infant to the clinic at the hour mentioned. If your baby needs attention on some other day of the week, and you have no physician, telephone to the Board of Health Office (Montclair 2700) and ask to have a nurse call at your home. There is no charge for her service. (Signed) Montclair Board of Health.

The clinic referred to is maintained through the co-operation of social, civic, and private agencies. A qualified medical man attends it regularly, one day a week, and gives free advice to mothers as to "feedings and infant hygiene."

Every mother receives an artistic copy of the birth-certificate filed in the office of the Board of Health, to serve as

...a permanent record, a record by which a child may be admitted to school...a record by which he may prove

his right to vote, or to marry, or to come into possession of money....it is imperative for the future good of the infant that all facts recorded...shall be accurate, and you are, therefore, requested to return this certificate for correction if any inaccuracy is noted.

In consequence of the natural advantages enjoyed by the residents of Montclair, and the effort made by civic, social, and private agencies on behalf of children, infant mortality is low in that town. Whereas, in 1910, 124 out of 1,000 infants died in the United States, the rate was only 84.6 per 1,000 in Montclair.

Miss Julia C. Lathrop, the Chief of the Children's Bureau, writes, in the course of the introduction that she contributed to the report on another survey made by her Bureau into infant mortality in Johnstown, Pennsylvania—a small mining and industrial town where health conditions are not of the best, where men and women are generally ill-informed and over-worked:

...Civic action can remedy defective sewage and scavenger systems and dirty unpaved streets which are instrumental in creating conditions that endanger the lives of infants. The extension of city water to all houses; improved methods for sewage disposal, garbage collections, and general scavenging; the paving of streets and inhabited alleys; the widening of alleys; the improved guarding of streets and alleys the relief of house and lot congestion; the abolition of wells and yard privies; sewer connection for all houses; the abatement of the smoke nuisance—all these are needed improvements for infant health and the general health of Johnstown.

The Chief of the Children's Bureau laid emphasis upon the fact that public responsibility does not end when the municipalities have insured decent sanitary conditions. She observed:

... There is a growing tendency on the part of municipalities to accept responsibility for furnishing information and instruction to its citizens. Some cities have reduced their infant mortality rate by having expectant mothers instructed in prenatal care; others by sending instructive visiting nurses, immediately after the birth of the child, into homes that need them. Other means which have been found effective in reducing excessive infant mortality rates are baby welfare stations, consultation stations for expectant and nursing mothers, and the distribution of sound literature on prenatal care, the care and feeding of infants, the care of milk, and other hygienic matters.

Miss Lathrop made it plain that such action can do only a limited amount of good. She wrote "Children suffer and die because their fathers are

underpaid and their mothers are over-worked and ignorant." There are many "hazards to the life of the off-spring," she declared, "which individual parents cannot avoid or control, because they must be remedied by community action." She continued.

... All this points toward the imperative need of ascertaining a standard of life for the American family, a standard which must rest upon such betterment of conditions of work and pay as will permit parents to safeguard infants within the household. Toward the slow working out of the essentials of such a standard it is hoped that the Bureau's continued studies into infant mortality may contribute.

This extract should be carefully pondered. It shows the real seat of the trouble. Urban and domestic sanitation and knowledge of child life can go a long way toward reducing infant mortality and assuring children decent conditions for physical, moral, and intellectual growth; but they cannot do everything. The problem is fundamentally economic; and the future of the children is very largely bound up with the economic betterment of the parents.

The baby-week held in the United Kingdom in July emphasized the fact that the children of the well-to-do suffer as well as those born in the slums. The East End mother has to leave her infant at home, or at a crèche, while she goes out to work. The West End mother turns her baby over to a nurse-maid while she dissipates her energy at social functions, or plays auction bridge, or amuses herself with her lap dog, or engages in the particular philanthropy that is her fad for the moment. The nurse may or may not be trained to care for the child. In any case, the little one is left to associate, the greater part of every twenty-four hours, during the plastic period of its life, with a more or less uncultured person. The child of the aristocrat is, as a rule, brought up on the bottle, and never knows the taste of its mother's milk. The slum baby is more likely to be breast-fed, but its mother is usually so tired and under-fed, or sometimes so saturated with liquor, that her milk is unsuitable for the

baby, and ma
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babies who... to the world.

As the rest... the baby-week, thoughtful
Britons are con... ed that it is necessary for
them to make a... prehensive effort to save the
babies. They fe... the duty of the State to
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when... te of... been sounded, or
even... om... rovided sanitary
condi... the home, and
placed... medicine and cre-
ches... wit... the reach of all. Much
rema... ot... e to insure that life shall hold-
some... or the babes whose lives have been
saved.

The over-care of the State should continue
after the little ones have been seen safely through
the critical first five years of their lives. If they
h... ents, parents should be found for them
real... te not an institution where they
will... lled automatons. If their
par... or to be able to bring up their
offs... should be subsidized to enable
their... Experience has proven that it is
bett... in, and really cheaper for the
Stat... em in their own homes, and to
giving... assistance to their parents, than to
mak... titutions for their care. Thirty Sta-
tes... American Union provide "Mothers'
Pen... or widows, subsidies that supplement

their income to enable them to bring up their
fatherless children.

The problem of infant welfare in India is
complicated by three causes, namely:

- (1) the low economic condition of the Indian
masses;
- (2) their illiteracy; and
- (3) the utter inadequacy of expert medical
aid available before, at, and after child-birth.

The poverty of the people makes it impossible for
them to employ medical aid even if it were avail-
able. The only effective way in which a crusade
can be carried on against infant mortality in
India is for the State to provide an adequate ser-
vice of women doctors and midwives. That would
mean the training of thousands of doctors and
midwives, and the creation and maintenance of
the service will involve much expense.

Whatever amount of energy and money may
have to be expended on this object would be
wisely spent. Thousands of babies and mothers
would be saved annually, and the children and
women would be healthier and happier.

In view of the illiteracy of the Indian masses,
propaganda by pamphlet or through the newspaper
is impossible, and, therefore, the maintenance of
a service of health visitors to supplement that of
doctors and midwives is more necessary in India
than it is in Europe and America; where nearly
everyone is literate. These visitors, by their wise
counsels, have been the means of saving countless
lives and bringing health and happiness to thou-
sands of homes in many countries of the Occident.
Any expense that India may incur upon them
ought to be looked upon as a sound investment.

An American authority has computed that the
economic value of the average new-born infant is
\$90 (Rs. 270). That is to say, it may be expected
to return that much to the State over and above
the cost of its rearing and education. The
amount is very low, because the child's prospect
of survival is very poor. It is worth a good deal

more money, prospectively, to the State after it
has lived for one year, and still more when it has
safely passed through its first five years of life.
Working on this theory of economic value, it has
been figured out that if 100,000 babies die every
year, an actual loss of \$9,000,000 (Rs. 27,000,000)
is involved; and that, therefore, it is a wise
policy, from the point of view of the investment
it represents, to expend a small percentage of that
amount to save the children's life.

There is a lesson in this for India. To be sure,
the economic value of an Indian baby's life is not
so great as that of the American infant, for the
scale of wages and of life in general is much lower
in India, and the population of India is much
more congested, offering an entirely different
proposition to the actuary who computes the
average prospective economic value of the Indian
new-born babe. Value it has, however, in pro-

portion to the length of time it may be expected
to live, and the State would not lose in the long
run if it spent a small sum in order to realise a
larger one eventually.

Private action cannot, of course, take the
place of Government action. The task is too large
and too complicated to be solved unofficially. But
private effort can do much to ameliorate condi-
tions.

At least, baby clinics could be started in the
over-crowded wards of Indian cities. Literature
dealing with prenatal and post-natal care could
be compiled and broadcasted among literate
parents. Social workers could be sent to the
homes of expectant and actual mothers to press
the necessity of sanitary reforms that cost but
little. Such measures would appreciably reduce
infants' mortality in India and improve the health
of children and their mothers. (C.5.)

THE MORAL BASIS OF CO-OPERATION*

BY MR. M. K. GANDHI.

THE only claim I have on your indulgence is
that some months ago I attended with Mr.
Ewbank a meeting of mill-hands to whom
he wanted to explain the principles of
co-operation. The chawl in which they were
living was as filthy as it well could be. Recent
rains had made matters worse. And I must frank-
ly confess that had it not been for Mr. Ewbank's
great zeal for the cause he has made his own,
I should have shirked the task. But there we
were, seated on a fairly worn out *charpai*, sur-
rounded by men, women and children. Mr. Ewbank
opened fire on a man who had put himself for-
ward and who wore not a particularly innocent

countenance. After he had engaged him and the
other people about him in Gujarati conversation,
he wanted me to speak to the people. Owing to
the suspicious looks of the man who was first
spoken to, I naturally pressed home the moralities
of co-operation. I fancy that Mr. Ewbank
rather liked the manner in which I handled the
subject. Hence, I believe, his kind invitation to
me to tax your patience for a few moments upon
a consideration of co-operation from a moral
standpoint.

My knowledge of the technicality of co-opera-
tion is next to nothing. My brother Devdhar
has made the subject his own. Whatever he
does, naturally attracts me and predisposes me to

* Contributed to the Bombay Provincial Co-operative
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think that there must be something good in it and the handling of it must be fairly difficult. Mr. Ewbank very kindly placed at my disposal some literature too on the subject. And I have had a unique opportunity of watching the effect of some co-operative effort in Champaran. I have gone through Mr. Ewbank's ten main points which are like the commandments, and I have gone through the twelve points of Mr. Collins of Behar, which remind me of the law of the twelve tables. There are so-called agricultural banks in Champaran. They were to me disappointing efforts, if they were meant to be demonstrations of the success of co-operation. On the other hand, there is quiet work in the same direction being done by Mr. Hodge, a missionary whose efforts are leaving their impress on those who come in contact with him. Mr. Hodge is a co-operative enthusiast and probably considers that the result which he sees flowing from his efforts are due to the working of co-operation. I who was able to watch the two efforts had no hesitation in inferring that the personal equation counted for success in the one and failure in the other instance.

I am an enthusiast myself, but twenty-five years of experimenting and experience have made me a cautious and discriminating enthusiast. Workers in a cause necessarily, though quite unconsciously, exaggerate its merits and often succeed in turning its very defects into advantages. In spite of my caution I consider the little institution I am conducting in Ahmedabad as the finest thing in the world. It alone gives me sufficient inspiration. Critics tell me that it represents a soulless soul-force and that its severe discipline has made it merely mechanical. I suppose both—the critics and I—are wrong. It is, at best, a humble attempt to place, at the disposal of the nation, a home where men and women may have scope for free and unfettered development of character, in keeping with the

national genius, and if its controllers do not take care, the discipline that is the foundation of character, may frustrate the very end in view. I would venture, therefore, to warn enthusiasts in co-operation against entertaining false hopes.

With Sir Daniel Hamilton it has become a religion. On the 13th January last, he addressed the students of the Scottish Churches College, and in order to point a moral he instanced Scotland's poverty of two hundred years ago and showed how that great country was raised from a condition of poverty to plenty. "There were two powers," he said, "which raised her—the Scottish Church and the Scottish banks. The Church manufactured the men and the banks manufactured the money to give the men a start in life The Church disciplined the nation in the fear of God which is the beginning of wisdom and in the parish schools of the Church the children learned that the chief end of man's life was to glorify God and to enjoy Him for ever. Men were trained to believe in God and in themselves, and on the trustworthy character so created the Scottish banking system was built." Sir Daniel then shows that it was possible to build up the marvellous Scottish banking system only on the character so built. So far there can only be perfect agreement with Sir Daniel, for without character there is no co-operation is a sound maxim. But he would have us go much further. He thus waxed eloquent on co-operation: "Whatever may be your day-dreams of India's future never forget this that it is to weld India into one, and so enable her to take her rightful place in the world, that the British Government is here; and the welding hammer in the hand of the Government is the co-operative movement." In his opinion it is the panacea of all the evils that afflict India at the present moment. In its extended sense it can justify the claim on one condition which need not be mentioned here; in the limited sense in which Sir Daniel has used it, I venture to think, it is an

enthusiast's exaggeration. Mark his peroration: "Credit, which is only Trust and Faith, is becoming more and more the money power of the world, and in the parchment bullet into which is impressed the faith which removes mountains, India will find victory and peace." Here there is evident confusion of thought. The credit which is becoming the money power of the world has little moral basis and is not a synonym for Trust or Faith, which are purely moral qualities. After twenty years' experience of hundreds of men, who had dealings with banks in South Africa, the opinion I had so often heard expressed has become firmly rooted in me, that the greater the racial the greater the credit he enjoys with his banks. The banks do not pry into his moral character: they are satisfied that he meets his overdrafts and promissory notes punctually. The credit system has encircled this beautiful globe of ours like a serpent's coil, and if we do not mind, it bids fair to crush us out of breath. I have witnessed the ruin of many a home through the system, and it has made no difference whether the credit was labelled co-operative or otherwise. The deadly coil has made possible the devastating spectacle in Europe, which we are helplessly looking on. It was perhaps never so true as it is to-day that as in law so in war the longest purse finally wins. I have ventured to give prominence to the current belief about credit system in order to emphasise the point that the co-operative movement will be a blessing to India only to the extent that it is a moral movement strictly directed by men fired with religious fervour. It follows therefore, that co-operation should be confined to men wishing to be morally right, but failing to do so, because of grinding poverty or of the grip of the Mahajan. Facility for obtaining loans at fair rates will not make immoral or unmoral men moral. But the wisdom of the state or philanthropists demands that they should help, on the onward path, men struggling to be good.

Too often do we believe that material prosperity means moral growth. It is necessary that a movement which is fraught with so much good to India should not degenerate into one for merely advancing cheap loans. I was therefore delighted to read the recommendation in the Report of the Committee on Co-operation in India, that "they wish clearly to express their opinion that it is to true co-operation alone, that is, to a co-operation which recognizes the moral aspect of the question that Government must look for the amelioration of the masses and not to a pseudo-co-operative edifice, however imposing, which is built in ignorance of co-operative principles. With this standard before us, we will not measure the success of the movement by the number of co-operative societies formed, but by the moral condition of the co-operators. The Registrars will in that event ensure the moral growth of existing societies before multiplying them. And the Government will make their promotion conditional, not upon the number of societies they have registered, but the moral success of the existing institutions. This will mean tracing the course of every pice lent to the members. Those responsible for the proper conduct of co-operative societies will see to it that the money advanced does not find its way into the toddy-sellers till or into the pockets of the keepers of gambling dens. I would excuse the rapacity of the Mahajan if it has succeeded in keeping the gambling die or toddy from the ryot's home.

A word perhaps about the Mahajan will not be out of place. Co-operation is not a new device. The ryots co-operate to drum out monkeys or birds that destroy their crops. They co-operate to use a common thrashing floor. I have found them co-operate to protect their cattle to the extent of their devoting their best land for the grazing of their cattle. And they have been found co-operating against a particularly rapacious Mahajan. Doubt has been expressed as to the success

of co-operation because of the tightness of the Mahajan's hold on the ryots. I do not share the fears. The mightiest Mahajan must, if he represent and evil force, bend before co-operation, conceived as an essentially moral movement. But my limited experience of the Mahajan of Champaran has made me revise the accepted opinion about his 'blighting influence.' I have found him to be not always relentless, not always exacting of the last pie. He sometimes serves his clients in many ways or even comes to their rescue in the hour of their distress. My observation is so limited that I dare not draw any conclusions from it, but I respectfully enquire whether it is not possible to make a serious effort to draw out the good in the Mahajan and help him or induce him to throw out the evil in him. May he not be induced to join the army of co-operation, or has experience proved that he is past praying for?

I note that the movement takes note of all indigenous industries. I beg publicly to express my gratitude to Government for helping me in my humble effort to improve the lot of the weaver. The experiment I am conducting shows that there is a vast field for work in this direction. No well-wisher of India, no patriot dare look upon the impending destruction of the hand-loom weaver with equanimity. As Dr. Mann has stated, this industry used to supply the peasant with an additional source of livelihood and an insurance against famine. Every Registrar who will nurse back to life this important and graceful industry will earn the gratitude of India. My humble effort consists firstly in making researches as to the possibilities of simple reforms in the orthodox hand-loom, secondly in warning the educated youth from the craving for Government or other service and the feeling that education renders him unfit for independent occupation and inducing him to take to weaving as a calling as honourable as that of a barrister or a doctor, and thirdly by helping those weavers who have abandoned their occupation, to

revert to it. I will not weary the audience with any statement on the first two parts of the experiment. The third may be allowed a few sentences as it has a direct bearing upon the subject before us. I was able to enter upon it only six months ago. Five families that had left off the calling have reverted to it and they are doing a prosperous business. The Ashram supplies them at their door with the yarn they need; its volunteers take delivery of the cloth woven, paying them cash at the market rate. The Ashram merely loses interest on the loan advanced for the yarn. It has as yet suffered no loss and is able to restrict its loss to a minimum by limiting the loan to a particular figure. All future transactions are strictly cash. We are able to command a ready sale for the cloth received. The loss of interest, therefore, on the transaction is negligible. I would like the audience to note its purely moral character from start to finish. The Ashram depends for its existence of such help as friends render it. We, there, can have no warrant for charging interest. The weavers could not be saddled with it. Whole families that were breaking to pieces are put together again. The use of the loan is predetermined. And we the middlemen being volunteers obtain the privilege of entering into the lives of these families, I hope for their and our betterment. We cannot lift them without being lifted ourselves. This last relationship has not yet been developed, but we hope at an early date to take in hand the education too of these families and not rest satisfied till we have touch them at every point. This is not too ambitious a dream. God willing, it will be a reality some day. I have ventured to dilate upon the small experiment to illustrate what I mean by co-operation to present it to others for imitation. Let us be sure of our ideal. We shall ever fail to realize it, but we should never cease to strive for it. Then there need be no fear of "co-operation of scoundrels" that Ruskin so rightly dreaded.

SOURCES OF OUR SUPPLY OF DRUGS ⁶⁵⁷

BY

MR. ANANDAPRAKASH, M.S.C.I., (LONDON.)

THE questions of the sources of our supply of drugs in their finished state or in the shape of raw materials are engaging the serious attention of the authorities and the people concerned.

How far the United Kingdom and the British Dominions are affected by the war in their supply of drugs and how far we are so affected in India should be considered now. India has very limited enterprises in making her own drugs and she naturally depends on the United Kingdom, the central European countries and partly America for all her supplies in the line. The war has affected greatly the drugs-business and in India we have more or less drugs-famine, if we may say so. There is now only a limited supply of certain drugs and no supply whatsoever of some, and the prices commanding are fictitious. The result being that we have had to resort to make-shift business and make the best of the situation. On many occasions we have been disappointed in getting particular drugs and have been told by druggists and dealers that they have just sold the last pot or phial at a fancy price. They are in many cases important and rare drugs and sometimes German-made too. So we see that this "made in Germany" business sometimes directly affect us individually.

As our supplies of drugs in India depend much on that of British production and trade, and as the interests of India are directly and intimately connected with the United Kingdom, it will be interesting to know the exact state of things there. Recently, during discussions before the Royal Society of Arts meeting in London, some true and important facts have been brought to light regarding the subject of drugs industry and trade of Great Britain.

The subject is divided into three main sections:

1. What drugs have been in use before the war and to what extent was the United Kingdom dependent upon Central Europe for their supply?
2. The difficulties arising out of the war and to what extent these have been overcome.
3. The state of things to come after the war.

Coming to the first subject of the use and origin of drugs in the pre-war period we will first consider the vegetable drugs. Of the large number of vegetable drugs described in text books and *Materia Medica* some are now and then

prescribed by medical practitioners; some are the ingredients of domestic medicines; some used by patent medicine manufacturers and some are seen only in museums. It is on account of varying constituents and unstable nature of plant drugs that they are not much used. During peace time about eighty kinds of drugs of vegetable origin have been used in hospitals in England. Of this number some have been used for colouring, flavouring and perfuming and obtained from alkanet root, orange peels, orris root etc. While the gum class, as tragacanth have been used for pharmaceutical as different from medical purposes.

Very few of the important plant drugs are obtained from Central Europe. The medical plants formerly derived from enemy countries are aconite root, belladonna root and leaves, colchicum corn, digitalis leaves, gentian root, henbane leaves, opium and valerian root. Several of these, however, are cultivated or grow wild in the United Kingdom, such as digitalis, meadow saffron etc. Many others go from distant shores of the British Empire and other Neutral countries. To enumerate some of the principal items: Cinchona bark goes from India, Ceylon and other countries; cinnamon bark from Ceylon; Buchu leaves from South Africa, senna leaves from India and Egypt, quassia from Jamaica; nux vomica seeds the sources of strychnine, castor oil seeds and sandal wood oil from India.

From the allied and neutral countries of Europe: Ergot goes from Russia and Spain and squill from the Mediterranean shores. Of the non-British and non-European countries, Japan supplies camphor; the United States of America sends cascarin bark; Africa exports calumba root and China rhubarb roots. Although opium used to be obtained from Eastern Europe and Persia formerly, since the outbreak of the war Indian opium has been imported in England for the production of morphine—in fact the world's supply of this alkaloid is now prepared from Indian opium. So with the exception of some plants and vegetable products the United Kingdom do not depend on the Central Powers for much of the drugs of vegetable origin.

Of the substances obtained from the animal kingdom, lanolin, a very useful basis for ointments was exclusively of German origin. Other articles such as honey, bees-wax, pepsin etc., are

obtained from many countries and no country has any monopoly.

Of the principal fifteen Alkaloids or their salts, seven namely apomorphine, acetomorphine, morphine, codeine, caffeine, strychnine, and emetine were and are manufactured in England in a large scale. Germany also made and sold these drugs but it is difficult to determine what proportion was of German make and what of British make. Quinine is produced in England, the United States of America, France, Germany and Italy; so it cannot be claimed that English quinine had a monopoly of the world's trade. Cocaine and theobromine were manufactured in the United Kingdom but not on a very large scale. For the remaining alkaloids such as atropine, eserine, and hematropine—so important in ophthalmic practice—and some others of less frequent use Great Britain depended mostly on the productions of the enemy countries of central Europe.

Of the acids lactic, tannic and some others were of German origin. Others have been British products. The raw material of citric acid is an Italian Government monopoly.

For the group of important salts such as calomel, corrosive sublimate, silver nitrate, sodium carbonate, bismuth carbonate, potassium iodide and bromide and many others, the United Kingdom had to depend on her own production. The raw materials for many of these had, however, to be got from Germany; others were found in England; bismuth was imported from America and mercury from Spain.

Simple compounds of carbon: The majority of the various simple compounds of carbon are of very great importance. The general anaesthetics such as ether, chloroform and ethyl chloride; the antiseptics such as carbolic acid, creosote and iodoform and also alcohol and glycerine have been produced in large quantities in England. The other less important compounds of the group were of German, or American origin.

Complex compounds of carbon: For thirty out of forty important compounds the United Kingdom was dependent on central Europe in the pre-war period. These are some very important drugs, such as: antipyrin, chloral hydrate, novocain, phenacetin, resorcin, saccharin, salicylic acid, aspirin, salol, veronal, salvarsan, neo-salvarsan, etc.

The above gives an idea as to what was the productive capacity of the United Kingdom in the pre-war period and to what extent she was dependent on other countries, specially Germany and Austria, for her supply of drugs and raw

materials for such. We now proceed on to the next principal section as to the difficulties arising out of the war and how far the shortcomings have been remedied and the difficulties overcome.

With the outbreak of war there was shortage of articles and a consequent outbreak of profiteering too. The real difficulties are said to have been few but formidable. The real difficulties arose with the stringent measures of British blockade of Germany. The sources of raw materials were thereby completely cut off. Great difficulties were felt with the supply of potash, bromine and some synthetic drugs. The world's supply of bromine was derived from Germany and the U. S. A. With the outbreak of war Americans were left masters of the situation and the price of potassium bromide at one time went up to 25 times the normal value. Even in the United Kingdom there were much variation in the prices of drugs the raw materials of which were obtained within the Empire and controlled by British enterprise and capital. But it should not be forgotten that the resources of the Kingdom were taxed to the utmost to meet the altered condition of affairs. Capital, labour, resources and supply were all commandeered for the war. During the early months of the war very little was done. But starts were made later on and the results being that quite a number of drugs were made and are being made now and for which Great Britain was quite dependent on the enemy countries. Detailed records of recent achievements will not be necessary. Suffice it to say that the preparation of salicylic acid, aspirin, atropine were successfully tackled. Absolute alcohol, lanolin, lactic acid, phenacetin, saccharine, salol, novocain, salvarsan and potassium permanganate and various other drugs are being successfully prepared now by British capital and labour.

Therefore the above records show that in spite of the hard times much have been done and are being done now to overcome the difficulties.

The last important item is the period after the war and how things are going to be rearranged or built fresh. With the passing of the war provisions are sure to be made for capital, labour, machineries and supply of raw materials etc. The scientists and capitalists of the land are fully equal to the solution of all questions arising out of the drugs business. At the same time it should not be forgotten that the enemy will with renewed vigour put forth her best efforts to regain the lost trade in drugs. State subsidies, comparatively cheap labour and masterly organisations will be the chief resources of their strength. Ample provi-

sions should, therefore, be made to fight out the enemies' position in this trade and industry. It is too premature to say what should be the most effective weapon. Government aid, in legislation, State subsidy, tariff wall, and regular boycotting are some of the means suggested.

Difference of opinion exists as to the form which Government assistance should take. The question of legislative assistance is not a simple one too. Is tariff to be imposed only on German made drugs? Some British manufacturers and scientists recognise that legislature protection does not by itself constitute a royal road to success. Again there are complaints for which there are justifications. Men of the medical profession have a peculiar fondness for German made drugs and reagents for research, and laboratory works. New British made drugs put in the market are cordly received by physicians, while the same drugs under German name and label would be welcome.

Let us now proceed to see how the three points, in consideration at the outset, are applied to the case of India.

During the pre-war period the supply of drugs in their finished state or in the shape of raw materials—in the latter case excepting those to be obtained in India—were regulated by the manufacture and trade of the other important drug producing countries of the world. The United Kingdom and Germany had a great share in this business and we had naturally to depend on them mostly. German-made goods reached us directly as German made or coming via England; reached as branded as 'made in England's'; and similarly English made goods reached us directly or came via Germany being branded as 'made in Germany.' Anyhow directly or indirectly British and German drugs reached as in some shape or another and a flourishing trade was maintained. Germany had specialised in some drugs and Great Britain was fully dependent for the supply of those drugs on Germany, and we in our turn depended on one or both of these countries for our portion of supply.

In India we had a limited enterprise in the making of some of the minor drugs, while many such important drugs, the raw materials of which were abundant, were not seriously taken up. The backwardness had been as usual, due to want of enterprise, initiative and fore-thought. The next point in consideration is of the difficulties arising out of the war and to what

extent those have been overcome. By our successful blockade of Germany the drugs for which we were solely dependent on them have completely ceased to reach our country. There is thus a regular real famine in the German specialised drugs in the Indian market. Great Britain, with all her resources utilised by the Government, has little or no chance to enter into fresh enterprise to make German monopolised drugs. Already some attempts have been made and success to some extent have been achieved. Therefore German substitutes made in England and even original British-made drugs are reaching us in small quantities. Thus we in India have now to be content with fitful and meagre, supply of drugs.

This disturbed state of things have moved some of our pioneers and enterprisers to do something in the line of drugs making. Suitable substitutes are being prepared and even new and original attempts are being made. Some standard drugs are being successfully made by many Indian and European concerns all over India. New sources and supplies of drugs are being thought and found out. In fact there has been a great upheaval in the industrial line of drugs manufacturing.

The next most important point to be considered is the state of things, to come after the war. This requires serious attention of all concerned.

India is the producer on an extensive scale of such raw materials as cinchona bark, senna leaves, nuxvomica, castor and sandal oils, opium, honey, bees wax, pepsin etc and innumerable other organic and inorganic substances. Moreover she could easily command many other stuff that go from the East to all the drug producing countries of the world. India's resources are great and limitless.

In the normal times to come and during the great industrial strife that is to take place then, the infant Indian industry in drugs is to stand the competitions and survive. India is powerful in potentialities but lacks brain and motive power. It depends only on organisation. Co-operation between the Government and the people, co-operation between capitalists and scientists, co-operation between medical research workers and manufacturers, co-operation between manufacturers and trader, and the all important patriotic co-operation of the people are necessary for the permanent establishment of the drugs industry in India.

"SALAHUDDIN"

BY
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SUSUF surnamed 'Salahuddin' was born in 1138,—at a time when Muslim countries, north of Damascus, lay humiliated under the feet of foreign foes, and enemies honey-combed the land. The Star of Islam had sunk to its nadir. Young Salahuddin felt the degradation of Islam, and he secretly vowed to bring back life and blood to its politically anæmic body, to reinstall it once more on its former high pedestal. He followed his uncle Sher-koh, Generalissimo of Nuruddin, king of Damascus, on his two expeditions into Egypt, and it was here in Egypt, that Salahuddin established his military character by the famous defence of Alexandria, and earned his initial distinctions. When in 1169 Sher-koh died, and the office of Vazierate fell vacant, the Fatimide Caliph entrusted Sher-koh's young nephew with the portfolio of State. Salahuddin's feet now rested on the first rung of the ladder. His smouldering talents blazed forth at the magic touch of power. He shuffled off the coil of the anchorite and assumed the robe of the Spartan. Al-Aziz, the Fatimide Caliph was one of those imbecile scions of Royalty, who usually accompany and accelerate the dissolution of decadent Empires. He was thoroughly incompetent to preside over and forge the destinies of a great country. Salahuddin took stock of the situation, and proceeded to make capital out of it. He was at the helm of affairs. He took the tide at its flood. Al-Aziz was slowly, but surely, reduced to a pageant of Royalty, a mere figure-head. Salahuddin was now the power behind the throne. He at no distant time became the owner of the throne. Al-Aziz was deposed in 1171 and the long line of the Fatimite Caliphs came to an end. Henceforth Salahuddin was the *de facto* king of Egypt, while Nuruddin was only so *de jure*. Salahuddin's brother, Turan Shah, subjugated Yemen, and Nuruddin's opportune death was no inconsiderable accessory to Salahuddin in the consolidation of his quasi-independence over Egypt, Hejaz and Yemen. On Nuruddin's death his son Ismail, then only 11 years age, ascended the throne, under the regency of one Gumushtagin. Gumushtagin's jealous eye soon detected in Salahuddin the only rival whose existence was potential for trouble. He set the machinery of diplomacy in motion to remove the serpent of the Nile from his path, but Salahuddin was too astute and seasoned

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A truce had been arranged between the Sultan and Baldwin IV, King of Jerusalem. Rainald of Chatillon wantonly broke the truce by plundering a caravan, which, it was reported, was escorting the Sultan's sister. This was the last straw. Salahuddin determined to chastise such a pronounced breach of treaty obligations. He advanced with an army. Meeting the Crusaders at Tiberias he put them to a terrific rout. 10,000 Franks paid for the insult with their life's blood while Guy de Lusignan the then king of Jerusalem together with other principal chiefs were taken captives. This crushing defeat spelt the death of Christian domination in Asia. The victorious Sultan followed up the splendid success with unremitting vigour, and captured most of the Crusaders' important strongholds. The Castle of Tideriad fell, and the wife of Raymond of Tripoli though taken prisoner was escorted back to her husband with every circumstance of chivalry and respect, and a like deference was shown to the wives and children of the Crusaders' on other similar occasions. Having finished with smaller strongholds, Salahuddin at length turned on Jerusalem, the focus of Christian and Moslem efforts, the bone of contention for the previous one hundred years. Ever since Salahuddin was an unripe youth, the conquest of Jerusalem had formed the burden of his thoughts.

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Western horizon dark and sinister clouds were gathering. Muffled mutterings of thunder were heard. A tremendous storm was brewing. The sky was overcast. . . . Europe was in arms. . . . The whole of Christendom was ready to hurl itself against Islam, to close with it in one final death-grapple. . . . Never had the world been shaken by such a terrific cataclysm. . . . Jerusalem had fallen. Jerusalem must be retaken. "To Jerusalem! to Jerusalem!" was the battle-cry.

The "mortal" news of the fall of Jerusalem ran through Europe like wildfire, bringing the desire for its recapture to a white heat. Pope Gregory VIII preached solidarity, while Baldwin of Canterbury fulminated in England, and Berter of Orleans thundered in France. All was hurry and scurry, bustle and confusion, in Europe and in Asia as well. In the frenzy of the moment even women enrolled themselves for war.* The conflagration extended from the North Sea to the Mediterranean, from the Thames to the banks of the Euphrates. Tyre had become the nucleus of the fresh accretions to the strength of the Crusaders. From Tyre the Christians generalised by Guy de Lusignan, advanced to lay siege to Acre. Reinforcements from all points in the compass constantly swelled the ranks of the besiegers of Acre. Salahuddin had slept over his opportunity, and now he was called upon to face terrific odds. The fate of Islam hung as if, by a thread, a frail thread at best, with a wilderness of swords drawn out to cut it; and with only one man to defend it—that was Salahuddin—all alone! To solve a situation surcharged with such ominous possibilities, and involving such stupendous issues—that was the riddle. Salahuddin attempted it. Salahuddin solved it—in the end. The siege of Acre lasted for quite two years (1189—1191). It is a tedious episode of desultory warfare in which victory oscillated with peculiar vicissitudes. Acre by now had become the point of confluence for all the crusading armies. Daily and nightly the mighty deluge was gathering strength, till at length the appearance of Richard Coeur de Lion of England and Philip king of France on the scene knocked the last nail in the coffin of Muslim hopes. All resistance collapsed. Acre surrendered. The favourite industry of bloodshed was revived once more. Richard immolated 3,000 Muslim defenders after lulling them into a false security by profuse promises of safety. Mercy it appears was treated among the Crusaders as the Cinde-

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rilla of virtues. It simply did not exist among them.

Acre was taken all right, but it proved an embarrassing luxury. Richard's circle of allies was a fluctuating one, and people came and deserted in numbers. Philip of France, not feeling very sanguine about the prospect of fighting under the fierce Eastern Sun for an object almost as easy of access as the mirage, of the land on which he found himself, sailed for his country on a flimsy pretext, leaving Richard and others to take care of themselves. And as it never rains but pours, Acre, furthermore, became the Capua of the Crusaders. It was converted into a hot bed of profligacy and demoralisation. Dissipation was rampant to an extent, "that put wiser men to the blush."* After not a little trouble, Richard managed to march with 100,000 reluctant soldiers towards Ascalon. Salahuddin under a panic for Jerusalem razed Ascalon to the ground with a view to checkmate Richard, and frustrate his designs against the Holy city, while all this time he relentlessly, but none the less artfully, pursued his Fabian strategy with remarkable success. The Crusaders' hearts sank within them, their resolution ebbed away. Richard turned back despairingly from within sight of the Holy city. Thus fell to pieces the hopes of the Crusaders like a house of cards. Although, no doubt, Richard's heavy arm once or twice seemed for the moment to drown Salahuddin's hopes, the Sultan, notwithstanding shot up to the surface with the buoyancy of a life-belt, while Richard in spite of his apparent success began to sink in his heavy armour completely exhausted. At last he became anxious for peace and a contributory cause to his anxiety was the receipt of disquieting intelligence of John's ambition in England, and the invasion of Normandy by the wily Philip of France. The terms of peace for a long time remained *sub judice*. Salahuddin was firm in his demands and refusals. Richard even consented to marry his sister Joan to Al-Adil, Salahuddin's brother, but the scheme ended in smoke. At length and at last after much higgling and haggling a treaty was signed at Ramla in 1192. Richard embarked for England "to seek a long captivity and a premature grave."†

The clouds had lifted, the sky was clear. Peace again brooded over the disturbed land. Thus ended ingloriously the Third Crusade. "Before the great victory at Tiberias in July 1187, not an inch of Palestine west of the Jordan was in

* Itinerary.
† Gibbon.

Muslim hands. After the peace of Ramla in 1192, the whole land was theirs except a narrow strip of coast from Tyro to Jaffa."* There was nothing in the terms of the treaty that could call the blush of shame or discomfiture to the manly brow of the great Eastern Sultan. The contemptuously small gains of the Crusaders were totally incommensurate with their prodigious losses. One single man had kept the whole world at bay — this in itself constitutes an imperishable monument of his dynamic leadership. Single-handed he had coped with the whole of Christendom. Baldwin had thundered and Berter had flashed, and Europe had risen as one man to wrench back Jerusalem from the clutches of the 'infidels.' The Emperor Frederick Barbarossa of Germany and Richard Coeur de Lion of England, William of Sicily and Philip Augustus of France, Leopold of Austria and the Duke of Burgundy, with a legion other Barons of fame and high repute had warmly responded to the ringing call of Pope Gregory, and had been galvanised into sudden life by the fiery eloquence of fanatical priests and red-hot monks. Christian princes of Syria and Palestine had thrown their weight into the scale. A Geoffrey, a Chatillon, a Lusignan, a Humphrey and a dozen others into the bargain, had marched to the tune of the Crusader's martial music, had consecrated their lives to the Holy cause. The thunder of the careering cavalcade of the Templars and the Hospitallers had resounded on the plains of Syria, and in echoed in the hills of Palestine. But everything like the bubble had burst. Frederick was drowned, Philip had sneaked away, Richard had fought himself out of Asia and Leopold and Burgundy had followed in his wake. But Jerusalem, the focus of all these titanic efforts, the root-cause of all this dreadful fermentation, the beacon of Christian hopes, had remained intact. Jerusalem was still in the iron grasp of Salahuddin as safe and secure as it ever could be — perhaps never safer.

The tremendous avalanche of militant humanity had not shaken the power and station of the Sultan one single jot. His soldiers had followed him through thick and thin with an enthusiasm sustained throughout at a high level. The country was deluged with blood and bathed in tears, but they had never so much as murmured at the incessant tolls upon their valour and their blood. And when the tocsin of *Jehad* had sounded Syrians, Arabs, Kurds, Egyptians, Turks, all with one accord had flocked to his victorious standard. None had dared to resist his over-mastering curb-

* Stanley-Lane-Poole.

chain. The spectre of foreign domination was finally laid to rest. Every Asiatic Prince had long been fashioned to his yoke, every part of Hojaz, Yemen, Palestine, Egypt, Syria, had been rendered previous to his arms and authority. His star was in the zenith once again. The cherished dreams of youth had been materialised. The brief spell of life that remained to him, he passed among his deeply loved children. He died peacefully on Wednesday the 4th of March 1193 at the age of five and fifty. He had spent every farthing he had in charity, and the expenses of his funeral had to be borrowed. "The ceremony was as simple as a pauper's funeral."* The great physician Abdul Latif says that no one among the kings, except Salahuddin, was ever sincerely mourned by his subjects. Salahuddin was enshrined in the hearts of his subjects, and thus he had at his hand a lever that could put the whole Muslim world into a tremendous motion.

Gentleness was the keynote of his character. No element of pride ever lurked in his great soul. When strengthening the fortifications of Jerusalem, he had actually carried stones on his shoulders like other ordinary labourers. He abnegated every shade of luxury and ostentation, and never patronised gaudy costumes, costly dishes or gorgeous palaces. He was simple, laborious and ascetic.

On Monday and Thursday he presided over the Court of Justice, and if a man had a suit to prefer against a prince of the blood, or against the Sultan himself, he considered it incumbent on the defendant to appear in person before the Kazi like other less exalted mortals. But if Salahuddin won the case he treated the defeated suitor to a robe of honour and some princely present or the like, and sent him home "happy and astonished."† His mercy was so extensive, his heart so open, his views so catholic, that he did not grudge even his bitterest enemies his sympathy and consideration. He evidenced a particular love for children, and looked upon every orphan as his special charge. Deep down in his heart welled up the rich milk of human kindness. "His heart was humble and full of compassion, and tears came readily to his eyes."‡ Although by nature he was averse to war and bloodshed, yet when it came to fighting 'in the path of God' his native mildness yielded to his latent leonine courage. His munificence ran riot on every possible occasion, and so it came about

* Stanley-Lane-Poole.

† Ibnul Shaddad.

‡ Michaud.

that when he died he left behind him in his private coffers only the paltry sum of 1 Tyrian Dinar and 47 silver Dirhems (scarcely 25 rupees). "He left behind him neither house, nor goods, nor acres, nor village, nor any sort of personal property. The great Sultan died almost penniless."*

The glow of his generous and humanitarian spirit fecundated in all directions into the shape of new colleges, mosques, almshouses, hospitals and so forth. He was a great patron of letters, and remunerated learning with no niggard hand.† He was endowed with a singular compass of intellect, and delighted in conversing with learned men, and seasoning with the flavouring element of his pungent wit the various topics of discussion. His court was a constellation of poets, philosophers, jurists, historians, *litterateurs*, theologians and other luminaries of various systems. Capacity and learning was an "open sesame" to the highest offices of state; the most munificent compensations sought out the very faintest glimmerings of genius or literary merit. The road to fortune and eminence was thrown open to every individual whose pretensions were seconded by sterling worth. The peculiar feature in his generosity was that he spent everything on others and very little on himself. His manifest superiority in many respects when collated with Richard, Philip and Company admits of no doubt. He stands head and shoulders above them all. They are dwarfed besides him. Salahuddin in himself is a unique personality, but Salahuddin in contrast is a grander personality, if possible. Before the scintillations of his noble qualities all other glories pale. He was the exclusive master of those noble traits of which there was a dire dearth in the camp of the Crusaders. He had stimulated the torpid elements in the Muslim world, and fused different layers of the population into one compact patriotic brotherhood. All in a word he united in himself a rare combination of the cardinal virtues of human nature. *He had warred with a world and conquered it. He had weathered the roughest storms that ever burst on man. The institution of the heavy tax, called the "Saladin Tenth" is the measure of the terror he inspired in Europe. The tax was to be paid by every Christian on pain of instant excommunication. Not even the clergy were exempt from the heavy impost. These are bold, salient facts writ large in imperishable letters upon the scroll of history, and those who run may read them.*

* Stanley-Lane-Poole.

† Ibnul-Athar.

NANYADEVA

The first historic King of Mithila.

BY

ISWAR DAS JALAN, M.A.

MOST people who are ignorant of the history of Mithila (modern Tirhut) might be under the impression that this country had been always under the rule of a Brahmin chief as it is at present. But this is not the verdict of history. The country passed under a Brahmin ruler only about 600 years ago. Before this period, even from the ancient times up to the 13th century Kshatriyas were the ruling chiefs. Apart from the authority of the Puranas, in which we find Maharaja Janak, a Kshatriya chief, as ruler of Mithila, there is no other authentic historic record until we come to Raja Nanyadeva (who flourished in the beginning of the 11th century) by which we can trace a connected history of this country.

Raja Nanyadeva ascended the throne in the year 1032 A. D. He was not a product of this country but was an invader from Karnatic. He belonged to the Parmar Kshatriya caste and with a force of 14,000 infantry and cavalry subjugated Mithila and Nepal and made Nanyapur (a village in the Muzaffarpur district known as Koili Nanpur) his capital. A very amusing story is told about the method of acquisition of fabulous wealth by this king. It is said that when he came here he happened to see a serpent, on a raised plot of land, on the expanded hood of which the following verse appeared.

रामो वसि नलो वसि वेति राजा पुरुरवाः ।

अलकश्य धनं प्राप्य नान्यो रजा भविष्यति ॥

[Rama, Nala and Pururava are the witnesses. Nanya having got the wealth of Kuvera (the God of wealth) will become a king.]

Thereupon the king got the spot excavated and to his great surprise found an enormous quantity of wealth. The place where the serpent was found is still deemed very sacred and the inhabitants of the village Nanpur do worship the serpent there even to the present day.

About eight years after, in 1040, he built a fortress in Simraun, a village in the district of Champaran on the frontier of Tirhut and Nepal, in which he sometimes resided. The following verse which appears on the foundation stone of the fortress fixes the date of the foundation :

नन्देन्दु विष्णु त्रसित शाक्यवर्षे
त्रय्यानामे त्रिदशे मुनि क्षिप्रैतिहात ।
त्वाति शनैश्चरदिने कर्मवर्ग लखे
नाय देव नृपति व्यदधति वास्त ॥

[King Sri Nanyadeva laid the foundation stone on Saturday, the seventh day of the bright half of the month of Sravan in 1019 Saka (1040 A. D.) in Siddhi yoga, Swati Nakshatra and Simha ragaa.]

For sometime the king reigned peacefully but afterwards Ballabasa, by order of his father Adisura King of Kansoua in Murshidabad, invaded and conquered the country and made Nanyadeva prisoner. He was confined in the fortress of Gondoswar, and the condition in which he was placed there has been very nicely described by Umapatidhara, a great poet of Mithila. The stone on which the description was found inscribed is at present to be seen in the museum of Calcutta.

The king had two sons Malladeva and Gangadeva. The latter being aggrieved of the sad plight in which his illustrious father had been placed made great preparations in a village Ghorwara near his capital Nanpur and after a series of battles at Dvalakh succeeded in releasing his father along with other kings similarly confined from the custody of the then reigning king. Thus the rule of Mithila, which had passed on to a Bengali ruler for sometime was again restored to the Karnatic princes. Nanyadeva had once more the good luck of being called king of Mithila where he reigned for about 36 years.

Indian Labour in the Ceylon Estates

BY MR. KARAMUTHU THIAGARAJA.

SUPPRESSION OF FACTS

1. **INTRODUCTORY.**—The Commission* to enquire into the methods of recruiting and conditions of Indian labour on the estates in Ceylon and Malaya, sent in its report last February. Few perhaps have taken care to study it. In doing so, these can hardly have not felt the painful impression that the Commission has palliated defects rather than pointed them out.

2. **NOTES OF EVIDENCE ABSENT.**—A report, such as this is expected to be, ought to furnish us with notes of evidence taken on the spot, which form the basis of conclusions arrived at by the trusted Commissioners. But such notes of evidence as one finds in carefully drawn up reports, are not forthcoming. A striking contrast is that whereas we have many pages of statistics drawn from a variety of sources, there is no record of evidence drawn from the lips of coolies—no questions put by the Commissioners to the poor labourers, and no answers to them—to bear out the general statements set down in this report.

3. **CEYLON SECTION.**—I am dealing only with this portion of the report.

4. **ONLY SIX ESTATES VISITED.**—We should have expected the deputed enquirers to visit a large number of estates in order to pass a fair and true judgment upon them; it is dangerous to generalise from a few particular cases. But these Commissioners confess (paragraph 1) to having examined but a few estates. There are about 2,000 estates in all in Ceylon; but they have visited only 6! To visit 6 estates, perhaps, the 17 days spent in Ceylon by one Commissioner and 22 days by the other Commissioner might have sufficed; but they were content to give no more time than this when the hard and important task was committed to them by the Madras Government of scrutinising the condition of things in an island containing about 2,000 estates.

5. **RECRUITING.**—Only one Commissioner, the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Ahmad Tambi Marakkayar was deputed to consider (para 1) how the recruiting was done; while the other, Mr. Marjoribanks, remained in Colombo "getting statistical and other information." To do fair justice to the task entrusted to them, we should not have supposed that the Commissioners would have thought of saving time by inadequate

work, but would have conjointly instituted enquiries regarding the methods of professional recruiters, and allotted sufficient time to it. It was very necessary that in such an important question as recruiting, both Commissioners should have made special enquiries. Let us see how Mr. Marakkayar has done his work. Here the report, we should have imagined, would be at its very best. It tells us (para 18) that the *Kangany* defrauds the labourer recruited, by paying him less than he is entitled to, say Rs. 10 instead of Rs. 30. This is a very great evil indeed. But is it all? Is it likely that the rogue who thus defrauds the labourer recruited, does not also recruit them under false pretences? Now there was a very general complaint in the press that workmen were seduced from India to Ceylon under false pretences. But the Commissioners who ought to have known what the general complaint and grievance was, should have made a point of investigating the matter. In this respect one looked forward to a more faithful accomplishment of duty. They do not tell us whether the charge brought against the recruit agent is true or false.

6. **WAGES.**—We may next take up the question of wages and see how far the Commissioners have acquitted themselves of their charge. Compare their report with my own observation :—

Wages of	According to	
	Commissioner's report (para 36)	My observation (para. 4*)
1. Peasants	40 to 45 cents †	40 cents
2. Pluckers	25 „ 30 „	25 „
3. Factory labourers	50 „ 60 „	40 „

The difference between the figures is striking. Nor is this all. Peasants have higher wages, it is true, but only at certain seasons of the year when there is work for them, and not all through the year. The rates I have set down are the standard

* (The number refers to a paragraph in my report dated February last).

† 100 cents make one rupee.

* Report of the Commission consisting of Mr. N. E. Marjoribanks and the Hon. Mr. A. T. Marakkayar.

wages given all over Ceylon estates. Apart from the fact that the wages given to pruners and factory labourers are not nearly so high as those stated by the Commission, and that pruners are given higher wages only when there is pruning possible at certain seasons of the year—pruners and factory labourers are the few, and the non-pruners and non-factory labourers are the many, and these get only 38 cents a day. This important fact finds no place in the Commission's Report. Can we overlook this serious omission? If we are to consider whether the pay is sufficient, we must consider not the few but the many, not what goes on only a few months of the year, but what is general all through the year.

7. COST OF LIVING.—Is the cost of living cheaper in Ceylon than in India? If we are to rely upon the Commissioners (v. para 39) as they have relied upon one Superintendent of "25 year's experience" it is as cheap to live in Ceylon as in India, given that money bears the same value in both countries. But living is much cheaper in India than in Ceylon. So that if one had the same pay it would be better for him to live in India. Well, then, are we to base ourselves upon the statement of one Superintendent who tells us that 6 rupees a month is enough to live in Ceylon? My investigation, made not before one Superintendent (Superintendents are not able to tell of the expenses of a cooly's kitchen) but before coolies who have to buy provisions week after week from the shopkeeper, leads me to the conclusion (v. my report para 5) that a man needs not less than Rs. 8 and as. 10 a month to enjoy the bare necessities of life. *Kanganies* themselves, who are better able to speak of this matter than a Superintendent, bear out my statement. Mr. A. L. Crossman, Police Magistrate, Ratnapura, when giving evidence before a Commission appointed in 1916 by the Ceylon Government to inquire into the condition of Indian labourers in the Province of Sabaragamuwa, states that his own investigation shows that a cooly ordinarily requires a little over Rs. 4 in addition to the rice allowance which amounts to about Rs. 5—making the total more than 9 rupees a month.

8. COOLIES TO BE FED LIKE PRISONERS!—A curious remark is made in the report (para. 39) after the statement about Rs. 6 as the amount required for a cooly to live decently in Ceylon. Is it not strange to speak of prisoners in jail being fed on 73 rupees per head per annum i. e. Rs. 6-1-4 a month? Are coolies to be fed like prisoners? They may as well go and get fed in jail where they will not be deliberately over-worked

as they are on the estate, which we shall show later on.

9. SHOULD THE COOLY EMIGRATE?—It thus appears at least that the wages in India and in Ceylon are nearly the same, but as the cost of living is dearer in Ceylon than in India, it is better for the provident cooly to stay at home. But what makes it still more advantageous for him is that though the wages per day in theory is the same in both fields of labour, the emigrant can practically earn less in Ceylon than in India, as the evidence recorded by the Sabaragamuwa Commission shows. The state of affairs in one province is not very different from that in the others. This is by the way. Mr. R. N. Thaine, Government Agent,* Sabaragamuwa, in a report to the Ceylon Government on the hardships of coolies writes:—

As regards the complaint that the coolies never had enough money or wages to enable them to purchase sundries, &c., it is a fact that in the majority of cases coolies only receive as their wages at the end of the month small sums varying between 75 cents and Rs. 3.

Moreover, some opinions incidentally expressed in the present report, too, strengthen our case; such as (para. 39):—

Our impression is that while the average labourer and his family make enough to feed and clothe themselves quite as well, if not better, than in India, they ordinarily do not accumulate appreciable sums as savings.

Now then, does not the cooly leave his home because he expects something better than he can find by staying in India? If it is not so, why should the cooly emigrate at all?

10. SLAVERY.—There is another important fact that has to be considered immediately after the point just mentioned. It is impossible for a cooly to start life on Ceylon estates without a debt. The report very honestly admits this evil. It says (para 14):—

This sum [money advanced when recruiting] together with the amount of the emigrant's travelling expenses and food till he reaches the estate in Ceylon forms the debt with which each labourer starts life in Ceylon.

Not only does "the state of indebtedness" act "as a deterrent to thrift and industry" as the Commission says, but it soon reduces the cooly to a state of veritable slavery. The report indirectly admits this fact. For it tells us in all fairness (para. 27):

Many estates early realised that the labourers were at the mercy of the *kanganies* in the matter of their indebtedness.

And in another place (para. 34):—

* Corresponding to a District Collector.

The labourer thus is free to leave his employer at a month's notice, or at any time for reasonable cause. But under the *kangany* system described above, where under the labourer is a *kangany's* debtor, and the latter in his turn indebted to the estate, taken in conjunction with the conservatism of the Tamil labourer, it is not surprising that the labourer does not realise his legal position. That the *kangany* considers that he has some sort of proprietary right in the labourer and that the labourer accepts this position is abundantly clear from the manner in which the labourer is, and allows himself to be, taken from employer to employer by his *kangany* and accepts the increasing load of debt thrust on him in the process.

The report continues to give truthful testimony (para 35):—

Thus a labourer who has not the capacity or opportunity to rise to the position of a *kangany* or sub-*kangany* remains on an estate under a debt which rarely diminishes but often increases.

For the poorly paid cooly, frightfully defrauded by the *Kangany* and finding it difficult to keep soul and body together, to repay the heavy "debt" is certainly out of the question; and to resort to law to seek freedom, he is too ignorant, nor has he got the means and facilities. So some try to escape the heavy burden of debt and slavery by "bolting." The Commission readily admits that "In 1915 the number of 'bolters' from federated estates was 8,894," a fact that certainly does not speak highly of the contentment of coolies. As a result, most, if not all, die like slaves.

And yet Ceylon emigration is 'free,' not 'indentured.'

11. COOLIES ARE OVERWORKED.—The report says nothing of the 10 continuous hours of work a day, from 6 A.M. to 4 P.M., without break. The Superintendents honestly admit this condition of affairs. The evidence recorded in the Sabaragamuwa Report too bears out this fact. Coolies in India do not work for more than 7 or 8 hours at the utmost a day, and that, not without a break of 2 hours. Important as this matter is, the Commission does not appear to have considered the question.

12. STARVATION OF COOLIES.—The law binds the estate to treat and nurse the coolies during illness. But the estates neglect them. "The first point which I would emphasize is the scandalous neglect with which the sick coolies... have been treated" are the pathetic words of the judgment in P. C. 28,196 of 1914 of Ratnapura. Mr. A. P. Boon, District Judge, writes (January 1914):—

40 coolies started protesting themselves in front of us and saying they were starving... The coolies were

obviously being starved. Many of them... were fit only for hospital. He... [Dr. Pereira] too told me that from all sides he was hearing similar reports... that they were unable to resist such diseases [hook-worm] owing to being under-fed... I was also told that 4 deaths had occurred... from starvation... from what I saw I can believe it.

Dr. Lunn, Inspecting Medical Officer, refers to a number of half-starved coolies, in his report dated January 1914. The Sabaragamuwa Commission finds such allegations wholly true; not to speak of my appalling experience. I must here reiterate that the conditions are not very different comparing one province with another. Startling as this revelation of the existing state of things is, the Commission ignores the question and passes over the matter in silence.

13. JUDICIAL AND EXTRA-JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION; ACTS OF INJUSTICE AND ATROCITY.—We expected the Commission to strongly condemn the so called law which sentences to rigorous imprisonment those coolies who fail to work or who leave the estate without the permission of the Superintendent; why it even sentences those who harbour the coolies merely out of compassion. But the Commission is, unfortunately, silent upon this point.

Nevertheless, the report truly admits (para. 44):—

Most estates appear to inflict small fines for petty neglects or bad work. Such fines seem, however, to be illegal having regard to the provision of section 6 of Ordinance 13 of 1882.

Acknowledging as the Commission does, on the one hand, that the small fines imposed upon coolies are frequent, and on the other, that they are illegal, it does not, however, lay much stress upon the point, or suggest any remedies against an evil which may appear small to the master but is very hard on the cooly. If most estates are acknowledged to have committed positive acts of injustice of this kind in small matters, one may not claim that they are not immune from the propensity to commit acts of greater injustice.

The report says (para 31):—

Large increase in a labourer's account in the past were noticeable on account of the relatives who had died or absconded, the amounts of their debts being added to that of the family or sometimes, even of the gang.

Note the apologetic expression "in the past"! Probably this evil was not noticed at the time the Commission visited the estates. Hence the expression "in the past." This grave illegality not only existed "in the past," but exists even at present. A debt of this nature is certainly not recoverable in any Court of Law in Ceylon or in

India. Alas! the illiterate cooly does not understand his legal position.

The Commission states in passing (para. 44):—

Corporal punishment is recognised to be illegal and is certainly not common or usual though of course there are bad masters in the island as well as bad servants.

The Commissioners, however, do not set in relief the fact that there are atrocities of a serious nature committed on the estates from time to time. There is, at all events, need of emphasising the point if the object of the Commission is to bring help to the poor cooly from high quarters, seeing that he cannot do anything himself, while his rich and influential master can take the law into his own hands and has the means to escape the punishment of the Court.

I cite three instances from the well-known *Ceylonese*:

(i) According to Muniyamma, an eye witness, the accused [an estate witness] came up with a gun to the cooly lines, and shot the accused, among others, why she was not at work. The woman replied she would go to work the next day. The accused then shot her dead, and ran off, but was soon secured by some coolies and handed over to the authorities. Keegan, Sooraleharan and Mariammas, all of them eye-witnesses, told much the same story. The jury brought in a verdict of not guilty of murder, but guilty of a rash and negligent act. His Lordship pointed out that the act could not have been both rash and negligent and the panel submitted a verdict of guilty of a rash act. His Lordship imposed a penalty of one hundred rupees. (January 30th 1917.)

(ii) A planter was convicted of having caused grievous hurt to a cooly in his employ. That was a very serious offence according to our law. But the Magistrate who convicted the planter shocked the public conscience by fining him ten rupees and detaining him at the Bar till the rising of the Court. (February 6th, 1917.)

(iii) The accused (a planter) is reported to have said that he told the complainant the Kangany on his estate "to go on his hands and knees." And by way of speeding the parting guest, the accused called him a "mulla madu." The accused ordered the complainant to kneel down. If he had refused, the accused is reported to have stated that he would have killed him. The Magistrate considered the accused "technically guilty" of wrongful restraint, and fined him ten rupees. (April 25th, 1917.)

May cases of such revolting natures be passed over in silence?

The report tells us (para 41):—

An employer has no power of arrest in respect to a servant who absconds or rather offends.

But the estates employ watchmen and supply them with arms to prevent coolies from leaving the estate. Nay more, the estates advertise offering rewards for the arrest of "bolted" coolies, and males and females are arrested without Court warrants by private individuals.

Instances like these are not to be quietly ignored by an impartial Commission, but rather to be commented upon.

The Commission remarks with reference to the year 1915 (para 43):—

The total number of cases against labourers (44,09) and against employers (26) is very small in comparison with the size of the labour force (about 400,000 workers) and the number of employers (over 2,000).

If the Commission had considered the question whether coolies enjoy sufficient facility for proceeding to Court to lodge complaints, it would not have come to such a satisfactory conclusion.

14. HARDSHIPS AT MANDAPAM.—The report says nothing of the complaint in the Quarantine Camp at Mandapam—whether the coolies are well-fed, properly housed or not. The Commissioners, instead of investigating and reporting on the complaints, give us (para 20) a bare description of the official version.

15. SOME CONTRAST.—A remarkable contrast with the grave omissions is the space given (para. 4 to 12) to the strength and distribution of the labour force and its sufficiency to meet the demand; as if the poor slaves could take advantage of the competition for labour. Three pages are devoted to it out of 22 pages, not counting the statistics. Again one page is allotted (para. 55) to the description of the hook-worm disease beside an extract of 3 pages (pp 76 to 78) in the appendix. Had Lord Pentland's Government wanted information of this nature it would have easily got it from one of the Doctors in Madras. It surely has not sent out Commissioners to get information available in Madras.

It is to be concluded, from a consideration of the foregoing remarks, that the Commissioners have taken a hasty view of things in Ceylon and that a more mature judgment would have altered greatly not a small number of their statements; or is this report to be taken in the light of an apology for the planting interest as opposed to labour interest?

MISTAKEN IN PORTRAYING FACTS.

16. FEDERATION. The report says (para 28):—"Only some 75 per cent of the estates in Ceylon joined this Federation"; whereas up to April 1915 only 853 estates had joined it—it must be, I reckon, about 42 per cent. Since 1915, the number must be on the decrease. For it worked so badly that it has of late been abolished.

The report states (para 31):—"The debts of deceased labourers are now written off by all federated estates." This is by no means a matter of course. Compare the rule of the Federation, which I quote:—

"Rule 28. On the certified death of any registered cooly (not Kangany) his or her individual

debt not exceeding Rs. 50/- shall be written off against the Estate and the remainder of the debt shall be debited to the Kangany or written off at the discretion of the Agents or Proprietors on the recommendation of the Superintendent."

Needless to say that seldom is a recommendation of this nature made or accepted. It is rarely that a cooly owes the estate anything less than Rs. 75, and the balance which the Kangany has to meet is without exception recovered from the cooly's family.

Do not the above statements of the Commission disclose some lack of seriousness in the writing?

17. ISLAND FREE FROM FATAL DISEASES.—The report says (para 62):—

Cases of plague, cholera and smallpox are rare amongst the estate population. In fact, these diseases are not prevalent in the island.

But if it is true that "these diseases are not prevalent in the island" how could the Chairman, at the meeting of the Colombo Municipal Council on the 25th May last, announce 169 cases of plague in the year as compared to 69 in 1916 and to 33 in 1915?

18. HOUSING AND SANITARY CONDITIONS.—The report says (para. 45) that housing and sanitary conditions are quite satisfactory. My experience is that it is not so. Ventilation has not been specially cared for. More than four persons occupy a room of 12 feet by 10 feet. Dr. Lunn, Inspecting Medical Officer in the Civil Department, refers in his report to the insanitary state of certain lines he visited. The Sabaragamuwa Commission says that it visited a large number of estates in the Ratnapura District and "many did not come up to the standard of sanitation." Dr. T. S. Nair, Assistant District Medical Officer, when giving evidence before the same Commission says the coolies "are kept too over crowded." "Look at this picture and on that!"

19. GIFTS AFTER CHILD-BIRTH.—The law requires the estate to bear all expenses during the month after confinement. The report, therefore, says (para. 57):—"The general practice is to give the mother Rs. 2, and half a basket of rice." In my investigation, however, I found that this Rs. 2 is debited to her account; and the Sabaragamuwa Report corroborates this fact. It says:—

The practice of debiting the woman or her husband with the cash advance given to her after confinement, appears to us to be contrary to the law.

20. GIFTS TO CHILDREN.—The law also urges on the estate to see that children under the age of one year receive proper care and nourishment. So the report says (para. 57):—

Some estates give all non-working (i.e., non-earning) children one meal a day free at four in the afternoon.

Another estate's children not yet of an age to do any work are mustered once a month and each mother is given 1/8 bushel of rice. On some estates, a mother is given a bonus (Rs. 5 or more) if her child lives to be one year old.

When speaking of "some estates," "other estates" and again "some estates" in the above quotation, it is not very clear whether the Commissioners mean to give an account of all the estates or a few. I do not think even a few estates do what the Commission says. I did not hear of any of these facts during my investigation. Nor is there any record of any of them in the Sabaragamuwa Report. Is this the practice? Or is it a regulation that remains a dead letter?

21. STATISTICS MISLEADING.—The Commission says (para. 6):—

A large proportion (about 40 per cent) of the labourers going to Ceylon through the Labour Commission, during the last few years is composed of persons who have been in the island before.

Now what would be the reader's impression after his perusal of this statement? He would be tempted to smile at these speaking of the ill-treatment of the coolies. For how could the coolies think of returning if they were ill-treated? What is the fact? Do they return willingly? This is what we should consider. Circumstances force them to return. They place a substantial security before leaving, without which they cannot go from the estate. Mr. A. L. Crossman, when giving evidence before the Sabaragamuwa Commission says:—

In the case of Tamils, when one is allowed to go some one else of the family is detained. I remember one case 28,705 in which Mr. Berry, of Delwells, stated with regard to a small gang, consisting of a husband, wife, and two children, that he would not allow all the gang to go to India together.

When a man goes back to India, leaving a wife and children behind, is it surprising that he returns? Can we conclude that he is drawn back to Ceylon by love of the estate and the Kangany? From the statement quoted above, made by the Commission Report, it will appear that the Commissioners have been misled into the insinuation that the labourer returns to Ceylon because he loves to do so. And the reader is apt to conclude the same, whereas the labourer returns because he is morally compelled.

22. REPATRIATION.

Some labourers, no doubt, return to India permanently after finding the condition unsuitable.

So says the Commission (para. 6). But can those who are said to find the conditions unsuitable return to India permanently? Compare that remark with what the report says by the way (para 65) and see whether it is easy for the cooly to return to India.—

The debt which practically every labourer owes his *kangany* or his estate prevents him leaving except for short visits to India with the leave of his employer or except by 'bolting.'

Now, not some, as the Commission says, but the vast majority of the coolies find the condition unsuitable, as the unscrupulous *Kangany* recruits them only under false pretences. Can they all or even some of them return to settle down in India? It is impossible, except in very rare cases, as they cannot repay their debts to the estate. Quite recently, as late as February 28th last, "Devadass" bore testimony, not without proofs, in the columns of the popular "Hindu," how a mechanic was enticed away to Ceylon and forced to do cooly work; how and with what difficulty he managed to get home after his relatives in India had paid Rs. 50-12-0 to the Labour Commission at Trichinopoly for his passage. Again, all the coolies examined by the Sabaragamuwa Commission complained that the conditions are absolutely different from what they expected them to be and begged the Commission to send them home. The writers of the report are not cognisant of this.

The Commission reports (para 65):—

Labourers who break down in health and become unfit for work on the estate are usually sent back to India at the expense of the estate, but there is no law on the subject and no special organization to control the matter.

Note the benevolent tone "are usually sent back"! When the planters do not do what they should do according to law, (see paras. 12, 19 and 20 of the present article) is it at all likely that they practise philanthropy when there is no law or special organisation to control the matter?

Mr. Fritz Kunz, Principal of Ananda College, Colombo, in the course of a heart-rending description of "A victim to our labour system" tells us (see *Ceylonese*, February 4, 1917):—

On account of his frequent illness he was asked by the *Kangany* to leave the estate. It should be noted that he was not regarded as a chattel, because he owed the estate nothing. He left the estate a sick man and the possessor of 25 cents in Ceylon money. . . . What state is Ceylon in, when sick men can be cast out like dogs when their usefulness is at an end, and turned away from the natural asylum of the sick?

23. SEX RATIO.—The percentage of men and women among the arrivals for 61 years is 73.45 and 16.75 respectively (and children 9.80)—a fact which the Commission tries to explain away. It argues (para. 6):—

Comparing this with the proportion of males and females among the Tamil labour force in 1911 (234,694 males and 205,708 females) it is evident that a low proportion of women among each year's immigrants does not necessarily mean a low proportion of women in the resident immigrant population.

If the proportion was somewhat fair in 1911 does it necessarily mean that it will be so in the following years as well, especially, too, when the percentage of women in the subsequent years is very poor.

The Commission observes (para. 6):—

The men return after a time and go back again with their women-folk in many cases thus getting counted twice over.

But compare this with what the same Commission says (para. 65):—

Leave from the employer [to go to India] can be readily obtained by those who have settled down to family life on the estate, but probably not easily by others. How then can the unmarried men return to India and get back to Ceylon with their women-folk "thus getting counted twice over"?

Again do men alone return and go back "getting counted twice over"? If we compare the percentage of women who arrive in Ceylon to that of women who depart from the island, we find the latter to be greater than the former. Comparatively a greater percentage of women depart than arrive: So, whereas 30,000 men and 5,000 women arrived in 1900 in Ceylon, 10,000 men and 2,500 women departed in 1901. So, if a certain number of men is counted twice over, a comparatively larger number of women is also counted twice over. Why overlook the latter fact which is obviously more conspicuous, and observe only the former which is comparatively less remarkable?

"The women more often settle in their new homes and their daughters grow up, marry and settle there too. Thus in course of time the inequality in numbers between the sexes tends to disappear," pleads the Commission (para. 6). That the inequality has not disappeared in the course of 61 years has also not struck them nor the fact that the percentage of women arriving every year continues to be very low. The Commission do not discuss the present proportion of the sexes in the manner of the critical historian.

. . . The sexes are fairly evenly matched in the Tamil labour population.

declare the Commissioners (para 68). According to the census of 1911, the Commission says "there were 239,111 males and 209,038 females." Even if we accept this to be quite correct for our special purpose, every seventh or eighth man has no wife. Can we then say that "the sexes are fairly evenly matched"? In face of the fact that the proportion of women in the world is greater than that of men it is very significant and regrettable that on the Ceylon

estates the proportion of men to women is roughly 7 to 6—a very large and unsatisfactory proportion, indeed—the significance of which the Commissioners rather understate. The Commission reports (para. 68):—

Excepting new arrivals, the labourers live in families on the estate and there are no undesirable features due to a lack of women.

But what about the "new arrivals" above ordinary human weakness? Had the Commissioners used more discretion, they would not have committed themselves to such discordant and dangerously broad statements.

24. TO SUM UP THE WORK OF THE COMMISSION:—The notes of evidence required to elench statements are conspicuous by their absence. General conclusions may be arrived at only by the examination of a fairly good proportion of particulars; but the Commission has visited only a few estates. Important as the system itself of recruiting is, it does not tell us whether it is an evil or not, in its method of working. It sets down rates of wages which on verification prove to be incorrect. Easy as it is to find out the cost of living, the Commissioners, however, have underestimated it. Does the cooly gain by going to Ceylon from India? This question is unanswered. Again we are not told whether the emigrant retains his liberty or becomes a slave. One might think after reading the report that he is not over-worked, whereas facts point quite the other way. The Commissioners speak of the law that the cooly must be fed during his illness, and are silent regarding its frequent infringement with impunity. The law in Ceylon is extremely hard on the cooly and benevolent towards the master, and yet the Commission maintains silence on the subject. Many are the hardships of the Quarantine Camp; they are not dwelt upon nor referred to. Relevant points are skipped over, and irrelevant points such as the supply of coolies meeting the demand are dilated upon, the debts of deceased labourers are not entirely written off by federated estates. The Federation has, unfortunately, been abolished since. Rare though plague is supposed to be in the report under review there were, according to the Municipal Chairman's statement, 169 victims to it in 1917. Its notion of sanitation must be narrow, if a house 12 feet by 10 feet for four coolies with their children, is considered a satisfactory condition. Whatever it may say of gifts to women after childbirth and to children there is no evidence that they are given to children and that the practice as regards women is contrary to law. The

statistics are presented to us in such a manner that one is apt to conclude that the cooly returns to Ceylon after his visit to India because he likes to return, which impression the Commission itself creates, whereas a close study of the facts leads us to quite a different inference. Again it magnifies the suitability of the condition to the cooly, and minimises the difficulty of his being repatriated. The fact is, few, if any, return, it being next to impossible for the cooly to get back to India when once he has bound himself over to the *Kangany* and the estate. It does not blush to say that the proportion of the sexes—which is a very important question—is "fairly evenly matched," when a scrutiny of the figures reveals to us the alarming truth that there are only 39 women to every 61 men! Can I not, therefore, be excused for calling it "A White-Washing Commission."

Now to turn to the good side, little though it be, of the report, the Commission is very liberal in exposing the unscrupulous *Kangany* and his worse methods. Another praiseworthy feature is that it refers to the "suicidal policy of issuing *sundu*"—(a kind of leaving certificate, mentioning the debt on payment of which he will be released from that jail-estate) which is the cause of the chronic debt of the cooly.

25. CONCLUSION.—I have dealt with a number of the flaws in the report, though not with all nor in complete detail. Even those I have indicated shows, I am afraid, that Mr. Marjoribanks, who may be supposed to have written the report, has, however unintentionally, used the white-washing brush freely, and the Honourable Khan Bahadur has, with energy, seconded his innocent efforts. The report, indeed, is meagre and not very creditable.

The public, we may conclude, was right when it anticipated from the men chosen to be Commissioners that the burden of work committed to them was above their strength. Nor has it been disappointed. Who is to blame? The Commissioners are to blame if they accepted a task to which they felt themselves unequal. The selection of gentlemen was not a happy one. Had the Government chosen more qualified men we should now be in possession of more historical facts; the sufferings of the coolies would have been made public, and called for redress from the British Government which is chivalrously striving to right wrongs.

VIRAKAMPARAYA CHARITA

BY

PROF. T. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR M.A.

HIS is a Sanskrit poem in 8 cantos on the conquest of Madhura (Madura), by a lady, Gangadevi, poetess at the Court of Kampanna, son of Bukka I. of Vijayanagara Dynasty, and General of Bukka's forces and conqueror of Conjeevaram and Madura, during the years 1361-1372, A. D. The inroads of the well-known Malik-Kafur having reduced the South of the Madras Presidency into subjection to Mahomedan rule about 1310 A. D, it was reserved to this able Hindu General to wrest the south from that cruel devastation, and restore peace and order in the land. This poem* is a beautiful gem of composition by a gifted lady, who describes herself (vii.39) as a beloved queen of Kampanna, and deserves recognition as an historic poem of great value, describing an important conquest of the early Vijayanagar period. The fact of the conquest is historical, as borne out by various existing inscriptions, and there is further confirmation of Kampanna's religious sympathies which took the usual form of temple grants and restorations, Chidambaram, Srirangam, and Madura, seats of famous temples even now, sharing in this welcome munificence. Though we miss in the poem the distinct characterisations or rich local colourings which a genius like Kalidasa might have imparted, we none the less feel charmed by the superior elegance of the diction, and the naturalness and utter absence of forcedness in the descriptions. We are unmistakably reminded of the greatest of Sanskrit poet, Kalidasa, by happy touches of thought and expression in several places, and the stanzas of the 8th canto, wherein Kampanna hears from a Divine Nymph a heart-rending description of the desolateness which the Mussalman inroads had effected in the country will bear comparison with the similar imaginative picture drawn by Kalidasa in the *Raghuvamsha*, of the state of Ayodhya before Kusa re-occupied it. The two learned pandits of Trivandram named at the bottom

* "Madhura Vijaya or Virakamparaya Charita" by Ganga Devi, Edited by Pundits G. Harihara Sastri, and V. Srinivasa Sastri, Smrite-Visavada, The Sridhara Press, Trivandrum.

deserve to be congratulated on the happy discovery of this elegant poem, which though not so important for Indian History as the recently discovered *Artha Sastra* of Kautilya, is yet a work of historical importance, besides furnishing a welcome piece of evidence as to the attainments of ladies in the brilliant Vijayanagar period. Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, M. A., the Archaeologist of Travancore, has furnished a learned introduction in English, on the contents of the poem, and the fresh data furnished by it for the history of Vijayanagar. We discover in the poem, the names of a few Sanskrit poets hitherto unknown to fame, namely, *Tikkayya*, *Agastya*, *Gangadhara*, and *Vishvanatha*, who must have flourished in the Telugu country, in times recent to the authoress. The poem is well-printed in Devanagari, and is well-worth study by all Sanskritists and is further fit for prescription as a Sanskrit text-book by the University. There are *Lacuna* in the text, especially towards the end, as the whole has been reproduced from a single imperfect manuscript, but what has been discovered of the poem is fairly sufficient to enable us to entertain a very high opinion of the talents of the gifted authoress.

STANZAS

BY

MR. M. N. CHATTERJI.

Softly, softly, shine,
Mild star of eve!
One pleasure let be mine
A sigh to heave!

Brightly, brightly, bloom,
Ye fragrant Rose,
Till in my heart a room
For longing grows.

Sweetly, sweetly, sing,
Gay bird of night!
Ah! let the spirit's wing
Once flutter light.

Gently, gently, blow,
Ye vernal breeze!
One moment's thrill and glow,
And may cease!

Sigh, longing, dream and thrill
Ah, who can give?
With them companion'd still
My heart may live!

TOPICS FROM PERIODICALS

India and the Mesopotamian Commission

There are two articles, appearing in the August number of the *Nineteenth Century and After* criticising the recent military policy of the Government of India and exposing the defects of the head-quarters organisation of the Indian Army. The primary charge is that the era of economy before the war when military estimates were ruthlessly cut down led to a disastrous effect on the Army, it being inadequately equipped, not only for an overseas expedition, but even for frontier requirements; and a second important charge is that owing to the abolition of the late Military Department and the assumption by the Commander-in-Chief of the duties of the Army member, the existing organisation is over-centralised at its head and cumbrous in its duality below. The military hand-to-mouth policy of the Government of India from 1909, adopted not owing to financial exigencies but for a settled purpose, led to serious deterioration in the arms and equipment of the army, and depletion in its reserves as early as 1912; and the Nicholson Committee recommended the maintenance of a fighting army of 7½ Divisions, which is considerably less than the strength considered necessary by Lord Kitchener. The second charge, viz., that the military organisation at the top is overcentralised, is, in the writers opinion, an erroneous one and the fault lies in the organisation and office procedure of the Army Department.

The second article says that a railway from the sea to supply the Bagdad advance would have made all the difference in the world, and that then the retreat would have lost all its tenors. And had this railway been sanctioned even as late as August, 1915, when the responsible general at the front asked for it, the Bagdad advance might have succeeded. And after a loss of three months during which the stream trickled slowly through the involutions of the labyrinth-like system in which the Government of India and the Indian

Army Head-quarters are involved, the railway so surely needed was definitely refused. The system of microscopic financial control exercised over the details of military expenditure by the Finance Member and the Finance Secretary, has prevented the Commander-in-Chief and the Army Council at a time of war, from being masters within their own house. The Indian war machine was starved, because the financial talent of the Government of India has been organised to check rather than serve the war administration. The whole system must be run on sound business lines and then alone such huge mistakes would be easier to avoid.

Parliamentary Institutions for India.

The Editor of the *Review of Reviews*, writing on "Parliamentary Institutions for India," in the September number observes:—

"The greatest problem that we have to solve in India is to convert the Supreme and Provincial Legislative Councils into National and Provincial Parliaments. At present they are little more than debating societies, in which British officials, with their nominees and other allies predominate. We have to make them Legislatures that will shape Indian policy and control British and Indian Officials—Legislatures composed largely to Indians and responsible to Indians . . ."

In the course of a note on "Indian Reforms," Miss Stead condemns as weak the political programme recently suggested by Lord Islington. She writes that "he (Lord Islington) would leave national affairs, including national finances, tariffs, customs, railways, and other means of communications, entirely out of Indian control, pretty much as they are at present." She adds that:

"The statement made by the Rt. Hon. E. S. Montagu in the House of Commons on August 20th just before Parliament adjourned, is somewhat of a disappointment. It implies that he has had to subordinate his own opinion to those of his colleagues in the Ministry."

A Chapter in Balkan Diplomacy

Mr. S. P. Duggan in his second instalment about Balkan Diplomacy, which he contributes to the current number of the *Political Science Quarterly*, accounts for the little measure of success which the *Entente* Allies have had in their negotiations with Rumania and Greece which at the beginning of the war favoured their cause. The Rumanians disliked the Central Powers whose success would make permanent the degradation of their brethren in Hungary. The *Entente* Allies, however, only gave vague promises of assisting the Rumanians to attain their national aspirations and urged throughout the whole of 1914 to give concessions to Bulgaria. While the Central Powers distinctly promised Rumania aid in her attempt to take Bessarabia and more than that, during the whole of 1915 and 1916. The great Rumanian landowners had been acquiring much wealth by the sale of their food products at high prices to the Central Powers. And to declare war upon the latter, would be to lose the only market for Rumanian meat, grain and petroleum and the only source of supply of munitions and manufactures. Even as late as April 1916, Rumania had apparently decided to remain permanently neutral. The entry of Rumania into the war in August 1916 was, in its nature, a God-send to the Central Powers, whose military prestige, which had been much dimmed during the spring and summer of 1916, was restored by their rapid successes in Rumania. And to Belgium, Serbia and Poland, another great territory had been added for purposes of barter when peace should come to be made. 'Rumanian intervention was a diplomatic triumph for the *Entente* Allies. For Rumania it was a national disaster.'

Greece at the beginning of the war was in favour of the *Entente* Allies. Venizelos believed that the future of Greece was upon the sea and was openly friendly towards France and England. King Constantine was personally pro German at

the beginning of the war, but there was nothing in his action or speeches at first to show that he intended to oppose popular wishes. He viewed Russia with distrust and shared the antagonism maintained by his countrymen towards Italy. The Central Powers had little to offer Greece in return for a promise of neutrality, but that little was definite and never diminished. Their success in securing Turkey's entrance into the war in October 1914, decreased their influence at Athens, since Greece could no longer profit at the expense of Turkey or Albania. The *Entente* Allies on the other hand, held out the promise of Greek expansion in Asia Minor, but urged Greece to agree to her own amputation in order to placate Bulgaria. Greece was to receive the Vilayet of Smyrna in return for her help in the Dardanelles Campaign; but the king refused to assent to intervention for various reasons (March 1915) And throughout this year, the *Entente* Allies were trying to force Greece to exchange a safe neutrality for risks that might be fatal. And to-day Greece is divided against itself. "As a result of the diplomacy of the Central Powers, Turkey and Bulgaria to-day are firmly rivetted to them. As a result of the diplomacy of the *Entente* Allies, Rumania has suffered national disaster, and Greece has become hostile. To every well-wisher of the Allies in the stupendous conflict in which most of the European states are engaged, this lamentable failure is indeed distressing."

The Chinese Republic Versus German Kultur

The *Philippine Review*, (*Revista Filipina*) for June 1917, which stands for the promotion of sound relations between the Philippine Islands and the United States, and for a cultural union between the former and all other English and Spanish speaking countries, contains an article from the pen of a Chinese scholar of the University of Chicago about the motives which underlay the Chinese participation in the present war. Various ingenious arguments have been launched

forth to account for the entry of China into the war. The depletion of the Chinese treasury, her vexation in view of her inability to back her protest against the Japanese violation of her neutrality in the Anglo-Japanese siege of Tsingtau, and in view of the propaganda, recently instituted in the United States, for an "American-money and Japanese brain" economic policy in China, are among the reasons put forward which have induced the Chinese republic to participate in the war. Equally fallacious is the argument that in declaring war, China is stealing a march over the Japanese malevolent designs, and the Sino-American outlook was never so bright as it is lately.

It is highly problematical if China can get any economic advantage by this rupture with Germany; and she cannot certainly better her trading relations with England, by identifying herself with the Allies. In the coming Peace Conference the question of the ultimate disposition of Kiao-chao will be settled; and China would wish to have her delegates in the Conference. The German resumption of the ruthless submarine warfare, her infringements on neutral rights by the demarcation of war-zones, and the appeal of President Wilson for Chinese support in his protests afforded China a valid legal excuse for declaring war.

It is still hypothetical if China will pursue her course to such an extent as actively to join the *Entente*. She can contribute an inexhaustible supply of labour, and has already sent a hundred thousand labourers to take up work in the farms, munition-plants etc., in France and Great Britain and she can release many millions more to go to the front and fight for the Allies. And she can certainly help Great Britain to restore order in her eastern possessions. China's participation in the world-war is no substantiation of the truth of the 'Yellow Peril' prophecy: and she stands for peace, justice and freedom of the seas.

Social Life in the Puranic Age

Writing in the September number of the *Hindustan Review*, Mr. J. C. Banerjea, as a result of his examination of the *Skanda*, *Brihan-naradiya Bhagavata* and *Vishnu Puranas*, explains some aspects of social life in the age of the Puranas. They describe a state of society in which the Aryan religion was popularised by tales and legends intended to impart religious instruction to the masses, when Buddhism had passed its prime and was already on the wane. They assign a low place to human reason as an instrument of knowledge, and betray without exception, a deep-rooted aversion to freedom of thought, and love to dwell on miracles, portends, prodigies and astrological predictions. We meet often with outbursts of indignation against the *Hetubadis* or rationalists, who are invariably stigmatised as Pashandas, under which name Buddhists and Jains were denominated. One indisputable sign of the degeneracy of the Kali age is said to be in the prevalence of rationalistic doctrines. The Buddhist creed is characterised as purely experimental and hedonistic; and he who displays subtlety in reasoning and abjures Vedic rites is a Pashanda. No differentiation was made between merely mechanical and customary rules on the one hand and moral laws on the other. The best minds, however, in this Puranic Age, without ignoring the place of law as a mental discipline, lay emphasis on inner spiritual development. But these higher flights are exceptional, and the general atmosphere is one of degrading superstitions, puerile ceremonies, and miraculous inventions in which the imagination is let loose to revel in the most fantastic conceptions. Idolatry had taken firm root, and was supported by the most grotesque theological fancies and fables; and the Gods delighted in practising deceit and giving unbridled license to their immoral propensities.

The Internal Problem in Germany

The *Round Table* for September 1917 devotes a lengthy article towards an analysis of the real political and constitutional condition of Germany, and towards determining the attitude of the Germans themselves towards their government, as well as for knowing what changes in it are possible and necessary for the future security of Europe. The Germans feel and rightly feel that the real existence of their nation depends on the strength and continuity of the government that has been established at Berlin. Germany is and will remain Prussian, and even the strongest party of opposition, the social democrats, are in their spirit as Prussian as any Berlin bureaucrat. Germany, therefore, is a Prussianised one, a continuation of the old Prussian State, enlarged and in some ways modified, but remaining Prussian in its essence.

Going into the *ethos* and the character of the Prussian State, it is wrong to say that it is military feudal, mediæval and reactionary, and it is but just to regard its government as the ordering, arranging and systematising of a highly educated bureaucracy which assimilates and uses for the public purposes all the products of modern science; and its government is one by applied intellect. If we should turn our attention to the internal administration of Prussia, the catalogue of its legislative and administrative work becomes indeed an impressive one, and in every case, this work may well claim the title of Liberal—though perhaps in the continental rather than in the English sense. German liberalism is indeed in many ways anti-democratic, and is entirely without sympathy for the sentimental side of democracy which has recently become so prominent, with but little regard for the personal liberty of the individual. The co-operation of government and the Reichstag has also been very great, and it satisfies the nation.

The Prussian monarchy has very little to do with the internal government of the country, the

management of the departments and legislation. It is not a true mediæval monarchy such as that of England, which has been intertwined for centuries with the changing life of the nation; but it is based on the fantastic doctrine of the king as the representative on earth of the Deity, the king by the grace of God—the doctrine of Le Maitre, Bonald and Charles X—and the deliberate creation of intellectuals who are striving to combat the forces of liberalism, democracy and revolution. This doctrine of monarchy, without historical foundation and antagonistic to all modern thought has been carried on from the old Germany to the new; and it will put obedience to the king above patriotism to the Fatherland.

The secret of German constitutional history during the last forty years has been that every effort of the Reichstag to control the foreign policy and the army has been checked and thwarted for fear that it might extend its power over what is regarded as the proper domain of the Emperor. Foreign policy has been used as an excuse for making the army necessary, and the army has been regarded as the prime and central pivot of the State; because then alone it would be possible to place the Emperor—king above all else in the State as the God-appointed man, in whose hand was the sword, the sole defence and bulwark of the country. The foreign danger had to be kept alive in order that the army might be still maintained; and with the army the whole social structure of which it is the basis, and the Emperor the centre. There is only one solution; the Reichstag must definitely claim to secure and exercise its control over the foreign policy of the State and the army. And then alone the principle of autocracy in military and foreign affairs would be over. If the military power of the Emperor is overthrown, and foreign affairs are managed by Parliament and the Government, then the whole thing would have been solved; and then Germany would be weak indeed for aggression and violence, but strong as ever for defence.

The Mahayanist View of Buddhism

The later development of the Buddhist faith which is best known as the Mahayana or Great Vehicle penetrated all the eastern countries up to Siberia and Japan; and its literature is still buried, to a great extent in Tibet, China and Japan. A writer, describes the essence of the Mahayanist faith in the current number of the *Buddhist Review*. He says that the Mahayanist will start from the moment in the life of the historic Buddha when he became determined to deliver his message to the world at large; and according to the general Mahayanist doctrine, the Buddha is not a mere historical person, but rather the embodiment of the supreme reality of the universe. The so-called Jewel-Trinity of Buddhism, the Buddha, Law or Truth and the Congregation, was nothing but an expansion of himself, the enlargement of his own compassionate nature. The Buddha-Jewel occupies the central position, and combines all the three into one whole. The early Buddhist metaphysicians who maintained that he was not a dead personality but was a living force were the true originators which, in its full development, wrought out a complete scheme of metaphysical speculation on the Buddha, as (1) a perfectly wise-man, and (2) as a perfectly good being full of compassion. With the disappearance of the master, his teaching did not also disappear.

"The Buddha said to his disciple Ananda on his death bed: 'The law and discipline which has been taught, O Ananda, will be for your teacher after my decease!' Besides, there are passages in the canon where the Master said, 'He who seeth the law, seeth me.' Here is the identification of the teacher with the teaching, of the Buddha with the Dhamma. Here is the foundation on which was built up the Mahayanic conception of Dhamma-kaya, the embodiment of the Buddha in Dhamma. Now, Dhamma may either mean

the natural order of things or philosophical speculation, or the ideal conduct of human life. Thus we have briefly indicated how the Buddha came to be regarded by the Mahayanists as something denoting the ultimate point or farthest limit of metaphysical speculation, and the highest standard of ideal conduct, an unselfish life lived for the welfare of the universe. Thus we see further how the Buddha was looked upon as the embodiment of the supreme reality on one side, and of compassion on the other."

Aurangzib and the Mahrattas.

Mr. F. D. Murad of the M. A. O. College at Aligarh, writing to the September number of the *Educational Review*, freely rendering into English from the Urdu brochure of Maulvi Shibli, tries to meet the charge that Aurangzib, by becoming hostile to the Mahrattas shattered the Moghul Empire. His animosity, with the Mahrattas is subdivided into several headings as follows; each of which incriminates him more or less and each of which is answered, though not fully satisfactorily as regards some in the present paper.

- (1) The rebellion of the Mahrattas was caused by Aurangzib himself.
- (2) When Sivaji came over to the court of Aurangzib the latter maltreated him in such a way as to drive him to revolt. On the other hand had he been treated properly, he would have owned Aurangzib as his lord.
- (3) Aurangzib had called Sivaji with a promise of amnesty, but not true to his word, Aurangzib kept him as a State prisoner.
- (4) Aurangzib did not behave properly towards the descendants of Sivaji.
- (5) Having driven the Mahrattas to rebellion, Aurangzib could not reduce them to subjection. Now it is alleged that since the Mahrattas are a prime factor in the downfall of the Moghul Empire in India, Aurangzib ought to be held as the real cause of the overthrow of the Moghul dominion in India.

He criticises minutely the charges brought against Aurangzib, mainly by European historians, that he disgraced Sivaji when the latter came to Delhi in 1666, and from that date alone his rash acts begin.

- (1) Was the reception accorded to Sivaji meant to disgrace him?
- (2) Was he imprisoned?
- (3) Had Sivaji been treated better, would he have submitted for ever?
- (4) Who is the more reliable authority on this point—European or Muhammadan historians?

Great Men and Greatness

The *Fortnightly Review* for September, 1917, gives us the views of Viscount Bryce as to the true elements of greatness, and those qualities of head and hand that can justify the attribution to any man of the title of 'Great.' In making out a test of persons who have received the title, we are confronted with one difficulty—some persons like Alexander and Alfred are great and called by it always and everywhere. Others have received it only from their own countrymen only from some historians and perhaps only during a comparatively short period of time. And a second reflection is that many of the most illustrious men whom all the world has known as great like Pericles, Hannibal, Washington and Napoleon have not obtained the honour of having the title added to their names. There has been an element of chance in the bestowal of this epithet and other causes besides striking gifts and conspicuous achievements have come into the matter. The epithet has been given to men of action rather than to men of thought. No Shakespeare or Dante, no Bacon, Socrates or Kant, and no Newton or Leibnitz have even been granted this title. Among the men of action called great most have been rulers and conquerors. Moral excellence, nobility of soul and devotion to duty have had little to do with the bestowal of the honour.

We, moderns, judge of the title to greatness by a different standard; we set less store by monarchs; and we give less special honour to military glory than former ages did. The statesman and the warrior do their work in the sight of the world and can be judged by it; whereas the poet or philosopher may have long to wait for recognition; and a supreme scientific discovery may not be appreciated for long. The merits by which men of action rise to greatness are four—Intel-

lect, Energy, Courage and Independence. When these are united in the same person and in a quite exceptional measure, they raise him high above the crowd. The most impressive of these qualities is independence, because it is so rare. But the impression of that undefinable thing that we call greatness, depends, after all, chiefly on the impression which the power of initiative makes,—an unshakable resolution.

The New Europe

Mr. Austin Harrison, Editor of the *English Review*, in the course of an article in the August number of his journal, reviewing the position of Europe after the three years of war observes that the year 1917 has seen a very welcome spiritual transformation. He says:—

On the whole, despite the loss and sacrifice, the despair and sorrow, war, as it proves its own futility (militarily viewed), is heralding the dawn of a new conception and statement of life founded on common principles. The war has long ceased to be a question of nation *versus* nation; it has ceased to be the struggle between groups of Powers—it has grown in its epic tragedy into the affirmation of civilisation at war to perpetuate and ensure its own identity of truth and application. It is a wonderful thing. All over Europe Democracy is rising in masterful understanding of its conscience, learning to think internationally. All over Europe the last remnants of Feudalism are falling to the ground. A new Europe is awaiting us—a place that will be made by fine strong men who have fought and won to this freedom. Yet such a condition cannot be unless all Europe wins in equal proportions, and here we have the hope and meaning of the war. We can face the future, then, with a quiet confidence. What remains to do is full of hope, for assuredly it can only be accomplished through reason. And this we owe to Russia. Thus the Democracies of Europe can hail Democracy and cry: "The peoples perish that they may live."

'An Old Indian Image in Japan

Mr. W. W. Pearson, writing in a recent issue of the *Modern Review*, on his discovery of an old Indian image of the Buddha in a remote temple on the slopes of a mountain on the West Coast of Japan, says "that there was an inscrutable smile playing on its face; on its golden brow was the sign of enlightenment, that had eye of inner vision; and to its exquisite grace of form was added the magic of an arrested movement, filled with the music of the eternal spheres, and the very fingers of the hands express the joyous rhythm of motion and perfect poise."

"As I looked at it I thought of its past and wondered what marvels it had seen in its travels from the Holyland of Asia across Himalayan mountains, high tablelands of Tibet, dusty deserts of Western China till at last, after what changes of scene, it reached the shores of Japan to rest in one of the temples dedicated to the workshop of the Buddha. Through the centuries it has watched and waited, accepted the worship of men of different lands, heard the vows of heroes and listened to the weeping of despair and the sighs of sorrow."

"Wrought in bronze by a Hindu devotee, carried may be by a priest who wished to take beyond the barrier of the high mountains of the North, a symbol of his country's worship, it perhaps paused in its journey in some Chinese city, thence to be carried to the shores of the island which stands at the gateway of the East."

"What message has this relic of ancient days, with the light of devotion still visible in the grace of its curves and the dawning of a hidden hope shining in its golden smile? It speaks of a great fact, a fact which has moulded the history of the past, and will mould too the history of the future. It proclaims the great truth of the living unity of Asia, a unity which depends not upon outer circumstances or the power of temporal rulers, but upon the invisible bonds of spiritual kinship."

The Education Bill of Dr. Fisher

The *School World* for September describes the essential features of Dr. Fisher's Education Bill which was introduced in the House of Commons in August last. It does not attempt to deal with University, secondary or technical education, and leaves out the establishment of a satisfactory pensions scheme for teachers outside the state-scheme of pensions. The Bill attaches great importance to physical education; and its most novel provision is that with certain exceptions, every young person, no longer under obligation to attend a public elementary school shall attend continuation schools. There are also administrative provisions, of which three call for special comment.

The following is a summary of the chief points in the Bill:—

It is proposed—first to improve the administrative organisation of education.

Secondly, to secure for every boy and girl in this country an elementary school-life, up to the age of fourteen years, which shall be unimpeded by the competing claims of industry.

Thirdly, to establish part-time, day continuation schools, which every young person in the country shall be compelled to attend unless he or she is undergoing some suitable form of alternative instruction.

Fourthly, the development of the higher forms of elementary education and the improvement of the physical condition of the children and young persons under instruction.

Fifthly, to consolidate the elementary-school grants; and

Sixthly, to make an effective survey of the whole educational provision of the country and to bring private educational institutions into closer and more convenient relation to the national system.

England and Germany—A Comparison

Writing in the *Positivist Review* for September 1917, Mr. H. Ellis presents us with Auguste Comte's views on the respective positions hitherto occupied by Germany and England in the development of European civilisation, and those which they are destined to occupy in the future. Comte in his *Positive Philosophy* had already set forth the order in which the five great nations of Western Europe would accept what he called the positive theory of progress. After the French and the Italians, Comte said, the German population appeared to him, all things considered as the final result of its previous evolution, to be the best disposed to the Positive reorganisation. A comparison between England and Germany and a general estimate of their civilisations are given below in Comte's own words.

"In opposition with the whole of past history," he said, "I placed England below Germany; though I had allowed the superiority of the English governing classes because I attached too much weight to the all-pervading deterioration due to the national isolation. I have since come to see that Germany more justly deserves reproach on this head, for she oppresses Western nations who are more advanced than herself, whilst the dominion of England is, in the main, external to the West, and affects belated populations. Setting aside the anomaly relating to art properly so called, the comparison of the two nations in action, speculation, and poetry justifies the precedence of England, and this is supported by her superiority as an industrial society. Of all Occidentals, the Germans are the least removed from the military regime, and from the theologico-metaphysical state; so that they will be the last to reach the common goal of the modern revolution, a conclusion indicated by their inferior participation in the training given by Rome and Feudalism." . . . (p. 435) "The regenerating faith will find great obstacles to overcome in introducing the worship of the past in a people deficient in antecedents. Such a people may have the sense of solidarity, allowing for some exaggeration due to the natural tendency to mistake vagueness for depth. As to continuity, the conditions of German history make its full appreciation difficult; the German nation not tracing further back than ten centuries. Almost alien to the

Roman incorporation, and only late subjected to the training of Catholic-feudalism, Germany did not receive even the intellectual development of Greece through the normal channel, whilst its connection with the Theocracy rests only on a confused tradition of the rudimentary Theocracy of Scandinavia. In confirmation of this view we have the scanty welcome in Germany of the historical calendar, whereas in the rest of the West the institution is beginning to be popular. . . . The opposition to it is traceable mainly to the tight fetters which in Germany press on the historical intelligence and sense, in spite of the cultivation in detail of a useless erudition, and of vague conceptions on the philosophy of history."

Support is not needed for Comte's assertion half a century and more back as to the military tendencies of Germany, and the nature of her civilisation.

INDIA IN INDIAN & FOREIGN PERIODICALS.

THE MEDIUM OF EDUCATION. By Dr. Sir Rabindranath Tagore. ["The Modern Review," October, 1917.]

THE INDIAN IMPORT DUTIES. By H. F. B. ["The Asiatic Review," August, 1917.]

SOCIAL LIFE IN THE PURANIC AGE. By Juan Chandra Banerjee, M.A., B.L. ["The Hindustan Review," September, 1917.]

MAITRI BODHISAT IN THE HINDU AND BUDDHIST SCRIPTURES. By F. L. Woodward, M.A. ["The Buddhist Review," June, 1917.]

THE FUNERAL RITES OF THE HINDUS. By K. Krishnamacharya, B.A., L.T. ["The Madras Christian College Magazine," September, 1917.]

INDIAN MEMORIES. By Josephine Ransom. ["The Theosophist," October, 1917.]

THE HON. MR. PATEL'S EDUCATION BILL. By Gulabchand Devchand. ["The New Review," September, 1917.]

SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF SECONDARY EDUCATION. By Mr. B. Pattabhi Ramaiya. ["The Educational Review," September, 1917.]

HINDU SOCIOLOGIST IN AMERICA. ["The Hindustanee Student," April, 1917.]

The Jaina Law. By J. L. Taine, M.A., Bar-at-Law. Judge, High Court, Indore. Published by Kumara Devendra Prasad, Central Jaina Publishing House, Arrah.

This is an important publication of the above society to meet the growing needs of the Jain community, which is stirring itself like other sections of the people of India. The author, a scholar and lawyer, and a respected member of the community, maintains the high antiquity of the Jain religion, and its independence of Hinduism in matters of law and religion. He has published the "Jaina Law of Inheritance and Partition," as laid down by Bhadrabahu, said to be a contemporary of Chandragupta. The author strongly criticises the attitude of courts and scholars that Jains are dissenters from Hinduism, and are necessarily governed by Hindu Law. The author states that Ahimsa—Dharma, the Divinity of man, and denial of God are essentially Jaina doctrines and that the Jaina law based on these fundamental principles, must be different from Hindu law. This is very unconvincing, as the principles, above set forth are by no means special to Jains, and are in fact the basic principles, of many Hindus, Sankhya, and several other Indian sects. The text published contains 117 anustub verses, and is mainly an echo of well-known Hindu Srutis. Thus the idea that religious merit is enhanced by division among brothers, that a son's son and a daughter's son are equal in theoretical merit, that the husband is the heir to the stridhanam of an issue-less woman, that an illegitimate son among regenerate classes is only entitled to maintenance, are all well-known Hindu doctrines which need not have been followed in Jaina society if it was really an independent one. If the ancient character of these texts is established to the satisfaction of scholars, it will be a value-

able book for purposes of comparison of ancient stages of Hindu Law. The rules of inheritances, partitions, and stridhanam disclose many curious points fit for such comparison with recognised Hindu Srutis, and with the *Artha Sastra* of Kautilya, but as far as we can see, they do not suggest the high antiquity of the Samhita in question. There is here printed another Jaina treatise on law, known as the *Indra-Nandi Samhita*. This is in *prakrit*, which deserves translation, and study by comparative linguists and jurists. A judgment of the author as Second Judge of the Indore-Court is published where he held that a childless Jain widow is absolute owner of her deceased husband's estate and that a will by her of such estate is valid and legal, and in which he makes full inference to texts of Jaina law. The small book is well got up by the Indian Press, Allahabad.

Boston Lectures on the New Psychology.

J. C. F. Grumbine, London. L. N. Fowler, & Co.

A scientific exposition of the New Psychology, in which the arguments in favour of a demonstrable spiritualism are very trenchantly and vigorously presented. To those who have a subconscious vein of occultism, the book will appeal strongly. Even the general reader will derive great profit from the suggestive speculations presented in the book in a most forceful and attractive style.

Star Chart. By R. J. Peacock, B.A., B.Sc.,

F.R.A.S., Higginbothams, Madras.

This is a very useful and handy Chart neatly turned out by Messrs. Higginbothams. Instructions for using the circular disc is also given at the back of the card. The Chart shows the principal stars visible for every hour in the year and it is specially prepared for use in India.

A Biographical Sketch of Remy Ollier. By A. F. Fokeer. The General Publishing and Stationery Company, Mauritius.

This small sketch is a tribute to the memory of the great champion of the liberty of the press in Mauritius, published on the occasion of the centenary celebration of his birth. Born six years after the conquest of Mauritius by the English, he made it his life task to champion the rights of the coloured population and to establish a *rap-proachment* between them and the whites. His famous paper *La Sentinel de Maurice* appeared first in 1842; but during the brief period when it was in existence, it greatly distinguished itself by its fearless exposure of the partiality of Government and its vigorous assault against the barbarous criminal laws of the island. And as a liberator of his people by means of education and the propaganda of ideas, Ollier is to be compared with Booker Washington, the great Negro-Patriot of U. S. A. and Mercado, the martyred novelist of the Philippines. We commend this book to all journalists and lovers of the freedom of the press, and of political reform.

Hindu System of Hygiene and Sanitation.

Part I. Drink. By Pundit Bishagacharya.—Ayurvedodaya Series, Secunderabad, March, 1917.

This is a quarterly publication whose object is to describe the Hindu system of hygiene and sanitation and to educate the people on laws that govern human bodies and make them lead healthy and useful lives. In the present number, the characteristics of pure water, varieties of water, its *doshas* (faults), milk and its products, and the evils of drink are portrayed. The author holds the view that *somarasu* used by the ancient Aryans was more a medicinal agent than an intoxicant, though there were then also some kinds of spirituous liquors prepared from honey and treacle with the addition of other medicinal ingredients.

Mysteries of War Loans. By Sir Edward H. Holden, Bart. G. A. Vaidyaraman & Co., Madras. Price Rs. 4.

Messrs. Vaidyaraman & Co., have done well in beginning their "Wealth of India Series" with this most useful and opportune pamphlet on the puzzling problem of War finances. They could not have done better than by reprinting Sir Edward Holden's lucid presentation of the mysteries of war loans. The pamphlet is entitled "Wealth of India Series—I." Such a series on the model of the first pamphlet must be a welcome addition to the literature of Indian Economics.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

MEN, WOMEN, AND GUNS. By "Sapper." Hodder & Stoughton, London.

INTRODUCTION TO JURIDIC PSYCHOLOGY. By P. C. Bose, M.A., B.L. Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta.

THE DREAM PROBLEM. Edited and compiled by Ram Narayan, L.M.S. "Practical Medicine," Delhi.

THE COMING & THE PASSING OF ZOROASTER. By Ruby. Published by the Board of Management of the Sirdar Dastur Hoshbany High School, Poona.

MORAL READERS. By M. V. Srinivasa Aiyangar, B.A. Pachaiyappa's College, Madras.

BOOKS RELATING TO INDIA.

THE MEDICAL PRACTICE IN INDIA. By M. R. Samey, M.D., D.H.H., M.R.S.I., Narayanganj, Bengal.

OUR DUTY TO INDIA AND INDIAN ILLITERATES. By Rev. J. Knowles. The C.L.S.I., Madras.

SELECTED ARTICLES ON NATIONAL EDUCATION. By Ernest Wood, Sind Publishing House, Hyderabad.

RECENT CONGRESS INCIDENTS IN BENGAL. By Jitendralal Banerjee.

GOLDEN LOTUS: A THRILLING BENGALI ROMANCE. By R. P. De. Kalighat, Calcutta.

NATIONALISM. By Sir Rabindranath Tagore. Macmillan & Co., London.

ZOOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA FOR 1916-17. Govt. Printing, Calcutta.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

September 24. A largely attended Indian ladies' meeting was held at Calcutta to-day to thank the Government for releasing Mrs. Besant and her associates.

September 25. A Bombay Government Press note rescinds all orders passed under section 2 of General Clauses Act of 1897.

It is announced that H. B. Monsieur Martineau, Governor of French India, will deliver the forthcoming Convocation Address of the Madras University.

September 26. The last meeting of the autumn session of the Imperial Legislative Council was held to-day H. E. Viceroy presiding.

European Association Meeting at Calcutta.

September 27. Violent fighting in Flanders. Korniloff revolt and the Russian situation.

September 28. Air raid over the south east coast of England. Destruction of two enemy aeroplanes.

September 29. Congress Compromise Meeting at the residence of Sir Chandra Madhab Ghose.

September 30. Heavy artillery fighting north of of Ypres.

Successful Italian attacks against enemy positions. Air-raid over Kent.

October 1. Sir M. Visvesvarayya opens the Mysore Forest Conference at Bangalore.

Meeting of Indian Christians in Madras advocating the Congress League Scheme.

October 2. Mrs. Besant unveiled a portrait of Mr. Gandhi presented by Mr. G. A. Natesan to the Gokhale Hall, Madras, in honour of his 49th birthday.

October 3. Crushing defeat of the Turks in Mesopotamia.

The Russian imbroglio. Troubles in Tashkent.

October 4. Great demonstrations in Calcutta in honour of Mrs. Besant's arrival.

October 5. Meeting of the All-India Moslem League Committee at Allahabad elects Mahomed Ali to preside over the ensuing Moslem League at Calcutta.

League at Calcutta.

October 6. Meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Allahabad.

Congress split made up.

October 7. Great Home Rule meeting at Allahabad in which Mrs. Besant and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Messrs. Tilak and Babu Moti Lal Ghose took part.

October 8. It is announced that Lord Donoughmore and Mr. Charles Roberts will accompany Mr. Montagu.

October 9. The Bombay Government has rescinded the order prohibiting Law Students from attending political meetings.

October 10. Gen. Sir Archibald Murray succeeds Gen. Sir Archibald Hunter in the Aldershot Command.

Death is announced of the Sultan of Egypt.

October 11. The *Bombay Chronicle* Editorials staff resigns with Mr. Horniman.

Home Rule meeting in Bombay with Mr. Romanji presiding.

October 12. Allied advance on the Ypres ridges. Mr. Asquith's speech at Liverpool on the Allies' aims.

October 13. German advance in the gulf of Riga. Public meeting in the Bradlaugh Hall, Lahore.

October 14. Admiral Von Capelle's resignation. Meeting of the Punjab Muslim League re the release of Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali.

October 15. The United Provinces Provincial Conference meets at Sitapur with the Hon. Pundit Gokaran Nath Misra in the chair.

Mr. Montagu's statement in the House of Commons re. Mrs. Besant's release.

October 16. Strike at the O & R Railway of workmen numbering 6,000.

October 17. King George's gracious Message to the Red Cross Society.

Strikers in the O & R Railway resumed work this morning.

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

Mr. Gandhi on Indian Railways.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes:—

I have now been in India for over two years and a half after my return from South Africa. Over one quarter of that time I have passed on Indian trains travelling third class by choice. I have travelled up north as far as Lahore, down south up to Tranquebar, and from Karachi to Calcutta. Having resorted to third class travelling among other reasons for the purpose of studying the conditions under which this class of passengers travel, I have naturally made as critical observations as I could. I have fairly covered the majority of railway systems during this period. Now and then I have entered into correspondence with the management of the different Railways about the defects that have come under my notice. But I think that the time has come when I should invite the Press and the Public to join in a crusade against a grievance which has too long remained unredressed though much of it is capable of redress without great difficulty.

On the 12th instant I booked at Bombay for Madras by the Mail train and paid Rs. 13-9. It (the compartment) was labelled to carry 22 passengers. These could only have seating accommodation. There were no bunks in this carriage whereon passengers could lie with any degree of safety or comfort. There were two nights to be passed in this train before reaching Madras. If, not more than 22 passengers found their way into my carriage before we reached Poona, it was because the bolder ones kept the others at bay. With the exception of two or three insistent passengers all had to find their sleep being seated all the time. After reaching Raichur the pressure became unbearable. The rush of passengers could not be staved. The fighters among us found the task almost beyond them. The guards or other railway servants came in only to push in more passengers.

A defiant Memon merchant protested against

this packing of passengers like sardines. In vain did he say that this was his fifth night on the train. The guard insulted him and referred him to the management at the terminus. There were during this night as many as 35 passengers in the carriage during the greater part of it. Some lay on the floor in the midst of dirt and some had to keep standing. A free fight was at one time avoided only by the intervention of some of the older passengers who did not want to add to the discomfort by an exhibition of temper.

On the way, passengers got for tea tannin-water with filthy sugar and a whitish looking liquid miscalled milk which gave this water a muddy appearance. I can vouch for the appearance but I cite the testimony of the passengers as to the taste.

Not during the whole of the journey was the compartment once swept or cleaned. The result was that every time you walked on the floor or rather cut your way through the passengers seated on the floor, you waded through dirt.

The closet was also not cleaned during the journey and there was no water in the water tank. Refreshments sold to the passengers were dirty-looking handed by dirtier hands, coming out of filthy receptacles and weighed in equally unattractive scales. These were previously sampled by millions of flies. I asked some of the passengers who went in for these dainties to give their opinion. Many of them used choice expressions as to the quality but were satisfied to state that they were helpless in the matter, they had to take things as they came.

On reaching the station I found that the ghariwala would not take me unless I paid the fare he wanted. I mildly protested and told him I would pay him the authorised fare. I had to turn passive resister before I could be taken. I simply told him he would have to pull me out of the ghari or call the policeman.

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The return journey was performed in no better manner. The carriage was packed already and but for a friend's intervention, I would not have been able to secure even a seat. My admission was certainly beyond the authorised number. This compartment was constructed to carry 9 passengers but it had constantly 12 in it. At one place an important railway servant swore at a protestant, threatened to strike him and locked the door over the passengers whom he had with difficulty squeezed in. To this compartment there was a closet falsely so-called. It was designed as a European closet but could hardly be used as such. There was a pipe in it but no water and I say without fear of challenge that it was pestilentially dirty. The compartment itself was evil looking. Dirt was lying thick upon the wood work and I do not know that it had ever seen soap or water. The compartment had an exceptional assortment of passengers. There were three stalwart Punjabi Mahomedans, two refined Tamilians and two Mahomedan merchants who joined us later. The merchants related the bribes they had to give to procure comfort. One of the Punjabis had already travelled three nights and was weary and fatigued. But he could not stretch himself. He said he had sat the whole day at the Central Station watching passengers giving bribes to procure their tickets. Another said he had himself to pay Rs. 5 before he could get his ticket and his seat. These three men were bound for Ludhiana and had still more nights of travel in store for them.

What I have described is not exceptional but normal. I have got down at Raichur, Dhond, Sonapur, Chakradharpur, Purulia, Asansol and other junction-stations and had been at the Mosafirkhana attached to these stations. They are discreditable-looking places where there is no order, no cleanliness but utter confusion and horrible din and noise. Passengers have no benches or not enough to sit on. They squat on dirty

floors and eat dirty food. They are permitted to throw the leavings of their food and spit where they like, sit how they like and smoke everywhere. The closets attached to these places defy description. I have not the power to adequately describe them without committing a breach of the laws of decent speech. Disinfecting powder, ashes or disinfecting fluid are unknown. The army of flies buzzing about them warns you against their use. But a third class traveller is dumb and helpless. He does not want to complain even though to go to these places may be to court death. I know passengers who fast while they are travelling just in order to lessen the misery of their life in the trains. At Sonapur flies having failed wasps have come forth to warn the public and the authorities but yet to no purpose. At the Imperial Capital a certain 3rd class booking office is a Black Hole fit only to be destroyed.

Is it any wonder that plague has become endemic in India? Any other result is impossible where passengers always leave some dirt where they go and take more on leaving?

On Indian trains alone passengers smoke with impunity in all carriages irrespective of the presence of the fair sex and irrespective of the protests of non-smokers. And this notwithstanding a bye-law which prevents a passenger from smoking without the permission of his fellows in a compartment which is not allotted to smokers.

The existence of the awful war cannot be allowed to stand in the way of removal of this gigantic evil. War can be no warrant for tolerating dirt and overcrowding. One could understand an entire stoppage of passenger traffic in a crisis like this but never a continuation or accentuation insanitation and conditions that must undermine health and morality.

Compare the lot of the first class passengers with that of the third class. In the Madras case

the first class fare is over five times as much as the third class fare. Does the third class passenger get one-fifth or even one tenth of the comforts of his first class fellow? It is but simple justice to claim that some relative proportion be observed between the cost and the comfort. It is a known fact that the third class traffic pays for the ever increasing luxuries of first and second class travelling. Surely a third class passenger is entitled at least to the bare necessities of life.

In neglecting the third class passengers, opportunity of giving a splendid education to millions in orderliness, sanitation, decent composite life, and cultivation of simple and clean tastes is being lost. Instead of receiving an object lesson in these matters, third class passengers have their sense of decency and cleanliness blunted during their travelling experience.

Among the many suggestions that can be made for dealing with the evil here described, I would respectfully include this: Let the people in high places, the Viceroy, the Commander-in-Chief, the Rajas, the Maharajas, the Imperial Councillors and others who generally travel in superior classes, without previous warning go through the experience now and then of third class travelling. We would then soon see a remarkable change in the conditions of the third class travelling and the uncomplaining millions will get some return for the fares they pay under the expectation of being carried from place to place with ordinary creature comforts.

M. K. Gandhi: A Sketch of His Life and his Life-Work Price 4 as.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi's Speeches and Writings (In the Press) Price Rs. 2. To Subscribers of the *Indian Review*. Re. 1-8.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Sunkurama Chetty Street, Madras.

Babu Govinda Das on Railway Grievances.

Touching the same subject, Babu Govinda Das writes to the *Leader* :—

Mr. Gandhi's letter detailing the manifold woes of the 'dumb millions' who travel third class, should be reproduced in every paper in India and strenuous efforts made in the Imperial Legislative Council to right their wrongs. It is to be hoped that the Hon. Mr. Jinnah and others will press their points after the war. The comments of the *Statesman* on the letter, while admitting the grievances, try to palliate them by remarking that they are due to the abnormal war conditions, and are very far from the truth. These horrid conditions have existed *all along*.

Permit me to supplement Mr. Gandhi's letter by pointing out some other serious defects also, which he has not voiced :—

1. Third class passengers are not allowed on the platforms till the train has actually arrived at the station. This leads to much unnecessary confusion and jostling. There should be no gates to the platforms, and every class of passengers should have free access to them. The jostling and confusion would be altogether abolished if the cars were so arranged that they would be invariably pulled up at the spots marked out for the different classes of passengers.

2. Platforms should always be stone-flagged, whether artificial or natural. The ramming of *Kankar* on them is a sore trial to the crushed feet of the vast majority of the passengers.

3. The doors of a large number of carriages especially on the narrow gauges do not swing open *freely*—remain almost half closed. This makes quick getting in or out very exasperating.

4. Third class bogey cars should have more doors. Merely one at each end is far from enough.

5. Water tanks on the third class carriages should be very much larger, so as to allow not only for lavatory purposes but also for drinking.

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6. There should be no locks to the 3rd class carriage doors. An automatic latch may be used to keep the doors closed while the carriage is in motion, unlatching itself when the car comes to a halt.

7. There abolition of the foot boards has added a risk to boarding the train in a hurry. A projecting ledge should be added to every platform, making it touch the sides of the cars. This will effectually prevent all chances of falling between the train and the platform.

8. The third class tickets should not be printed on small boards, but should be fully 4" x 4" with cloth backing and the vernacular print should be *very bold*—to allow of semi-illiterate persons in semi-darkness reading them with comfort.

9. On occasions of congestion of traffic due to fairs, the goods wagons that are used as passenger vehicles, should all undergo a preliminary scrubbing and disinfection, and should have benches

fixed to them for seating and lights and hooks in the roof for hanging bundles.

10. Every railway administration when building a bridge ignores the comfort and economic well-being of persons living on either end of it. Not even foot passengers are allowed to use it, to say nothing of pack bullocks and bullock carts. This restriction must be removed, and further it should be compulsory for every bridge to be provided with projecting side tracks to permit of free and unrestricted passing of people with headloads and pack bullocks.

11. Intermediate classes should be introduced on all those railways also where they do not exist at present.

12. Finally, a small matter might be mentioned. It is the nomenclature of the Intermediate Class. Why cannot this be called third class, and the present third class fourth? *Intermediate* is very trying to the non-English knowing passengers.

UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

H. E. The Viceroy on Council Debates.

In closing the recent session of the Imperial Legislative Council at Simla the Viceroy spoke as follows :—

It only remains for me to close this session and express the hope that the Hon'ble Members will carry away the desire and intention of formulating quietly and dispassionately the views which they wish to place later before Mr. Montagu and myself. This is the first occasion on which resolutions other than those of a purely non-contentious nature have been admitted for discussion at the Simla sessions. I think the discussions which have taken place have not been without value and certainly points have been argued with great force and ability; but before I formally declare the sitting closed I should like to make one or two remarks on the proceedings of the past sessions. I have been steadfastly

anxious that the tone of our debates here should give a lead to India and anyone can see that Government have been scrupulous in their endeavour to discuss even the most contentious questions with studied moderation. Still it is the class of the debate that great issues are forged and so far as is consistent with the dignity of this Council, I would not for one moment wish to see our discussions here shorn of their force and vitality. Our proceedings would be hollow and unreal if Hon'ble Members, official and non-official, were not free within the recognised limits of controversy to express in temperate language views deliberately formed and honestly held. But I would remind them that this is a matter in which there must be give and take. I look to find in India the highest standard of mutual dealing among men engaged in public affairs even though their points of view may be different and

in this connection we do all honour to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab for his generous action in our proceedings here on the 18th instant. It was the act of a strong man and an honest man and must command our admiration. I could not help feeling after hearing Sir Michael O'dwyer's remarks that his generous attitude gave to one honourable member of this Council on that occasion an opportunity of displaying equal generosity in respect of a remark publicly made with reference to him. The opportunity has not yet been taken but I am glad to hear that the hon'ble member in question proposes to withdraw that remark on an early occasion.*

Let me turn to other matters. I have observed that recent events have called forth misleading criticisms of the relations of the Government of India to the Secretary of State on the one hand and towards Local Governments on the other. Since I have held the Viceroyalty my relation with the Secretary of State both with Mr. Chamberlain and with Mr. Montagu have been most cordial and both these statesmen have been uniformly anxious to work in full harmony with the Government of India and I think I may claim that my own attitude towards the heads of Local Governments has been precisely similar in this connection. Let me mention the case of Mrs. Besant. We as a Government would surely have shown little faith in the policy recently made public or in the appeal for concord and co-operation which I made in my opening speech of this session, if we had adopted any other course than that which we have followed previous to the announcement of that policy. The position was somewhat difficult. We have gladly taken the opportunity that has now offered itself for opening new chapters. The Home Member informed you on Monday that Mrs. Besant has passed her word to me that she

will co-operate in obtaining a calm atmosphere for Mr. Montagu's visit. I accept Mrs. Besant's word and I am sure her remarkable energies will be directed in the way she has indicated. But gentlemen where our policy has been conciliatory it must not be supposed we have altered in any degree our attitude towards the forces of disorder. The prime duty of government is to preserve order in time of war. It is a paramount duty, it is a duty which the Indian Government will not for one instant neglect. But let us look forward rather than back. *Sharo meliora* we are no longer groping in the dark; we have an objective given to us and we want the help of all to steer our course to that objective. Do not let us then be drawn aside by ephemeral incidents which have lent themselves to misconstruction from the great task which we all have in hand. Every individual and class will have an opportunity of putting their views before Mr. Montagu and myself and provided these are consistent with the main principles of the policy formulated by His Majesty's Government, they will receive sympathetic consideration. Let me assure those non-official members who represent European commercial interests in this Council that these important interests will of course be fully considered. Every one, I am sure, Indian and European alike recognises the historic position of British community in India and the debt which India owes to its enterprise and its energy and no scheme of reform which was sound could be based on injustice to the British or to any other community. We want all the best mind and the co-operation of all classes of the community. I will not say more on this point for does not the time itself appeal to us all whatever our race or creed or class, to co-operate in the spirit of Macaulay's lines that none was for a party then, all were for the State.

In declaring the sessions closed I bid Hon'ble Members goodbye and wish them a safe journey to their homes.

* The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has since made a statement on the subject. [Ed. I.R.]

FEUDATORY INDIA

Maharaja of Alwar on "National Education"

The Maharaja of Alwar in a recent speech at the State School said:—

While I do not minimise the importance of education being given to a higher standard in the English language, I do most emphatically maintain that for the sake of our nationality, our country and our religion, it is even more necessary for education to be given in a thorough manner in the vernacular. In order that we may understand intimately the ideas and principles of the rulers of this country and that we may be able to imbibe the best of what there is to give in Western civilisation, it is necessary to have good education imparted in the English language, but it is obvious that such education cannot reach the majority of the people of the country, to whom the vernacular must remain the national language.

Imitation, they say, is the sincerest form of flattery, but blind imitation without originality is also most certainly the nearest form of death. It is, therefore, for us to imitate the best of western sciences—whether they be political, industrial, commercial, military and so forth, but it is equally necessary, if not more so in order that we may maintain our nationality unimpaired and that our spiritual advancement may hereby not be hampered, but may be steadily maintained that our vernacular should be spread far and wide.

As the avenues which open out in life in India depend to a great extent on the tests which the students have to pass in these Universities, it does not make it easy to impart education altogether independently of these institutions in smaller committees. Nor is it likely that such independent education on which the searchlight of expert knowledge has not been thrown with the same force, would prove to be the best.

Mysore Power Scheme

The Mysore Government is now able to proceed with the second stage of the Cauvery hydro-electric power scheme. Good progress has been made the dam having been raised to a height of 80 feet in the river bed and to 75 feet at the flanks. The water stored and available at present has rendered it possible to guarantee a supply of power under the first three installations as well as the power promised under the fourth installation of the Cauvery power scheme without recourse to the costly channel conservancy operations hitherto carried on in the summer months for the past eight or nine years. The storage available now is sufficient to guarantee a supply of 9,321 electrical horsepower to the Kolar Gold Mines under the first three installations and about 5,000 h.p. under the fourth installation carried out last year.

Co-operation in Cochin

The Cochin Durbar has passed the following order defining the extent to which Government servants can take part in the co-operative movement:—

"There is no objection to Government officers taking active part, though strictly in their private capacity, in the co-operative movement, so far as they can without prejudice to their legitimate duties and in their spare time. They may become members of the co-operative societies, taking shares in them and serve on committees of management of such institutions, but will not be allowed to accept any remuneration without the special sanction of Government. This order does not apply to the officers of the Co-operative Department who should not take active part in the management of any co-operative institution."

They have also recently framed rules for allowing the deposit of security amounts of Government officers in co-operative societies,

H. H. Jam Sahib of Jamnagar

The birthday of His Highness Jam Sahib of Jamnagar was recently celebrated in that State. At a Durbar His Highness announced the establishment of an Advisory Council in the State, consisting of representative members, of whom twelve were to be leaders of the cultivating class. He offered Rs. 25,000 on behalf of the State and its subjects in aid of "Our Day" Movement. His Highness announced at a banquet his intention of contributing Rs. one lakh in equipping aeroplane for service on any battle front as His Imperial Majesty may be pleased to direct, and reiterated that the resources of his State and his personal services were at the disposal of His Majesty.

Recruiting in Boria State

The last few weeks have witnessed energetic action for procuring recruits in the Boria State. The Maharaja Maharao Shree Ranjitsingji who has been on active service in France and Flanders is a member of the Provincial Recruiting Board. He and his brother, Kumar Saheb Naharsingji, are taking a keen personal interest in the work. He has already sent half a company from the State Infantry. Meetings were convened in the capital where the Kumar Saheb and other officers exhorted the people to assist in recruiting. The Maharaja Saheb has issued a manifesto giving liberal concessions to the recruits.

These terms are in addition to the Government concessions. As expected the concessions have proved quite attractive and the State was able to despatch the first batch of 32 combatants for the Royal Field Artillery and eight non-combatants for the Labour Corps on the 22nd September.

The Kashmir State

Khan Bahadur Chaudhuri Khushi Mahomed, Governor of Kashmir, has been appointed officiating Revenue Minister by the Kashmir Durbar, in place of Khan Bahadur Sheikh Maqbul Hussain, C. I. M., proceeding on leave preparatory to reversion to Government service.

Maharaja Kumar of Tikari Endowment

The Maharaja Kumar of Tikari has executed a deed of trust of his whole estate for the purpose of founding an institution for the education of Indian girls. The trustees appointed under the deed are the executant himself, Sir S. P. Sinha, the Raja of Mahmudabad, Mr. Sharafuddin, Dr. Sapru, Sir Ali Imam, Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, Mr. Hasan Imam, Mr. Brij Kishore Prasad, Rai Bahadur Harihar Prasad of Dumron, Mr. Chas. Andrews and also the Maharaneo Sita Devi of Tikari. The dependant members of the family and others connected with the Maharaja Kumar have been amply provided for and all the liabilities of the estate are duly secured. The endowment is the most munificent known in India since the present gross income of the estate is 13 lakhs of rupees yearly. With careful management of the estate it is hoped the institution will have an yearly income of about Rs. 1,00,000. The scheme is for a strictly *purdah* residential institution where girls will be trained and educated on the best modern principle from the tender age of 5 till 18. There will be no question of caste or creed. Sir Ali Imam is about to execute a deed of gift of 50 *bighas* of land worth Rs. 40,000 which will probably be the site for the institution.

The Pope and the Maharaja of Travancore

At interesting incident in connection with Shastipurthi celebrations at Trivandrum was the presentation of an autograph letter from the Pope to the Maharaja. The presentation was made in person by the Papal Delegate Apostolic of India and Ceylon.

Ruling Princes Conference

Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Patiala, Nabha and Kapurthala and the Rajas of Faridkot and Bilaspore and the Nawab of Malerkotla are the six Princes who will attend the Conference of Ruling Princes and Chiefs, which is to be held in Delhi from November 5th to 10th.

India and Fiji

Mr. C. F. Andrews, writing in the *Modern Review*, outlines succinctly the problems of the reform and regeneration of the Indian population by India. India having allowed the indentured system to go on for so long, the moral character of these Indian settlers in Fiji has been inevitably weakened, and they now need every help to get back to a decent standard of life. And secondly, if they were left to themselves and in consequence became more than even degraded, then the shame and disgrace would fall upon India herself, and India would be judged by the morals of these her neglected children. Since Fiji is a chief port of call for the great liners which pass to and fro from America and Australia, and has become an outlying naval base, a kind of Heligoland for Australia and New Zealand, it is at present like a great flowing advertisement saying in big letters to all who travel to and fro across the Pacific,— "This is India." Each traveller goes home to America and Australia to spread the news about the Indians which he has learnt in Fiji.

If the fair name of India is to be saved from further disrepute, it is abundantly evident that this degradation of Indians should not be allowed to go on; and the wrong of having allowed these, the weakest of India's children to sink lower and lower, must be set right with all possible speed. Now that the indenture system has been abolished, a healthy moral atmosphere among the Indians is for the first time brought within the range of possibility; and that utterly unnatural sex proportion of four men to one woman might soon be altered. Nature herself would gradually set right the proportion of the sexes by an increase in the number of female children born over the male. Every inducement should be given to free Indians to get back to the land, and away from the slums of the city-life of Suva the capital, by giving them free conditions of land base and land purchase. Secondly the religious conditions of

Indian marriage need to be finally and fully secured and such marriage sanctions as obtain in India are to be upheld in Fiji. Thirdly a good and sound training in schools must be got within the reach of every Indian child, which will mean a decrease in crime and an increase in industry among Indians later. Lastly the Indians must be given full franchise as householders, and they must have an adequate share in the Government of the Colony.

Indians in South Africa

We understand that the abnormal rise in the price of foodstuffs in South Africa is causing serious hardship to our countrymen. We learn from the latest issue of *Indian Opinion* that at a recent mass meeting of Indian working men held in the Royal Picture Palace, the following resolution was unanimously carried:—

"That this mass meeting of Indian working men views with alarm the prohibitive rise in the price of foodstuffs and especially those which are commonly consumed by Indians and which have to be imported from India, and although willing to endure any necessary sacrifice for the sake of the empire, respectfully begs to intimate to the Government that unless something is done to control the prices, many Indians will shortly be reduced to starvation. That this meeting of Indians requests the Government to take over the stock of rice, dholl, ghee and oil and fix retail prices to the public."

The Rev. Mr. C. M. C. Bone, who presided at the meeting, dwelt upon the serious crisis that had arisen and said that if the shortage had been caused by the demand made by the military authorities there was not much room to say anything; but if, as some people said, the prices had risen abnormally by reason of the deliberate action of merchants and traders they must strongly protest against it. The sense of the meeting was on the side of the latter contention.

Indians in Zanzibar

Mr. Walter Long, speaking in the House of Commons on August 14, on the report of the vote for the Colonial Office mentioned the conspicuous loyalty and war services of Indians in Zanzibar in connection with the criticism of the attitude of native race. He said the attitude of non-English population in the Crown Colonies was wholly loyal and they all gave their testimony of their devotion to British interests. Among a host of such tributes, he quoted the following expression of loyalty and support from the Indian National Association of Zanzibar:—

"The Indian National Association at Zanzibar,

representing His Majesty's British Indian subjects in this Protectorate, on the third anniversary of the European War, beg to assure the King-Emperor of the unswerving loyalty of the Indian community of this Protectorate, and their firm determination to render their utmost co-operation to the Government in their brave efforts for the successful prosecution of the war thrust upon us through the aggressive action of the Central Powers, defying all international law and civilised warfare. It also prays Almighty God most earnestly for the speedy and victorious termination of the war in favour of the British Empire and her gallant Allies."

INDUSTRIAL & COMMERCIAL SECTION

Paper Currency

On the invitation of the Government of India the Bombay Chamber of Commerce has considered a project for a new issue of paper currency with a view to render forgery more difficult and to increase the popularity of Indian notes. Special importance is attached to the quality of the paper and the water-mark. The change will not take place until after the war. The Chamber has also called the urgent attention of the Government to the inconvenience arising from the shortage of metallic currency in India. The only possible immediate remedy proposed is the importation of sovereigns and bar gold into India. The restrictions upon freights to India have produced a situation alike prejudicial to the mercantile community and the Government, causing depletion of stocks of which the Government are frequently large purchasers. The present rules regarding priority certificates seem to ignore the existing habit of the railway and other administrations of buying from stocks already in the country but refusing to give orders for goods that the dealer would have to import in order to give delivery. Under the present rule the importer cannot replenish his stock.

Matches in India

The *Mysore Economic Journal* writes:

The consumption of matches in India is not a negligible quantity. During the year ending March 1916, 18½ million gross or about 160 crores of boxes of matches have been imported in India from various foreign countries. Neglecting, however, the quantity of those matches made and consumed in India, the quantity of imported matches alone gives us a rough computation of eight boxes of matches per head per year in all India. This works up to 1½ splints or sticks per day per capita.

The Maritime trade of India

The maritime trade of India for the twelve months of April to March 1916—1917 as compared with the corresponding period of 1915—1916 shows the value of the imports increased by over 17 crores of rupees to 149.6 crores and the total exports including re-exports and the value of wheat and tanned cow-hides exported on Government account advanced by 43 crores of rupees to 241 crores. The exports of Indian merchandise, says a contemporary, only showed an increase of 40½ crores or about 21 per cent.

Labour Organisation and Strikes

In connection with the Bombay strike, the *Tribune* observes it is evident if the work people had organised themselves into trade unions they would have held out much longer, and derived greater advantages. But even their example will, we hope, lead to the prevention of such dislocation of important work in other parts of India. This can be done when railway employees and others form themselves into trade unions and represent their grievances to the proper authorities in a reasonable spirit, without resorting to strikes. If the illiterate workmen of Bombay numbering 15,000 could unite for a strike, an equally large number of literate clerks in railways, post office and other departments could unite to prevent strikes. There is a large army of low-paid officials who are undergoing great hardship in all parts of India owing to high prices. They are all very discontented. It is the duty of all their well-wishers to help them to improve their lot and it is obvious they can do so if they approach the authorities, not individually but collectively and explain their case in a reasonable spirit.

Co-operative Housing Societies

Co-operative Housing Societies are being started here and there in Peninsular India and they are said to have proved to be a boon to the poorer middle classes. We wonder, asks a Bengal contemporary, why there should not be many such societies in and around Calcutta where house-rent has been going up by leaps and bounds and the middle classes are experiencing increasing difficulties in finding suitable house accommodation.

Co-operation and Banking

The *Bengal Co-operative Journal* writes:—The establishment of a federation of central banks in Calcutta in which the constituent central banks will take joint responsibility is an advance on true co-operative lines. It is enlarging the parochial view of co-operation which was inclined to prevail under the present system and

it is a natural development in the expansion of the movement. As financiers under such a system will have the joint security of all the central banks of Bengal, instead of, as now, each financier having one central bank as security, and as they will derive other advantages such as facility in making deposits, regular business-like payment of interest at Calcutta, avoidance of delay with consequent loss of interest during the transmission of money to and from central banks, while at the same time the intimate personal supervision of the Registrar is assured, it is expected that they will welcome the innovation, even though it may mean a slight reduction of interest upon their money.

Textile Industry

A comparative study of equipments for textile industry in India and England, says the *Mysore Economic Journal*, may be interesting. In England in 1896, there were 660,000 looms and 44,900,000 spindles and which rose up in 1916, that is, within twenty years to 808,000 looms and 59,800,000 spindles. In India in 1896 we had 37,200 looms and 3,933,000 spindles and which increased in 1916 to 110,000 looms and 6,840,000 spindles. From the above we see that the proportion of looms between India and England have been 1 to 17 in 1896 and 1 to 7 in 1916, and that of spindles 1 to 11 in 1896 and 1 to 8 in 1916. A remarkable progress and advance for India.

Export of Silk Waste.

A Press *Communique* from Simla says:—It is notified for general information that with effect from the 6th October, 1917, the export of silk noils and silk waste is prohibited to all destinations except the United Kingdom and the export of all other forms of silk and of silk goods including cocoons is prohibited to all destinations in foreign countries in Europe and on the Mediterranean and Black Seas other than France, Russia, Italy, Spain and Portugal and to all Russian Baltic ports. Licenses will, however, be freely issued for the export of silk waste to France.

U. P. Board of Industries

It was decided at a meeting of the United Provinces Board of Industries held recently at Cawnpore to submit a proposal to award adequate scholarships to students going abroad to learn new industries again to Government for reconsideration, and to point out that unless students are given an opportunity of gaining expert knowledge it was unlikely that new industries would come into existence.

The Secretary informed the Board that the Secretary of State for India has sanctioned an addition, with effect from the 1st of April 1917, of 5 per cent. to the stipends of Government scholars during the war.

The Board was informed that Government has sanctioned the establishment of two peripatetic weaving schools at a cost of Rs. 2,654 and the schools will be started at Jaunpur and at Mau, Azamgarh district.

The Board noted with appreciation Government's sanction to the purchase of a plant for bottle making as recommended by the Board at their last meeting.

The Secretary informed the Board that Government has sanctioned Rs. 3,000 for the purchase of raw material with a view to investigating their commercial possibilities, and that for the current financial year an allotment of Rs. 500 has been reserved for assistance to minor industries.

Fiscal Autonomy

The Hon'ble Mr. Lalubhoy Samaldas, while speaking at the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau at Bombay the other day, said that this reform (fiscal autonomy) was urgently needed. "If India is to take her place," he said, "in line with other civilised countries in economic matters, she must insist on having full liberty to take such action as would conduce to the fullest development of her industries, trade and commerce."

Textile Industry in Bombay

There is a very cheerful prospect for the Bombay cotton industry for a long time ahead says the *Bengalee*. If Bombay can properly utilise the opportunity caused by the difficulties of Lancashire, it will be able to get a command of the Home and Eastern markets which no foreign produce will ever be able to replace in the future. If the increase in the import duties on cotton be maintained at $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., as imposed in the India Budget of March last, even after the war, and India is allowed some measure of fiscal freedom, the cotton industry in Bombay, will in due course, come to occupy the first place in the whole of Asia. We understand that Bombay is awakening to the situation, and a great expansion of looms in its mills is already taking place. Another most satisfactory feature to note in this connection is the fact that the best managed mills in Bombay to-day are those which are managed by Indians, and the ablest managers who now work in Bombay for the mills are also people of this country. When can we think of Bengal taking a similar place in its jute industry?

The Lucknow Paper Mills

The war has brought the paper industry to the forefront of the needs. We learn that the balance sheet of the Upper India Couper Paper Mills Company for half-year ending June 1917 shows that the receipts from paper sales was Rs. 9,33,222 and that expenditure was Rs. 5,44,043, excluding the stock on hand a sum of nearly 398 lakhs was carried to profit and loss account. After setting apart Rs. 50,000 for reserve fund, and Rs. 50,000 to renewals to machinery, Rs. 20,000 for depreciation and several other sundry charges, a dividend of 6 per cent. and bonus at $26\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum or 50 per cent. dividend in all has been declared. The directors and managers are to be congratulated on this result.

Tata Iron and Steel Co. Ltd.

The annual audited statement of accounts of the Tata Iron and Steel Co., Ltd., for the year ended 30th June last, shows that the company has made a profit of Rs. 1,10,76,692, which together with the amount brought forward from the last account, brings the total amount of profits to Rs. 1,11,54,914. Out of this the Directors have appropriated Rs. 35,00,000 to depreciated fund, Rs. 11,000,00 to reserve fund, Rs. 2,30,384 to repairs and renewals, Rs. 4,63,900 as provision for income-tax for the year under report, and Rs. 1,25,000 to the provident fund, which absorb a total sum of Rs. 54,19,284. After making all these deductions, there remains a balance of profit of Rs. 57,35,630, out of which the Directors have recommended a dividend on preference shares for the year at the rate of six per cent. or Rs. 9 per share of Rs. 150, dividend of 20 per cent. on ordinary shares, i.e., Rs. 15

per share of Rs. 75, and a dividend of 291 per cent. on deferred shares, i.e., Rs. 87-3 per share of Rs. 30 has been recommended by the Directors. The balance of Rs. 3,15,683 is to be carried forward to the next accounts.

Development of South Africa

A Select Committee of the House of Assembly of the Union of South Africa has been appointed to enquire into and report upon what steps should be taken; (1) to increase the production within South Africa of food supplies and of the raw materials required in the manufacture of necessary articles of consumption; (2) to develop within South Africa industries which are needed to meet the requirements of the community and particularly those which are capable of using raw materials produced in the country; and (3) to encourage, by every means, technical training for the purpose of providing skilled labour for South African industries.

AGRICULTURAL SECTION

The Board of Agriculture

A number of subjects of an important nature are to be discussed at the tenth meeting of the Board of Agriculture which will be held at Poona from the 5th to the 10th December. The following matters are on the agenda for consideration:—

- (1) Programmes of work of the Imperial Department of Agriculture and of the Imperial Bacteriologist;
- (2) programmes of work of the provincial agricultural and veterinary departments and of Native States departments of agriculture;
- (3) discussions of a proposal to hold sectional meeting of the Board of Agriculture in years in which a meeting of the full Boards is not held; the formulation of a programme if the scheme is accepted;
- (4) veterinary education;
- (5) the question of summarising and indexing agricultural publications;
- (6) the Indian sugar-cane industry;
- (7) the value of phosphatic manures in India and

the possibility of arranging for the manufacture of sulphur-phosphates on a large scale in India so as to lessen their cost; (8) the best means of bringing improved methods of agriculture to the notice of cultivators; (9) to consider whether anything can be done to remedy the disability of agriculture over a large part of India arising from the fact that the size and distribution of land holding are such as to render them essentially uneconomic units; (10) a general discussion of the method of publication by the Department, Imperial and Provincial; (11) experimental error: the necessity for research into the subject of experimental error in agricultural experiments with a view to laying down the principles which should be followed in designing such experiments in India and in drawing conclusions from the results obtained; possibility of constituting a permanent committee of experts to criticise the reports on agricultural

experiments from this point of view; (12) what action can profitably be taken by Government to discourage the adulteration and mixing of agricultural produce; (13) the best means of rapidly increasing the outturn of food crops by methods within the power of the Agricultural Department; (14) the necessity for legislation regarding the sale of fertilisers in India on lines analogous to, though not necessarily identical with, those of the Fertilisers and Feeding Stuffs Act now in force in the United Kingdom; (15) whether all the useful data on manuring and tillage now available as the result of the experimental and research work carried out by the departments of agriculture in India should be published for general information and whether a working committee should be appointed by the Board to get this done; (16) the necessity for further investigation into the water requirement of crops; the advisability of laying down proposed lines of investigation for different tracts of India especially irrigation tracts; (18) agricultural education: the consideration of the policy laid down by the conference on agricultural education at Simla on the 18th June, 1917, and the best method of giving effect to it.

Burma Agriculture

The Resolution on the working of co-operative societies in Burma makes special mention of a new development, viz., the District Agricultural and Co-operative Associations of which two were formed last year. Their object, we read, is to assist co-operative administration and agricultural and industrial development and to advise the District authorities on all matters of public interest. "If they prosper, says the Resolution, they may in time expand into District Boards and they will supply what has hitherto been lacking in Burma, a reliable means of ascertaining the views of the people at large on any proposed measure."

Indigo

Mr. F. J. Marsden, who is working in conjunction with the Agricultural Department, has been deputed to Pusa to study the methods of indigo manufacture in Behar and on his return he will work in the laboratory at Coimbatore Agricultural College in conjunction with officers of the Agricultural Department with the object of improving the methods of manufacturing indigo in the Madras Presidency. While the department is working for the improvement of the plant, Mr. Marsden will also tackle, if possible, the adulteration evil.

Madras Indigo Crop of 1917-18

The average area under indigo in the Madras Presidency is 43.4 per cent. of the total area under indigo in British India the final forecast for indigo in 1916-17 placed the area sown in that Presidency at 449,900 acres. Final figures since received show that the area actually sown was 451,808 acres. The area sown to date in the 1917-18 season is now estimated at 265,700 acres as compared with an estimate of 335,300 acres made at the corresponding date last year. The decrease is due partly to failure of rains at the sowing season in the Deccan, but mainly to the fall in the local price of indigo dating from January, 1917.

Assessments in the U. P.

The United Provinces Government has issued a notification declaring the following revised periods of assessments for the two tracts comprised in each of the two tahsils Auraiya and Bharthana in the Etawah district:—Auraiya cis-Jumna tract 30 and Auraiya trans-Jumna tract 28½ years; Bharthana cis-Jumna tract 30 and Bharthana trans-Jumna tract 29½ years.

Literary

MR. WELLS ON THE INDIAN MIND.

According to Mr. Wells the Indian mind was a kind of singular richness and singular delicacy, with a wonderful gentleness; a mind that in spite of all that it had already done in the past was still, he believed, destined to make its chief contribution to the human synthesis in the years that lay ahead.

THE WAR LEAGUE PRIZE.

The War League, Karachi, with the object of further increasing interest in the details of the War, are offering a prize of one thousand rupees for the most accurate forecast of the military position on the various fronts on the 31st of December next. Forecasts must be posted to the War League on or before the 15th Proximo. Full particulars of the competition will be found in the September issue of the *War League Journal*.

TAGORE'S WORKS IN MALAYALAM.

The *West Coast Reformer* writes that "a Nair gentleman of South Malabar, of uncommon linguistic attainments, has obtained in person. . . . from Tagore. . . . the legal permission to translate all his works into Malayalam."

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS.

Lord Burnham, presiding at a Press Conference at the Hampstead Garden suburb, made a significant remark to the effect that the British press was an "essential part of the machinery of government." So indeed, is the Press of India but is not regarded into that light by the bureaucracy. It is time that the restrictions on the Press in India be removed. As Gladstone said in one of his great speeches:—"While the freedom of the Press is recommended in India by all—the considerations which recommend it in England there are other considerations besides. The Press is the only means the government have of getting at the sentiments of the Indian people."

A CHAPTER OF VICTORIAN HISTORY.

Mr. Murray is publishing the long expected life of Sir Charles Dilke immediately. The work which was begun by Captain Stephen Gwynn, M. P., has been completed by Sir Charles Dilke's niece and literary executrix, Miss Gertrude Tuckwell, and will be found to constitute not merely the life-record of a most interesting personality, but a valuable chapter of Victorian history.

LORD MORLEY

America will be interested in Lord Morley's *Reminiscences* (says a writer in the *Daily News and Leader*). One of the oddest tributes ever paid to Lord Morley occurs in a letter written eighty years ago by James Russell Lowell to his daughters. "At dinner I was glad to meet John Morley for the first time since my return. He welcomed me most cordially, but looks older and a little worn with the constant friction of politics. The cheerful fanaticism of his face is always exhilarating to me, though I feel that it would have the same placidly-convinced expression if my head were rolling at his feet at the exigence of some principle."

WASTE OF YOUTHFUL GENIUS.

Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, speaking recently on "War's Toll of Genius and Talent," pointed out.

"A Government actuated by a cold calculation of economic expediency would have made some provision for sheltering from the hazards of war young men upon whose exceptional intellectual powers our future progress might be thought to depend. This course, however, had not been adopted either here or in France. In each country the casualty lists had been filled with names which, but for the fatal accidents of war, would certainly have been made illustrious for splendid service to the great cause of life. It was impossible to estimate the extent to which the world would be impoverished in quality by the disappearance of so much youthful genius and talent."

Educational

EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS IN INDIA.

The Department of Statistics has issued returns dealing with education in 1915-16. In the course of an introductory note, Mr. G. Findlay Shirras, Director of Statistics, writes:—

In spite of the war and the adverse circumstances consequent thereon, the general progress of education in India, though retarded, has not been checked. The year under review saw an increase in the number both of institutions and scholars. The number of institutions rose from 185,444 to 189,648 and of scholars from 7,464,159 to 7,635,553. Excluding Baluchistan for which details are not available, institutions for males in British India in 1915-16 were 168,956 and for females 20,569 as against 165,717 and 19,584 respectively in 1914-15. The number of male scholars was 6,443,309 as against 6,333,668, and of female scholars 1,188,140 as against 1,128,363 in a population of nearly 243 millions. The percentage of students to the population of school-going age, which is taken as 15 per cent. of the total population, was 34 per cent. on the case of males and 7 per cent. in the case of females. The increase in the number of institutions and scholars was shared by almost all the provinces. Bihar and Orissa, however, showed a decrease of 86 institutions and 4,779 scholars and the United Provinces a decrease of 170 institutions but an increase of 8,880 scholars. Private institutions were chiefly responsible for the decrease in these two provinces.

CENTRAL HINDU COLLEGE.

A Government *Communique* dated Simla 1st October says:—The Governor-General-in-Council has issued a notification to-day directing that the Central Hindu College, Benares, shall be deemed to be a College maintained by the Benares Hindu University with effect from the 1st October 1917.

MADRAS UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION.

His Excellency the Chancellor Lord Pentland is pleased to announce that His Excellency Monsieur Martinau, Governor of the French Settlements in India, has accepted the invitation conveyed to him to give the address at the annual Convocation of the Madras University to be held on Thursday, the 22nd November, 1917. The subject of the address will be "Historical Studies in South India."

NATIONAL COLLEGE FOR SIND.

The National College for Sind was opened at Hyderabad (Sind) on 1st October, the birthday of Mrs. Besant, by Mr. Wood who delivered the opening address. He said the boy trained in the institution would find employment in other lines if Government service was closed to them. Donations were announced amounting to Rs. 35000.

CALCUTTA CHAIR OF ECONOMICS.

At a recent meeting of the Senate of the Calcutta University, Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee presented the report of the Committee consisting of himself, Dr. B. N. Seal, and Mr. Findlay Shirras, appointed at the last meeting of the Senate to examine the case of Professor Hamilton, Minto Professor of Economics, of the University. After presenting the report, Sir Ashutosh moved the adoption of the recommendation contained in the report namely that Professor Hamilton be permitted to hold the chair for the remainder of his term provided he gave certain undertakings regarding the completion of the work dealing on Economics, though in the opinion of the Committee Professor Hamilton had failed to comply with the terms of his appointment in the matter of submitting a substantial portion of his manuscripts. Dr. S. P. Sarbadhicary moved an amendment to the effect that Professor Hamilton be asked to vacate the chair. The amendment was lost and Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee's motion for the adoption of the recommendation of his Committee was passed by a large majority.

Legal

THE LAW'S DELAYS.

We have to acknowledge with regret, says the *Englishman*, that our Law Courts are pathetic examples of oriental dilatoriness. The Privy Council has again been reminding us of this and Lord Buckmaster quoted the remark of Lord Macaulay, made seventy years ago, that delay in litigation is a reproach to our administration. It is still a reproach, and judging from the negative prospects of reform, just at present, the same remark will be made seventy years hence. The shameful thing is that although everybody from the Lords of the Privy Council down to the humblest litigant complains nobody in authority seems to care a tinker's benediction about it. Perhaps the exodus to the hills is to blame. Once the Government gets away from the plains it forgets the crowd of unhappy litigants waiting for cheap and quick justice. Anyway, it is a scandalous thing that these law's delays should continue year after year. It is all very well for judges to call attention to them, but why is nothing done?

LEGAL TRAINING.

The evils of the present English system of legal training and practice has been thus very graphically described by Mr. Banmann in an English contemporary.

I submit that by the present system the Bar is annually robbed of some of the cleverest young men who come up to town from the public schools and universities. It cannot be denied that there are fewer great advocates than formerly, and that the average mental calibre of the Bar is—I will not say lower for it is higher, but less distinguished than it used to be. I ascribe this, not to the greater volume and dry technicality of modern business, or to the comparative rarity of jury trials, but to the more rapid absorption of the righter spirits by the many other avenues to a

maintenance, if not to fame and fortune, opened up by modern life. A man is usually called at twenty-three or twenty-four. It is the age of impatience when the hey-day of the blood does not wait upon the judgment, and when how to make an income question is paramount. "The usual course is for the youngster to 'read,'—God save the mark!—in somebody's chambers for two or three years, and then if he is lucky, to 'devil' for some great man or to hang about chambers or the Courts for the next three or four years waiting for somebody to hire him. Six or seven or eight of the best years of his life gone and nothing done! He sees other youngmen of his own age steadily pushing their way in business, marrying wives, and starting homes while he is expected to read another man's papers or do another man's drudgery for nothing! Flesh and blood cannot stand it, and as a matter of fact don't. One man slinks off into journalism, that fatally easy descent to bread and bunkum. Another drifts into the city to be made by a boom or marred by a slump, or to sink into the chair of half a dozen companies. A third emigrates to Canada or South Africa. A fourth, greatly daring, ventures into politics, and having gone there without a practice, is labelled non-descript. But all are taken from the Bar, and not one but looks back, I dare assert, with bitter and unavailing regret upon the great profession which he has been forced to quit.

PUNJAB LEGISLATION.

The Punjab Government is about to submit to the Government of India a bill to legalise the system of village watch and ward known as "thikri pabra." In March, 1916, the Punjab Legislative Council unanimously passed a resolution in favour of the extension of this system.

A bill designed to restrict the movements of habitual offenders to specified local limits will probably be introduced in the Punjab Legislative Council during the winter session.

Medical

CARE OF MOTHERS.

Puerperal fever is too rampant in the United States, according to a report of Dr. Grace L. Meys, of the Children's Bureau. This is surprising when it is remembered that pioneer work to prove that this fever is a contagious disease, was achieved by Oliver Wendell Holmes in 1843. The great writer and doctor made this discovery thirty years before the laws of contagion were understood. His work was continued by the Hungarian, Semmelweis, who was so ridiculed and persecuted that finally he died in a mad house. The children's Bureau is demanding better care of mothers. *Popular Science Siftings*.

ENCOURAGEMENT OF INDIGENOUS DRUGS.

A public meeting of Doctors, Vaidyas, Hakims and general public interested in the advancement of Aryan and Unani Medical science was held at Bombay on the 1st October, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar presiding, to support the bill introduced in the Legislative Council by the Hon'ble Mr. Patel to allow association with indigenous systems of medicine. The Chairman said the Bombay Medical Act Bill of 1912, which Mr. Patel sought to amend, contained in two of its sections the phrase "infamous conduct in professional respect." Any member who identifies with indigenous system of medicine either by teaching or practising it, became guilty of infamous conduct in his professional capacity. It was a right of the medical profession to lay down that no member of it should degrade their profession by practising quackery. Ayurvedic system, said the speaker, was not quackery even assuming it as empirical and less advanced than the allopathic system of the West. But Western system has been and even now is regarded as an empirical medical science. Therefore if it was to advance they should take systematically to Ayurvedic system of medicine and drag

it out of its conservative spirit which had made it lag behind. What the legislature should principally take into account was whether professional rule which was sought to be embodied in the form and spirit of statutory sanction and obligation was according to public opinion of the country, whether it was calculated to further the interests of the people at large and whether the rule would encourage among the members of the profession, honesty and straightforwardness of practice and that fullness and freedom of thought, investigation and search for light from all available resources which were necessary to advance the cause of science. The public therefore had a solid interest in the controversy raised over the interpretation of the Medical Act. In conclusion the speaker said that law as it stood called for alteration and needed to be made clear.

A number of speeches were then made by well known practitioners and a memorial was passed for submission to the Government.

ON THE REARING OF CHILDREN.

1. It is easier, better, and cheaper to prevent than to cure disease.
2. Everything that protects the mother before her baby is born improves the health of the baby after its birth.
3. Many of the diseases observed in older children and adults begin in infancy.
4. Healthy babies make strong men and women.
5. The baby's food, home, and surroundings play an important part in keeping it well or making it sick.
6. *Mother's milk is the best food for babies.*
7. Cow's milk which has become infected with disease-germs kills many babies.
8. Extreme heat and impure air kills many babies in the summer, especially bottle-fed babies.
9. The health and happiness of the whole household are improved by everything done to protect the baby.

Science

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH INSTITUTES.

The *Bombay Chronicle* has made a strong appeal to the Indian public for contributing rupees ten lakhs towards the funds of Scientific Research Institute to be established by Dr. Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose of Calcutta and to be opened on the 30th November next. The paper says: "The honour of Indians is involved in the fruition of Dr. Bose's patriotic scheme, the scope of which will be far more extensive than any other institute in existence in India. Sixteen lakhs of rupees are needed, including the permanent endowment of Dr. Bose's Institute, towards which Dr. Bose has already devoted rupees five lakhs, his life's savings and Mr. S. R. Bomanji, a citizen of Bombay, has given a princely donation of rupees one lakh." It is the national duty of all Indians, urges the paper, to raise the balance of rupees ten lakhs.

INDIAN SCIENCE CONGRESS.

In connection with the Indian Science Congress to be held in Lahore on January 9th to 12th, a meeting of chemists, who are doing work for the Munitions Board, has been arranged at the request of Sir Thomas Holland. The meeting will be held on the day previous to the opening of the Congress.

NEW GRAFTING SYSTEM.

A simple method of grafting skin has been lately reported. After rinsing the skin with salt solution the doctor scrapes it with a razor until he has collected on the blade a mass of mush-like particles of skin. He transfers this to the raw surface, which needs no preparation. A dressing of boric acid salve is allowed to remain unchanged for five or six days. Then the surface is tightly dressed with strips of plaster, which is left on for a week before renewing. After two or three renewals the scarcely visible particles of skin have grown and spread until they have covered the raw surface.

ROYAL AVIATORS.

King Albert of Belgium has now added to his many experiences that of being the first monarch to make an aeroplane flight over hostile guns in action. So far, the Kaiser has confined his air exploits to a modest trip in a Zeppelin in peace time. His brother, Prince Henry of Prussia, also had a little flight with Count Zeppelin in pre-war days. Other prominent Royalties who have been up in airships are King Victor Emmanuel of Italy and the Queen of Sweden.

In our own Royal Family several members made aeroplane flights when flying machines were novelties, notably the Princes George and Albert of Battenberg and the Princess Louise of Battenberg. Prince Leopold of Battenberg even went so far as to loop the loop, his pilot being none other than Gustav Hamel. Prince Axel of Denmark is another Royalty who risked his life aloft.

LABORATORY GLASSWARE.

The best laboratory glasswares, says the *Mysore Economic Journal*, are made in Jena and Tubingen in Germany and Austria. They possess a speciality of resisting the action of water below, at and above 100°C. and hydrochloric acid, ammonia, solutions of ammonium chloride and soda bicarbonate.

SMOKING AS A STIMULANT.

Though the exact influence of such habits as smoking on mental and physical labour is likely to continue a matter of disagreement, observes the *Popular Science Siftings*, the experiments of Prof. C. S. Berry are very interesting. A portion of each evening, beginning half-an-hour after dinner, was devoted to adding up columns of figures, and on alternate evenings he smoked a single cigar before beginning this effort. The results were carefully recorded. It was shown that work done was quite uniformly free from errors, so the matter of accuracy was not materially affected, but the speed proved to be 7.7 per cent. greater after smoking.

Personal

SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE'S VIEWS.

Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore sends to press a copy of the letter which he has written to a literary friend in England. In course of the letter he writes:—"In your letter you seem puzzled at my conduct in sending a message of sympathy to Mrs. Besant. I am afraid, compared with your own troubles, it may appear to you too small, but yet sufferings have not lost their keenness for us and moral problems still remain as the gravest of all problems in all parts of the world. Constant conflict between the growing demand of the educated community of India for a substantial share in the administration of their country and the spirit of hostility on the part of the Government has given rise among a considerable number of our young men to methods of violence bred of despair and distrust. This has been met by the Government by a thorough policy of repression. In Bengal itself hundreds of men are interned without trial, a great number in unhealthy surroundings, in jails and in solitary cells, in a few cases driving them to insanity or suicide. The misery that it carried into numerous households is deep and widespread. What I consider to be the worst outcome of this irresponsible policy is the spread of the contagion of hatred against everything Western in minds which were free from it. In this crisis the only European who has shared our sorrow, incurring the anger and derision of her countrymen, is Mrs. Annie Besant. This was what led me to express my grateful admiration for her noble courage. Possibly there is such a thing as political exigency, just as there may be a place for utter ruthlessness in war; but I pay my homage to those who have faith in ideals and, therefore, are willing to take all other risks except that of weakening the foundations of moral responsibility."

LORD DONOUGHMORE.

Mr. Montagu, we are told, intends bringing out to India as "one of his colleagues" Lord Donoughmore. The present Earl of Donoughmore succeeded his father in the title in 1900 and holds his seat in the House of Lords as Viscount Hutchinson in the English peerage.

We are glad to learn that Mr. Roberts, late Under-Secretary of State for India, will also accompany Mr. Montagu during his Indian tour.

In this connection H. E. the Viceroy has intimated that persons and associations wishing to have interview or present addresses should communicate their wishes to Local Governments before the 15th November.

MR. GANDHI'S BIRTHDAY.

The 49th birthday of Mr. M. K. Gandhi was celebrated on the morning of the 2nd October at the Gokhale Hall, Y.M.I.A., when Mr. G. A. Natesan presented a portrait of Mr. Gandhi and requested Mrs. Besant to accept it and unveil it.

Mrs. Besant, before performing the function, said that there was nothing more inspiring, especially to the young, than to hold up before them the example of Mr. Gandhi. His deeds made a light around him and even if he tried to hide himself in the dark he shone so brilliantly there that the darkness only increased the radiance of the light that he shed. Hence they felt that whatever his personal ideas might be India could not spare him, but must have him standing as an example of an ideal of a *sannyasi*, a man who had renounced everything including himself and lived only for service. This was Mr. Gokhale's Hall and it was fitting that what Mr. Gokhale admired should be admired by all.

Sir S. Subramania Iyer, as President of the Y. M. I. A., accepted the portrait. Mrs. Besant, as chairman of the meeting, was requested to communicate to Mr. Gandhi by telegram the hearty greeting of the citizens of Madras on his 49th birthday.

Political

INDIAN SPIRIT.

The Punjab Government have issued the following Press *Communique*:—"With a view to assist the producer of Indian spirit for commercial purposes, the Punjab Government, with the approval of the Government of India, has abolished the excise duty on denatured spirit of local manufacture. The Government of India have also approved the remission, subject to certain conditions, of duty on locally-manufactured rectified spirit used for industrial purposes. This concession will only be allowed in individual cases, which will be considered on their merits."

INDIAN CHRISTIANS AND SELF-GOVERNMENT.

At a public meeting of Indian Christians held on the 1st. October at Madras for the purpose of discussing the present political situation in India, with Mr. M. D. Deva Doss, Bar.-at-Law, in the chair, the following resolutions were passed:—

The Indian Christians in a public meeting assembled do respectfully thank the Viceroy and His Majesty's Government at Home for the enunciation of a liberal policy of advance towards the goal of self-government in India. (2) In view of the Secretary of State's declaration that the legitimate goal of British rule in India is the evolution of self-government, it is our firm conviction that steps should be taken to bring about a gradual devolution of power and to organise and perfect the representative institutions in a cordial spirit of co-operation between the people and the Government.

PETITION TO MR. MONTAGU.

At a meeting of the Congress Propaganda Committee, Madras, the question of arranging for signatures for a petition to be presented to Mr. Montagu in favour of the Congress-Moslem League scheme was considered and it was resolved that a special committee consisting of Mrs. Annie Besant (President), the Hon. Mr. Yaqub Hasan,

Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Aiyer, Mr. S. Kasturiranga Aiyangar, Mr. G. A. Natesan, Mr. T. V. Gopalaswami Mudaliar, and Mr. A. Rangaswami Aiyangar with Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar as Secretary be appointed to carry on the work in co-operation with all political bodies and that a special committee do report the progress every week to the Congress Propaganda Committee.

MESSRS. MAHOMED ALI AND SHAUKAT ALI.

The Hon. Mr. Yakub Hasan, writing about the non-liberation of Mr. Mahomed Ali and Mr. Shaukat Ali, says:—"Sir William Vincent's reply on the 5th September had raised some hopes about the release of Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali as those in the case of Mrs. Besant and to dash them to ground so ruthlessly cannot be calculated to improve the political atmosphere of India to do which his Excellency the Viceroy had shown so much concern. The Mussalman masses will look upon the Government's action as a distinct breach of faith for the undertaking was that the two patriots would be released as soon as a guarantee about their future conduct in certain respects was given."

MR. GOKHALE'S SCHEME.

Mr. Shaikh M. H. Kedwai writes in the *Manchester Guardian*:—

H. H. the Aga Khan did not choose the right time for publishing the scheme proposed by the late lamented G. K. Gokhale for provincial autonomy in India. He kept back the scheme too long. It should have been published before the schemes published by the nineteen elected members of the Imperial Council and the joint session of the National Congress and the Moslem League. There is no doubt that if Mr. Gokhale had been alive he would himself have bowed to the views of his colleagues and compatriots who proposed the schemes referred to. The scheme of Mr. Gokhale is now out of date. Neither that nor the scheme of Lord Islington can satisfy India now,

General

ENGLISH AND THE VERNACULARS.

There is considerable ground for thinking, observes the *Times of India*, that the study of English has directly stimulated the growth of vernacular literatures in India. When the literary and intellectual classes of India realise, as they are fast doing, that they have duties towards the masses of their countrymen, they will necessarily devote themselves to the study of the vernaculars to a much greater extent than they have been doing in the past. It is English education that has opened their eyes to this great truth which underlies nationalism, and thus English education is the parent, so to speak, of the desire to develop the vernacular languages of India. Any ill-advised attempt to uproot English from its present position in the educational system will have a serious effect on the study not only of English but also of the vernaculars. Let us, by all means, do all that is possible to encourage the study of the spoken languages of India. There is much that can be done, and should be done. To lay the axe at the root of English education, however, is not one of them.

CO-OPERATION BETWEEN EAST AND WEST.

A noteworthy address on the importance of harmonious co-operation between West and East in India in the present condition of her affairs has just been made at the annual prize giving at Rajaram College, Kolhapur, by His Holiness Jagadguru Shri Sankaracharya. Addressing the students as "the young buds of the land," he reminded them that they were the citizens of tomorrow, and expressing his earnest desire for the uplift of India in all its aspects. He pointed out that "a good deal of judicial harmony" is necessary to effect a compromise between the best of the modern and the best of the ancient. Presently, they would see what a glorious result could be

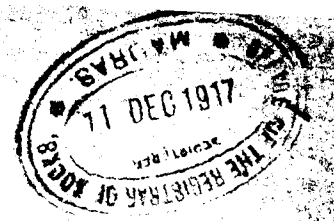
effected by a mutual co-operation. The modern system introduced from abroad was a divine boon to the country, for it had killed the rigidity of the ancient system and "fused into our hearts the grand majestic ideas which run in the other quarters of the globe into most progressive and enlightened conditions of life." He referred to the need for studying both English and Sanskrit as typical of the necessity for Indians learning to understand English people as English people need to understand Indians. "We cannot do without the one or the other," and herein lay the truth that "unless a correct and mutual understanding is established between the rulers and the ruled, it is not possible to ensure peace and happiness to the public.

THE ANGLO-INDIAN AGITATION.

"Ditcher" writes in the *Capital*:—It is impossible not to recall the Three Tailors of Tooley Street, in reading this cryptic effusion. No scheme of political reform in India can ignore the European community, official or non-official. As a matter of fact, it has never been ignored or neglected and there is no reason to suppose that it will not be treated tenderly in any future scheme of self-government. But there is no room in India for an English Pale or an Orange Lodge, and the sooner this is realised the better. It is up to every Chamber of Commerce, every Trades Association, and even the vague and amorphous European Association itself, to make claims for consideration for the stakes they have in the country, but they will defeat their own ends to adopt the discredited attitude of the Outlanders of South Africa and the Extremists of Ulster. Lord Chelmsford has asked for co-operation of all sections of the body politic to compose a working plan which will be a distinct step in the direction of giving India her rightful place in the Empire. The European community will not do its part if it wastes its time in polemics. What is wanted now is construction not destruction.



HUSSEIN KAMIL PASHA
THE LATE SULTAN OF EGYPT.





GENERAL PERSHING
Commander of the first American Army to fight in Europe.



ADMIRAL SIMS
Commander of the American Naval Forces in European waters.

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RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT FOR INDIA

BY THE HON. MR. V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI.
(President of the Servants of India Society.)

THE fundamental ideas of the Congress-League scheme of post-war reforms may be summarised under a few heads :—

1. The voice of the duly elected representatives of the people should prevail both in the Indian and in the Provincial Legislative Councils and for this purpose these elected representatives should be in a substantial majority.
2. These Legislative Councils should in their respective spheres enjoy complete freedom of legislation, subject of course to certain exclusions and to the veto first of the head of the Province concerned and then of the Governor-General, and to disallowance by the Crown.
3. The Legislative Councils should have full control of the finances of the country. This includes the power of regulating the taxation and expenditure of the State, omitting certain specified heads, and also the power of fixing the tariff, not only for the purposes of revenue, but, if it be deemed necessary, for encouraging indigenous manufactures and industries and thus utilising to the full the economic resources of the land.
4. The Councils should have the power of controlling the Executive, though not of turning them out of office.
5. To ensure that the representatives voice the real needs and wishes of the people, they should be elected by ballot on a direct and wide franchise.
6. To safeguard the constitutional rights of the subject in respect of person and property, freedom of movement and expression of opinion, etc., as well as to administer justice between subject and

subject, the courts of the land should be manned by a judiciary, independent of the Executive and controlled by the High Courts of the several Provinces.

Each of these reforms is a wide departure from existing conditions. At present the executive Government, which is almost exclusively British, monopolises all power. The elected members of the Legislative Councils have some opportunities of criticising the administration and suggesting improvements; but the Executive have everywhere the power of getting such laws passed as they desire and employing the financial and economic resources of the country in ways that seem to them proper, while the judiciary in some ranks do not enjoy the complete independence of the Executive that they should, and are precluded by law in certain classes of cases from protecting the citizen against the encroachments of the Executive. The ruling class who wield these vast powers are generally unwilling to yield them even in part, and the European community in India, who get certain benefits from the existing state of things, likewise resist all proposals that tend to transfer civil authority to the hands of popular representatives. Such resistance is natural, however indefensible on grounds of justice. It is difficult to see how the leaders of the Indian political movement of the day can show any tenderness to this practical British monopoly of civil power without betraying the interests of posterity, which they are bound to regard as a sacred trust. One of the few wise things that Lord Sydenham

has said recently is that Indians have abundant opportunities for expression of opinion in the counsels of Government. No reforms which merely multiply such opportunities will answer the needs of the hour. Our European friends, who offer co-operation in a reasonable and moderate programme—and it is quite welcome—may have their own ideas. But they understand clearly—and it needs frequent iteration—that the most vital part of the Congress-League scheme is the vesting of political power and responsibility for internal affairs in a legislature in which the popular representatives should be in a majority. Adequate and even liberal representation shall be given to all interests, certainly the European interest will be amply safeguarded; but the dominant voice in the future must be that of the natural leaders of the people.

In connection with the Congress-League scheme the question of the relation between the Legislature and the Executive has attracted the most widespread attention. Before dealing with it, however, it is necessary to describe the executive briefly. The Viceroy or the Governor is the head, not merely in name but in reality. He is to be assisted by an Executive Council to be composed half of Europeans, half of Indians. The number is not fixed, but the general idea is that it should be six. Members of the Indian Civil Service or any other service should not ordinarily be appointed to these Councils, the idea being, as Woodrow Wilson's dictum has it, that men who have for years administered departmental details cannot exhibit the large spirit of statesmanship necessary in those who have to shape and guide policy. The holders of portfolios will be assisted in the discharge of their duties by the experience of the permanent heads of the departments, as in England. Naturally civilian officers resent this proposal bitterly, but it is of capital importance and cannot be surrendered. The term of office

of Executive Councillors and of the heads of Governments is to be five years, and that is the term also of the Legislative Councils.

The conception of the relations between the Legislative Council and the Executive Council which is embodied in the Congress-League Scheme is something between the English and American conceptions, avoiding the extreme points of both. The most conspicuous feature of the English constitution, to which almost superstitious reverence is paid in Great Britain and the Self-Governing Dominions, is the responsibility of the ministry to the House of Commons; i.e., its obligation, according to one of the unwritten conventions of the constitution, to resign office on an adverse vote of that House on any subject of importance, unless they persuade the King to dissolve the House. The Indian Executive will not be under such an obligation. Its tenure of office need not depend on its retaining the confidence of the Legislative Council. In America even a direct vote of censure cannot remove the President from office, and as the other principal officers of State derive from him, they are equally untouched by the proceedings of Congress. In fact the separation between the Executive and the Legislature is complete in the United States, it having been considered necessary to maintain the balance between the two. Neither the President nor his principal officers belong to either House of Congress. Thus they cannot defend themselves against hostile criticism in Congress nor take steps to get such laws passed as they desire, while the Congress for its part has to legislate without the experience and guidance of the Executive. The Congress-League Scheme seeks to avoid this evil by placing a considerable power of nomination to the Legislative Council in the hands of the Viceroy and Governors. It is expected that they will put in the Executive Councillors and perhaps also a few other officials. Their superior knowledge and experience will be available to the Legislature,

and in fact, they will be in a position not only to defend their executive acts but to frame legislative proposals and conduct them in the Council.

It is curious how different are the forecasts that people make about the actual working of the scheme. Those who study its provisions from the standpoint of the Executive apprehend that it would be at the mercy of the Legislature, harassed by ignorant criticism and compelled, as Lord Islington put it, to carry out laws and resolutions which it did not approve. Indian publicists, on the other hand, obsessed by the cunning with which the constituencies in the present regime have been so designed as to render the non-official majority a mere name and rules of debate have been so framed as to render the budget discussion a mere mockery, take it as a foregone conclusion that, if the Executive were not to be under the constant fear of being turned out of office, it would defy the legislature and set its decisions at naught. On both sides occasional deadlocks are anticipated, and the scheme is criticised for not providing a means of getting over them, as the authors of the constitutions of the Australian Commonwealth and the South African Union have had the forethought to do. Let us now look at the provisions in detail. First those which tend in favour of the Legislature. They are eight:—

(i). The term of office of the head of the Government and also of the Executive Councillors is limited to five years. If it is to be tyranny, it will, at least, be short-lived.

(ii). Members of the Legislative Council are to have the power of questioning the Executive as to their acts, in the same way as in the English Parliament, other members coming to the aid of the questioner in asking supplementary questions. Holders of portfolios should certainly have the liberty of refusing to disclose information in the public interest; but if a minister habitually evaded questions without sufficient cause, he

would soon be found out and visited with general displeasure.

(iii). On a requisition by one-eighth of the members of the Legislative Council, the head of the Government will be bound to summon a meeting of the Council. This will prevent undue intervals during which the Executive might be glad to escape the vigilance of the Legislature. Present-day practice in India has apparently suggested the need of this provision.

iv. As in England, it would be open under the scheme for a member to call attention to "a definite matter of urgent public importance" and raise a debate on it, if he is supported by one-eighth of the members present.

(v). The Legislative Councils themselves will have the power of making and altering the rules under which resolutions on matters of public interest may be discussed. It is somewhat anomalous that at present the Councils have some voice as to the rules for the conduct of legislation, but none as to the rules governing interpellation and the discussion of resolutions or of the budget.

(vi). The Legislative Councils are to elect their own Presidents, the Viceroy and the Governors being precluded from conducting the proceedings in person or through Vice-presidents appointed by themselves.

(vii). A resolution passed by the Legislative Council, may be vetoed once by the Government concerned; but if it be passed a second time, after the lapse of a year, it must be carried out.

(viii). The Indian members of the Executive Council who are to form one-half of its strength, should be elected by the elected members of the Legislative Council.

When these eight provisions are taken along with the provision requiring a substantial elective majority, it is obvious that the people's representatives have abundant means at their disposal of getting their wishes respected and making their

mark on the proceedings of the Legislature. To doubt it is to take it for granted that the members returned by the general electorates would be of poor calibre. If, however, an additional safeguard be considered necessary, the taxation of the country, instead of being wholly permanent as now, may be made in part annual, so that the Government cannot carry on, unless they keep the Legislature in a good mood and get the temporary taxes renewed every year. The salt duty in the case of the Imperial Government and the income-tax in the case of Provincial Governments would seem to be appropriate for this purpose.

Those that scan the scheme from the standpoint of the Executive will probably complain that it is defenceless against this array of weapons in the hands of the Legislature. In truth, however, their superior organization and discipline and the expert knowledge and experience which they command constitute a great advantage in a continuous contest with a loose body of men elected by different constituencies and perhaps divided by caste and other prejudices. The personal merits of these legislators are apt to vary greatly, and it will be long before they learn to act together, evolve definite policies and assert themselves in Council. Moreover, the scheme lays down that a Money Bill may be introduced only by the Government. Private members, who desire to distinguish themselves or please their constituencies, may possibly flood the Council with all sorts of Legislative proposals for a time, but soon the requirements of business will put the initiative to a large extent in the hands of the Executive, and ambitious members will have to seek their opportunities in criticism and amendment of Government measures. Judicious bestowal of honours and titles, careful distribution of patronage, the discriminating sanction of schemes involving financial outlay in which certain members may be interested, are means of

oil the legislative machinery, which may not stand the most exacting ethical tests but will be found of much practical value. But the principal weapon in the armoury of the Executive is the veto, which may be exercised once in the case of resolutions and without any such restriction in the case of Legislation. If one desires to conjure up difficult situations, one may see in the light-hearted and frequent use of the veto a fruitful source of misunderstanding; but the Congress-League scheme gives the veto in the case of resolutions to the Governor-General-in-Council and to the Governor-in-Council and not to the Governor-General and the Governor acting singly, and that is a guarantee that the veto will not be exercised unless there is due cause. In respect of Legislation a tactful head of Government will generally act under the advice of his Executive Council, and he will not be slow to discover that he need not veto every law which does not command his entire approval, but that he is bound to prevent laws coming into operation of which he feels reasonably certain that the consequences will be disastrous. After all it is good to let the people now and then experience the evil effects of their ignorance and haste, especially when they have failed to profit by the counsel and warning of the Executive while the laws in question were being discussed. It may minimise friction to give the head of a Government power to return a Bill to the Council with the remark that he might be compelled to veto it, unless it were modified in certain defined particulars. Another power with which it may be found necessary to arm the Executive is to dissolve the Legislature when there is reason to believe that it does not represent the views of the electors or that time gained may bring better counsels, if not better Councillors. In this case a wise Executive will submit if the Council endorses the decision of its predecessor. In case a Council is dissolved before its time, should the

nominated members also go out of office? It would seem that they should, as one of the considerations to be borne in mind by the nominating authority is to supply any deficiencies which the results of election may disclose. In normal conditions one may confidently look forward in India to the Executive and Legislature working smoothly together. In spite of what ill-conditioned critics have said of Indian character, the prediction may be safely ventured that the bulk of our Legislators will be practical-minded and willing to listen to reason and well-meant advice. Judging from the behaviour of Indian leaders in the trying conditions of the present Legislative Councils, their successors will stand a lot of provocation before they push differences of view to the breaking point or test the edge of the constitutional weapons in their hands. The Executive will find that faith and patience will receive generous response from the other side. Misgivings are felt with regard to the power of voting the budget which the scheme proposes to give to the various Legislative Councils. What would happen if in any year a Council should refuse to pass the budget? To adapt the language of Lord Bryce in his treatise on 'The American Commonwealth,' to withhold the ordinary supplies and thereby stop the machine of Government would injure the country and themselves far more than the executive; they would, to use a common expression, be cutting off their nose to spite their face. But political feeling, when it runs high, may make a great change in men's natures, and it is conceivable that an angry Legislature may decline to pass the budget in time. In Japan the difficulty is got over by giving the executive power to carry out the previous year's budget. To provide for a deadlock is to invite a deadlock. The Executive, feeling that it can fall back on the previous year's budget, may defy the Legislature and refuse to negotiate with it in a reasonable spirit. If such an expedient be enacted as a part of the law, it may be necessary to make the Legislature even

with the Executive by providing further that it should not be resorted to in two succeeding years. A year's interval may have its own effect in softening differences and enabling the two branches of Government to come to terms with each other. We are advised to provide a machinery for overcoming a deadlock, because the constitutions of the Australian Commonwealth and the South African Union have done so. But the deadlock contemplated in those parts of the British Empire is between the two Houses of Legislature, which are of co-ordinate rank and must concur for legislation to have effect. In India the Congress-League scheme provides only for one House, and as the Executive is meant to be subordinate to the Legislature, no deadlock can arise. Let the Executive advise, expostulate, warn; let it dissolve the Legislature; let it gain time by working the last year's budget; but finally it must bend to the will of the people if it cannot convince them. Having enjoyed absolute supremacy so long, it may be difficult for the Indian Executive to reconcile itself to take second place. But no Executive in any constitutionally governed country pretends to override the Legislature; and the attempt of political reformers in India is to assimilate the well-established principles of Government in such countries. If an Executive, to take an instance, felt that a resolution passed by the Legislative Council for a second time was such that it could not accept the responsibility for carrying it out, it would be compelled to resign; for if it held on and refused to carry out the resolution, it would be disobeying the law of the land and might provoke civil commotion.

Although in extraordinary circumstances like those imagined above the Executive Government may voluntarily resign, the Congress-League Scheme does not contemplate the resignation of a defeated ministry and its replacement by a new one as the normal feature of Government; in other words, there will be no responsible Government, as the expression is understood in constitu-

tions following the British model. No Government in India need dread an adverse vote or a succession of adverse votes as a sentence of death. Constitution-writers are agreed that a system of ins and outs can work beneficially only where there are two large and well-defined parties in the Legislature and only two such parties. Where this condition is wanting, the members of the Legislature form little groups or cliques, with no principles to keep them together, but only temporary and perhaps selfish ends. No Government can in such circumstances be stable; it must have recourse to compromises and makeshifts; and its principal anxiety will be how to live rather than how to govern. Every Government that can be formed must include members from most of the important groups; a change, therefore, may introduce new persons, but not necessarily new policies or views of administration. One of the greatest evils that can befall a country is a weak Executive. Those that would take a hand in shaping the fortunes of India must pause seriously before they adopt a system where there is a general race for office, and a Government, with many rivals watching to trip it, can only live by making concessions and compromises at every turn and by not putting its hand to anything big or important. May be in course of time we shall evolve two opposite schools of political thought which may seek to shape governmental action by organising themselves into two permanent parties. Then elections may be fought on issues involving political principles or programmes, and it may be determined with some approach to accuracy which of the contending parties commands the majority of opinion in the country and is, therefore, entitled to form a Cabinet. It will be time enough, then, to think of the parliamentary system. It has not been an unmixt good outside Great Britain; even in Great Britain it has seen its best days, and among thoughtful observers the doubt is seriously

felt whether after this war it will regain its original hold on politics. The newly formed National Party in England, of which it would be rash to judge the future by its recent failure at a bye-election, has the following paragraph in its prospectus:

For years past the old party system has been nothing better than an organised mockery of the true spirit of the Nation. If we are to win victory in the war—and after—we must free ourselves somehow or other from the clutches of this octopus. The future of the Commonwealth of British Nations depends upon the honesty and capacity of our public men. Politics is a matter of national life and death. Should it continue to be played as a game of party interests and personal ambition, served by two machines which are kept in funds by the sale of honours, the end can only be disaster.

In a recent book called the 'Elements of Reconstruction' and marked by much originality and vigour of thought, the same idea is hit off in a striking phrase, 'that persistent tendency to a bi-lateral system of conflict about false issues which is denounced as the party system,' and Lord Milner in his introduction to the book speaks of it as 'now happily in abeyance, and never, let us hope, to be revived in its old insincerity.' Burgess, whose keen analysis is hardly surpassed, has some weighty remarks on this subject which, though long, may here be quoted without apology:

What, then, are the conditions which require the political responsibility of the ministry to the legislature or the popular branch thereof, or which make this relation advantageous? We have now two distinct questions which require distinct answers. I can conceive of nothing requiring this relation except the permanent incapacity of the executive head, or irrational persistence on his part in an unpopular policy, or such evidence of a treacherous disposition as to make it impossible that he shall be trusted. On the other hand, ministerial responsibility to the legislature will be advantageous when the electorate and the legislature are of so high character intellectually and morally as to be practically incapable of forming an erroneous opinion or of doing an unjust thing. The checks and balances of double or treble deliberation by independent bodies will then be no longer necessary, will be rather harmful than necessary. The natural age of compromise will have been passed. Until something like this condition shall arrive, however, the responsibility of the ministry to the legislature for Government policy tends to the production of crude measures, and, in general, makes government radical. I do not think that parliamentary government stands in such high favour with political

scientists as it did a decade or more ago. Based upon the narrow English electorate of twenty-five years ago, its working seemed to vindicate most thoroughly its principle, but the recent great extension of that electorate has revealed dangers hardly suspected before, and has shaken the faith (once orthodox) in its perfection and in its adaptability to every condition of political society. I have no hesitation in saying that to me England, as well as France, now appears to need a greater independence of the executive power over against the legislature.

The irresponsibility of the executive, which the leaders of political thought in India have adopted with a sure instinct for what is safe and suitable in the present condition of their country, is not without a parallel in the West. Omitting Germany, which is not reckoned among popular governments, there are the United States and Switzerland, in both of which freedom dwells in some of her most lovely forms. The American example is somewhat complicated by the executive being not only irremovable by Congress, but unconnected with it constitutionally except for the President's qualified veto. This latter feature is generally regarded as a weakness, which would lead to very untoward results were it not for the natural good sense of the Americans, of whom it has been remarked that they can work with advantage the worst constitution in the world. The analogy of Switzerland is nearer. The executive there are elected by the legislature for a period of three years. They cannot vote in the legislature, but may attend either House and take active part in its proceedings, both initiating and criticising measures of legislation. The results are pronounced to be excellent, the executive being regarded as the servants not as the masters of the legislature. Yet this subordinate position does not deprive them of influence or prestige; the legislature trusts them entirely and re-elects some members frequently. Prof. Dicey observes that although its irremovability confers on it a certain measure of independence, it loyally carries out the policy of the legislature. "Its dependence is the source of its strength. It does

not come into conflict with the Assembly; it, therefore, is a permanent body which carries on, and carries on with marked success, the administration of public affairs." The defect in the Swiss system is that, as there is no well-organised efficient civil service, the members of the executive are themselves the heads of departments and overwhelmed with details of administration. In India the existence of a first-class civil service would keep members of the executive council free for parliamentary duties.

While there are opponents of the scheme who denounce it as wholly evil and likely to land the country in disaster, there are others who see that substantial reforms are inevitable, but would like them to assume an experimental form, so that Indian political leaders may prove their fitness to manage popular institutions step by step. A proposal has been put forward, the main feature of which is to administer a few selected departments which is to administer a few selected departments which is to administer a few selected departments by means of a Cabinet on the English plan, i. e., chosen for their ability to command a majority in the Legislative Council and liable to be replaced by another Cabinet as soon as the majority turned against them. The Viceroy or the Governor is to be in respect of this Cabinet like the King in England, choosing only the Premier and always accepting the advice of the responsible ministers. The rest of the government is to be carried on as under the present regime. It may be readily acknowledged that this proposal is made from a genuine desire to afford a school of probation for the educated classes of India. It follows that the departments chosen to begin with must be comparatively unimportant, so that even if they were mismanaged, the harm to the general administration might not be great. It is often true that a great reform has a better chance of success than a small one. This is the case in the region of self-government. Improvement in administration, to be real and lasting, would require increased expenditure. Where should the

apprentice cabinet find the additional money? Whether it is to be by retrenchment in other departments or by fresh taxation, they will have to convince the general executive as well as the legislative council. If they failed, would it be just to send them out for what might have been the perversity of the general executive? As has been said in an earlier section, successful administration without control of finance is impossible. Then, why is this process of experiment and trial considered necessary in the case of Indians? There is not a single instance in the wide world of a people having acquired autonomy by compartments. And who is to judge whether the experiment in a province has been successful and when the next step may be taken? One party is anxious to advance, the other party is anxious to hold it back. To suppose that the latter is like a teacher proud of his pupil and desirous to help him from stage to stage is to ignore the history of political reform in India and the tremendous difficulty that has attended every step of it. Again, where there are two compartments of government, one in which the exciting game of making and unmaking Governments is constantly going on and the other of the humdrum sort where the executive sits tight on the legislative body, it is apparent that the former will engross the attention of the public and draw to itself all the ambition and talent in the community. If the Legislative Council be identical for both the compartments, as it will probably be, would not the greater part of its functions, and by our supposition the more important part, suffer from neglect? Moreover, there is the head of the Government who has to be the real head of one compartment and the figure-head of the other. The habits, modes of thought and temperament that conduce to success in the two compartments are very different, perhaps incompatible. We know that one who is successful as the Governor of a Crown Colony will not necessarily be successful

as the head of a Self-Governing Dominion. Is it reasonable to expect that the same man can play every day of his life parts so wholly unlike each other? It is to be hoped that this plan of compartmental autonomy, with its temptation of a higher form of government though in a greatly restricted sphere, will not prove more attractive to the Indian politician than the all-round and substantial Self-Government embodied in the Congress-League scheme, in which the Executive is in a real manner subordinate to the Legislative Council, although not technically responsible to it. In the former case the first step is in itself of slight value unless it is followed by several other steps, each of which will probably be as difficult as this one. In the second case the first step is a big one and likely to bring great benefits to the people, even if it was not followed by other steps, and perhaps for that very reason these other steps will be found easy. Responsible government, as has been already pointed out, cannot be successful where there are not two and only two great political parties wedded to distinct principles. To foist it on India at present is no sign of political sagacity. Our scheme does not by any means preclude it, if in the future conditions favourable to it arise, and then it will be a natural and healthy development. An able writer on the "Political Development of Japan," Mr. Uyehara, tries to make out that the defects in the present working of the Japanese constitution can be remedied only by the adoption of the practice of full responsibility of the Cabinet to the Diet. Ito himself tried something like it and failed. As it was more than a decade ago it is probable that conditions have ripened in the direction desired by Mr. Uyehara. The lesson for us in India is that it is best not to pluck the fruit before its time.

BRITAIN AFTER THREE YEARS OF WAR

BY

MR. SAINT NIHAL SINGH.

HOW three years of war have changed the face of Britain, and the temper of her people!

Nearly every vacant lot in and about London, that erstwhile lay idle, with rank vegetation sometimes standing thigh-high, has now been turned into a vegetable garden, with peas and beans, cabbages and cauliflowers, turnips and carrots, marrows and cucumbers growing in them. Lawns and flower-beds in the back yards of private residences have been dug up, and beets and lettuce, broccoli and kale, have taken the place of green sward and bright-coloured flowers. Even many front yards have been turned into vegetable plots.

When you get to your favourite heaths, you are likely to find that the War Office is in sole possession of them. When you go to the country, your train passes through woods that have been thinned—thinned brutally in places—to furnish timber for war purposes. Logs lie piled high on station platforms that you pass without stopping. The manager of one of the largest estates in Britain told me, not long ago, that he had sold a million feet of wood from the forests, much of which no one would have looked at before the war. The clearings now made or already existing are often covered with tents or barracks to house soldiers who are being got ready to break the enemy's strength.

Frequently you come upon land that only a few months before was a green pasture, with cows and horses lazily moving about, eating the luxuriant fodder. Now it is growing wheat, oats or barley to feed the people of this country. Already a million acres of such land has been broken up—and more of such land is steadily coming under tillage.

Where you used to see the farm-labourer cultivating ground with implements that had seen little change for scores of decades, now one finds modern tractor-ploughs and mechanical hay-makers at work. Most of these machines are imported from North America, and have caused not a little heart-burning among British manufacturers. They have stood the test of excessive strain to which they have been subjected, and have won the admiration of even those farmers who, but a few weeks back, were content to use implements that were considered good enough for their fathers.

But for the shortage of labour caused by the withdrawal of men from the land into the Army, British farmers would not have taken kindly to the use of machinery in agricultural operations. Without doing so they would have found it impossible to carry on farming during the past and the present year to say nothing of extending the acreage under food-stuffs.

Dire necessity has also compelled the British agriculturists to employ women in the dairy and on the farm. All manner of prejudices were at first entertained against them. But they soon proved that they were equal to the heaviest kind of work. There are still some farmers who consider that the land is not the place for the "fair sex." But the nation at large is profoundly grateful for the service that women have rendered during the last year in helping to grow food for it.

The women's land army was recruited by the women's section of the National Service Department the only portion of that Bureau created by Mr. Lloyd George that has, so far, proved a success. Attractive posters were issued to appeal to the patriotism of the women of Britain to

come to their country's aid during her hour of greatest trial. Women of all classes came forward readily. Some of them were University graduates. A selection of those suitable to engage in such work was quickly made, rapid training was given them, and the volunteers were sent to the land.

Anyone who went to the countryside during the last spring and summer saw women milking cows, separating cream, making butter, cleaning out the cow-sheds, feeding the animals, ploughing, seeding, and hoeing. During the autumn they helped to make hay and to gather in the crop. They dressed very sensibly. Instead of long, clinging skirts, they wore trousers, with high thick-soled boots or puttees. From a distance you could not tell them from men. In this costume they could work in all sorts of places and all kinds of weather, without giving a thought to their clothes.

College girls and school boys went to the countryside, during the long vacation, to help in agricultural operations. They were particularly useful in picking fruit. But for their patriotism, thousands of tons of berries and fruit would have rotted.

In December last, Britain installed, as Minister of Agriculture, Mr. R. E. Prothero, a man who had devoted the best part of his life to the study of agricultural questions, and who knew more about British farming than almost any other man alive. He determined to revive the agricultural industry, and to make the British as self-supporting in respect of food stuffs as possible. To realise this ideal, he framed the Corn Production Bill, guaranteeing prospects to the farmer that would make it worth his while to break up grass land, and assuring the agricultural labourer a minimum weekly wage of 25 shillings. Its provisions did not meet with the approval of the whole nation. Free-Traders suspected that the thin edge of the Protectionist wedge was being

introduced under cover of war necessity. Labour considered that the standard of the minimum wage was too low. They contended that, according to the figures issued by the Government through the Board of Trade, 25 shillings to-day was equal to only 14 shillings 6 pence of the pre-War period. In spite of all this agitation, the President of the Board of Agriculture refused to alter the main provisions, and the measure passed the House of Commons towards the end of the third year of the war.

In the heart of the country, or in the smallest sea-side place, you cannot escape khaki. Khaki-rule is especially supreme at sea-fronts. The military arrive about sun-down, and, if you have not had the sense to retire of your own accord, ask you to remove your presence from the beach. When you have but a few days to spend at the sea-side, you are in no mood to be sent away. You remember the days when you were a youngster, and papa and mamma used to bundle you off to bed, when you wanted to linger on the beach. But it is no use venting your spleen, for a war—the worst war in all history—is raging. Many persons have not been able to go out of town for a holiday this year—a sad deprivation far and over Britain.

In the cities, the war has interfered but little with amusements. The theatres, music halls, and picture palaces continue to provide us with a great variety of entertainment. No one is deterred by the amusement tax (that the Chancellor of the Exchequer recently raised), from going to those places of amusement.

One cannot help noticing that many persons who sit in the stalls—next to the private boxes the most expensive seats—must have benefited by the war, for, not long ago, they could not have afforded to sit in this part of the theatre. Few take the trouble to put on evening dress for the theatre, though lately I have seen some very décolleté effects.

Several plays with a war atmosphere were put on the boards last year, but few of them succeeded. Among plays that are having uncommonly long runs are a screamingly funny farce and a musical comedy—showing clearly that the people went to forget the war for a few hours, if they can, and to have a good laugh.

So many men have been taken away from the stage, as, indeed, from other callings of life, that the managers are finding it difficult to keep their casts at full strength. One obliging playwright wrote a play without a single male role. But it did not succeed.

Often you see an actor limping about the stage, or with tell-tale signs of shell-shock, and you are forcibly reminded of how the War is wrecking men in the prime of life. I hear that there is a great deal of difficulty in finding able-bodied men to shift scenery and to carry on carpentering and other operations involved in the production of a play. In more than one case I have noticed the name of a woman figuring on the play-bill as the stage-manager.

What wonderful specimens of manhood one now sees in the orchestra! So many of them have shiny pates and deeply furrowed faces! So many of them look decrepit!

The same sight meets the eye on the street, and in shops and offices. The men employed in repairing roads and street-cleaning look as if they had been dug out of alms houses, or had spent their lives tramping about the country and sleeping in hay-stacks. They work as if they were afraid that the axe or the broom that they are wielding might actually hurt Mother Earth.

The war has given a chance not only to superannuated men, but also to boys—and to girls. Doctors, newsvendors, and grocers, who employ boys in after-school hours, all complain of the shortage of such labour. Whole time boys are so difficult to obtain that girls have become permanent institutions in mercantile, newspaper,

and telegraph offices. The wages of juvenile labour have greatly increased, and are steadily rising.

Women have become so settled in what used to be considered men's jobs that they no longer cause any wonderment. A passenger pays his fare to a conductress in the tram or omnibus as a matter of course. One sees the Royal Mail wagons being driven by smartly clad girls without stopping to make any comment. The servant receives the siphons of aerated water from a woman in charge of the van as if it was quite the usual thing for a woman to deliver soda water and lemonade.

Some of the restaurants and clubs continue to employ men, waiters and superintendents, though, as a rule, they generally are miserable specimens of masculinity. Most of them have, however, installed women in the positions erstwhile held by German or other men waiters.

The restaurants and cafes do not lack guests, though prices are abnormally high, the amount of meat and bread that a person may consume is strictly limited, the sugar allowance is stingy, alcoholic liquors cannot be served or drunk after 9 P.M., and no one can pay for another's drink. To an Indian (who has not become Anglicised) the restrictions on meat and drink mean no inconvenience. But there is much grumbling. The other day the keeper of a restaurant was fined for serving too much meat, and, about the same time, another one was fined for evading the "no treating" order. I wonder what proportion of evasions of food and drink regulations do really get into the courts.

The attempt was made, last year, by means of an executive order, to make people, partake of simple meals. The number of courses one could eat at a restaurant was limited to three for dinner and two for other meals. The keepers of eating houses did not like the scheme, and did everything in their power to wreck it. The general sentiment

was also against it, and the order was withdrawn eventually. A similar attempt to make people forego meat one day a week also proved a failure.

Early this year Lord Devonport, the Food Controller at the time, put the nation on its honour to reduce the consumption of food by voluntary rationing. The system was designed to conserve the food supplies, which, at the time, were low. Britain has to depend largely on imported food, and the employment of shipping on war work of one kind or another, and the destruction of tonnage by the enemy, made the importation of food-stuffs difficult. The ruthless submarine campaign that Germany launched early in February made the peril still more menacing. Only the strictest economy, especially of bread-stuffs, could pull the nation through the crisis.

Scarcity of food-stuffs and the greed of the purveyors sent up the prices. The four-pound loaf of bread, which, in pre-War days used to cost 5½ d., sold for one shilling, and continues to sell at that price to this day. Beans and lentils cost from four to six times as much as they did before the war. The price of meat advanced to twice or thrice what it had been. Prices of all vegetables ruled high during the Winter and Spring.

Articles of food were scarce as well as abnormally dear. Towards the close of the Winter and during the Spring potatoes were so rare that a facetious green-grocer tacked a potato to a piece of wood and displayed it in his window, much as a lion is exhibited at the Zoological Gardens. In the Spring, "marbles"—small potatoes about the size of marbles—were being sold for three-pence a pound, and even more, as "seed" potatoes, and were being bought for use on the table. Housewives thought themselves lucky to be able to get hold of a single pound of them at a time. Resort was made to the ruse of passing off ordinary potatoes for seed potatoes to evade the

maximum price of one penny three-farthings a pound, fixed by the Government. Shopkeepers sold "Canadian" and "South African" potatoes at five pence to sevenpence a pound, claiming to possess special permits from the authorities to charge higher prices than the official maximum.

The effort put into the growing of vegetables has brought prices down. Onions, however, are dearer than ever. The last time I asked the price of them they were sixpence a pound. They have seldom been below fourpence, or five pence a pound throughout the year.

Sugar continues to be very scarce. The distribution of this necessary article of diet is so irregular that I have heard of families that have not been able to get one-fourth of a pound of it in a week. To remove these irregularities, sugar tickets are to be introduced shortly. The municipal agency will be employed to secure the equitable distribution of this commodity.

The agitation against high food prices continues to be noisy, and the Government is urged to take action against "profiteers"—persons in the wholesale and retail trades who are making excessive profits out of people's necessities. The Food Controller is fixing maximum prices, and creating local committees to regulate prices. The price of bread is to be lowered 25 per cent. by means of a subsidy that will cost £ 40,000,000 a year to the Treasury.

But for the increase in the cost of living, and occasional visits paid by enemy aircraft, many persons in Britain would not know that the most devastating war in the world's history is raging within a few score miles of them. All persons engaged in war industries and shipping are enjoying unprecedented prosperity. Loans floated by the State have been heavily subscribed.

At the beginning of the fourth year of the war, Britain is as determined to carry it on to a successful end, whatever the cost, as she was three years ago.

WAR-WORK AND EASTERN WOMEN 717

BY

MR. G. YASSEN, B.A., BAR-AT-LAW, AMRITSAR.

THE historic annals of Asia are the repositories of much useful and interesting information on the subject of women's work in war. They disclose, with regard to the past, a very high sense of responsibility on the part of Eastern women generally—not merely individual women in respect of war-work. As you take a rapid review of their war-time contributions, the nature and the extent thereof are equally striking and remarkable. The following few cases are intended to illustrate both these points. They will show:—

(1) That in times of War, Eastern women taking up war-work did not rest content with doing mere knitting-work at home for the army, useful as that is in its way. They actually followed the army to the battle-field—some of them to take active part in fighting; others to do such milder duties assigned by customary law to women on war service; and

(2) That this was as true of the select few, who have risen to fame, as of hundred others who, unknown and unsung, sacrificed themselves at the altar of duty well done.

It is hardly possible here to do more than take up a few typical cases from Arabia and India to illustrate my point, and I start with Arabia.

In Arabia—pre-Islamic Arabia—women used to follow their men to war. It appears from the following description by their national poet, Omarb Kalsoom, of the sort of war-work expected of Arabian women, that they were not to do the actual fighting. Their place in the battle-fields was behind the fighting lines where their main work was to succour and tend the wounded. Says Kalsoom:

"Our pretty fair maidens stay behind the fighting lines. We take good care that they are neither insulted nor taken possession of by the enemy.

"They make their husbands promise that in doing their duty they will not spare even their life on the battle-field.

"They follow us to war for the reasons that they may help in capturing the enemy, his horses and ammunition.

"These women... combine beauty with deep religious piety and the status of a high family."

Such was the war-work by the Arabian women of pre-Islamic days. Then came Islam with all its romance and chivalry, its new standards of work and ethical values. But Islam gave the weight of its sanction to the continuance of this old custom. In Islam, women continued to interest themselves in war-work of varied description. Their main duties, where they did not take part in actual fighting, comprised the following items:—

1. Fetching water for the thirsty wounded;
2. Digging out graves;
3. Carrying back the wounded to their own lines from the field;
4. Tending the wounded soldiers;
5. Looking after the food arrangements of the army;
6. In other possible ways to render useful assistance and to encourage the army with determination and will.

I will now cite a few cases proving the active participation of women in war or their leading armies to battle in person.

A.—Cases of individual women taking part in actual fighting:—

On the Arabs returning to Damascus, A.D. 633, the siege was renewed with redoubled vigour. The battle, observes Gibbon, raged with incessant fury; and the dexterity of Thomas, an incomparable archer, was fatal to the boldest Saracens, till

* Professor Syed Spuman, in "Muselman Aurton-ki Bahadri." I am indebted for most of the facts of this article to this brilliant treatise.

their death was revenged by a female heroine. The wife of Aban, who had followed him to the holy war, embraced her expiring husband. "Happy," said she, "happy art thou, my dear: thou art gone to thy Lord who first joined us together, and then parted us asunder. I will revenge thy death, and endeavour to the utmost of my power to come to the place where thou art, because I love thee. Henceforth shall no man ever touch me more, for I have dedicated myself to the service of God." Without a groan, continues the famous author of the "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," without a tear, she washed the corpse of her husband, and buried him with the usual rites. Then gasping the manly weapons, which in her native land she was accustomed to wield, the intrepid widow of Aban sought the murderous place where his murderer fought in the thickest of the battle. Her first arrow pierced the hand of his standard-bearer; her second wounded Thomas in the eye.

Among other individual women known to fame, who took part in actual fighting, are Um-i-Saleem, mother of Unsb. Mallik, who followed Mohamad to most of his defensive wars; Um-i-Imara, wife of Zaidb Asim, who took part in the battle of Yamama against Mosailima; the famous Arabian poetess Kinansa in the battle of Kadisiya; Isma Bint Abubekr, Kaob Bint Malik, Salma Bint Hashim, Nam Bint Kanas—all these took a most valiant part in the battle of Yermook (Hieromax).

B.—Cases where considerable numbers of women did the actual fighting:—

It is common knowledge that in the battle of Yermook, A. D. 636, November, a huge number of women took active part. The last time, to quote Gibbon again, was occupied by the sister of Derar, with the Arabian women who had enlisted in this holy war, who were accustomed to wield the bow and the lance, and who in a moment of captivity had defended their chastity and religion. These women are said to have belonged to the tribe of

Hamyarites and were accustomed to ride on horseback.

Similarly, the conquest of Bukhara by Kotaiba is described to have been exclusively due to the presence of mind and courage shown by women, who had followed the army to the front on active service, at a critical juncture. The army of Caliph Walid, I. had very nearly given way before the determined opposition of a desperate and brave enemy. They were going to beat a retreat when the woman rushed the main scene of conflict and turned the tables against the enemy.

In Indian history, we find that the army—that of Timur—which laid the foundations of the Empire of the Great Moghul, was composed of both men and women. The women of the time of Timur rode on horseback with consummate skill. They were fond of shooting and not unoften they "bagged" big lions. They played polo and were well up in military arts.

Similarly the conquests that fell to Baber in Kabul and Samarkand owed a great deal to women in the army.

C.—Cases of Indian individual women who took part in warfare:—

The name of Razia Sultan, daughter of Shah Alta Mash, is too well known to the Indian reader to need any elaborate introduction. Her military exploits are far-famed. How efficiently she led the army, that effectually suppressed the rebellion against her rule got up by a few of her disaffected nobles like Nizam-ul-Mulk, Malik Saif-ud-Din and Malik Alaud-Din is a matter of history.

Very similar in nature are the exploits of Cul Bihisht, Nur Jahan, Hameed Begum, Poonji Khatoon, Chand Khatoon and others. As the average reader is presumably sufficiently well aware of their doings, it will, I think, do to mention their bare names to make my point.

It should be manifest from cases quoted above that women's war-work in the Orient in the days

of old did not preclude from its scope their proceeding on active service or taking part in actual fighting on behalf of their country or religion. And what is more than that is that such service has often been gladly rendered, when the call of Duty sounded clear and resonant by considerable sections of the community.

As for the six other items detailed above, that normally attracted women in war times, you will find their corroboration at every turning in Asiatic history. They are sanctified by the example of some of the greatest and noblest of Asia. For example, we find no less a person than good and gracious Aiysha, wife of Mohamad, fetching water for the thirsty wounded. It is on record, that the women who had proceeded to the battle-fields of Yermook and Kadisiya did most useful work in digging out graves for the dead, and in tending the wounded.

The women's war-work in the East was founded on purely voluntary basis. It was the sponta-

neous outburst of their soul. No outer agency forced it on unwilling hearts. It was the free-will offering of a free womanhood moved to great action by the call of the stirring times. And in so far as war-work can be traced back to the operation of the Civic Ideal, it is equally interesting to note how the Family Ideal of Asiatic womanhood allowed itself to be modified in this particular respect. I will conclude with a brief extract from an Arab mother's exhortation to her soldier-sons on the eve of the great battle of Kadisiya:—"Dear sons," says she, "when, God willing, the day dawns to-morrow, fall on the enemy like well-experienced men relying on the favour of Almighty for victory, you should make for the direction where you find the conflagration of battle in full blaze. And when the army assumes the offensive, you join in with them and hasten to attack the enemy Generalissimo. May God grant you prosperity in this life and honor in the next."

MECHANISM OF EXCHANGE

BY MR. S. M. PAGAR.

THE main thesis of the book* before us, is to study the nature and functions of money in all its forms, and the modern credit system with a special reference to the Quantity Theory of money. In short the treatise is an elementary text on Money and Banking in peace as well as in war.

Rejecting the usual definition of Economics as the science of the mere wealth-getting and wealth-spending activities of man, Prof. Todd follows the somewhat more specific definition of economics as the science of values, that is, relative values of commodities and of services, and since the latter are expressed in money, the study of money is of the greatest importance.

In connection with the history of exchange and

* The Mechanism of Exchange by John A. Todd, pp. 255, Oxford University Press, 1917.

the development of modern transportation, which is one of the essentials of the modern trading system, in the West and in the East, Prof. Todd significantly notes the sequence. In the former sea-transport came first, while in the East overland routes came first, sea-transport being last.

The usual functions of money such as the medium of exchange, common measure of value, and the standard of deferred payment are described in detail. Enumerating the functions of money in this wise, however, does not suggest to us the importance of the role played by money in economic life. To understand this role one needs to fix one's attention upon the complex mechanism of prices, rather than upon money itself.

This leads us to the discussion of the well-known Quantity Theory of Money viz.—other things being equal, the general level of prices

depends on the amount of money in circulation". This theory is still a bone of contention among economists and financiers, but all will agree with the author in saying that it is only a statement of a tendency—almost incapable of quantitative measurement. But did the war conditions alter our belief in this Theory? After an array of facts Prof. Todd rightly answers in the negative. It is no doubt true, that any marked change in the world's gold supply in either way, may have a corresponding effect on the level of prices, but any cause may alter 'other factors' in the situation such as the rapidity of circulation and the volume of transactions, and thus seriously qualify the result.

Whether we shall have an international paper currency or not, the prospects for paper money within the nation itself are certainly good. It costs less to have paper money and that it is the easiest way of paying one's debts; but the dangers of over-issue are equally great such as those caused by the French Assignats. Hence to prevent over-issue it is proposed, that paper money should be made convertible. In spite of this precaution, the danger of over-issue, however especially when notes are issued by the Government irrespective of the normal needs of commerce and industry, is real.

That London is the money market of the world (at least it was so before the present conflict) and the Bank of England is the centre of this market, and how the latter performs that function most efficiently is the essence of the chapter on the English Banking system.

But all that glitters is not gold. The Bank of England, being the chief reservoir of gold, is subject to 'periodic drains' domestic and foreign. The causes of the latter are generally found in the fluctuations in the rate of exchange, which are mainly due, in England at least, to an excess of imports, and to meet these payments merchants naturally take advantage of the Gold Reserve in the Bank of England.

The discussion of the 'foreign train brings

us to the concluding chapters on the balance of trade and the theory of the International trade. If goods pay for goods in the long run, that is, if both parties give and receive exactly the same value in international trading, what is the gain to either? The obvious answer is that each country derives the greatest utility by producing what it can produce to the greatest advantage. Prof. Todd, however, is well aware of the fact that the trade policies of nations are not ruled by 'cosmic ideals' but by purely selfish national aims (P. 201). England adopted free trade not in the interest of the world, but because it was the best suitable policy to her conditions. In spite of this interference with the "natural order"—so much loved by English Economists, the learned author remarks that the world's trade follows the line of least resistance—that "Lancashire does not grow the cotton it spins nor Egypt spin her own crop on a large scale". This is, indeed, true, but don't the political, i. e. Imperial rather than the economic influences predominate in Egypt and elsewhere?

The usual arguments in favour of protection starting with the "infant industries" argument and ending with the "war necessities" argument are well summarised. His criticism of protection is *a priori* and the analysis on this point is very weak, nor does the author seem to be, regret to say, familiar with some of the recent publications on the subject by Profrs. Taussig and Johnson.

We honestly differ from the author when on (P. 209) he says that the continuation of imports into a protected country means the failure of protection and burden on the home consumer. Prof. Todd forgets that the foreign producer may be a monopolist, a partial monopolist, or a competitor with the domestic producer. Under such conditions it is inaccurate to say that the entire burden falls on the consumer.

On the whole, the treatment of the mechanism of Exchange, though not novel, is the clearest, sanest, and the most logical of all the latter day publications on the subject.

THE FUTURE OF THE JEWS

BY

REV. ARTHUR R. SLATER.

THROUGHOUT her long history, from the time of the Dispersion, the Jewish nation has been forced to fight a hard up-hill battle against legislation, brute force, and deep-rooted prejudice, and it speaks well for the nation that she has retained such a pronounced nationality. Even in countries like Great Britain and the United States, the Jews have had to fight against very strong forces, and they have it most difficult to develop on those purely national lines which they have held so dear through the centuries. In countries like Russia and Germany, they have been subjected to repression which would ordinarily have been sufficient to destroy all the nationalism in a people, but the Jews have survived all the persecutions and limitations placed on them by the rulers and people. Many attempts made to ostracize the Jew have succeeded only in binding him closer to his faith. Doubtless, it has been the persecution that has preserved them as a distinct people, and there is, without doubt, some basis for the theory that, had the Jews been treated with favour by the various peoples among whom they resided, there would have remained little of that strong clannish feeling which is so pronounced. In fact, in England, America, France, and other countries where the shackles have been broken, the national feeling is certainly greatly weakened, and there is a growing tendency for the favoured ones to cast off those distinctive features of their social and religious life. The semi-assimilationist and assimilationist Jews have, from time to time, carried on a propaganda against the national sentiments of certain classes, and they have urged that the Jewish problem is essentially religious, not racial in character. These Jews believe that the future lies not in any scheme which seeks to bring back the Nation to Palestine, but in a fusion with other nationalities as far as political life is concern-

ed, the religious and social customs alone serving to mark out their distinctiveness. This position does not appear to be in favour at the present time, and even those Jewish families which have little desire to return to their old country, strongly believe that the safety of their religion depends on their having a country in which they are free to develop along the lines which their national instincts dictate. The question of nationality has long been a disputed one, but that "the Jews are a nationality is attested by the conviction of the overwhelming majority of Jews throughout all ages right to the present time, a conviction which has always been shared by non-Jews in all countries."

Those who are acquainted with the history of the Jews can scarcely be in any doubt about their nationality, for they are one of the most clearly differentiated races in the world and their special religious beliefs have been potent factors in the conservation of the individuality of the race. Local factors naturally modify the mental and physical character of the various sections of the Jewish people but a mere "change of religion would no more cause the Jews to cease to be Jews than the Japanese were they to abandon Shintoism in favour of some form of Christianity." It is not that the Jew is different from the Gentile; it is that he feels different and that this sense of difference leads him to cherish his own institutions, and to cultivate his own genius. Had the fact of nationality not been ingrained in their very natures, they could not possibly have steadily continued their great fight against almost overwhelming odds, that they might once more obtain a country of their own. This has been the inspiring thought among large sections of Jews for centuries, but never until the present has there appeared any likelihood of the fulfilment of their hopes. During the past century

the shackles have been steadily falling off; and in most countries they enjoy the privileges and rights of citizens. From time to time there are outbursts against them, and within recent years there have been many serious anti-Semitic movements in France, Germany, Austria, Turkey and Russia. During the War there has been an outbreak in Germany, and the reports received show that though some of the most prominent positions are held by Jews, there is a deep underlying enmity between the German people and the Jews residing in the country. Before the War, it may be said that the Jews and the Turks got on tolerably well, but during the past two years they have suffered severely at their hands. Russia probably had the very worst record, and even during the first two years of the War, very strong repressive measures were enacted by the old Government. But under the new regime, a new day has dawned for them, and though their sufferings are unspeakable, they know that the old conditions are passed away for ever, and that they will, in future, be allowed the rights of men. No doubt, there will be sporadic outbreaks even under the Republic, but with their rights duly set forth in the law of the land, the Russian Jews will look to the future with a new hope. In Roumania, too, the Government and people realise the necessity of treating the Jews with more justice, and they have been definitely promised a full measure of liberty. So far, then, as the Jews living throughout the world are concerned, their day of liberty and freedom from organised oppression from Governments, is at hand. Many causes have contributed to this happy state of affairs. There is the gradual increase of that sense of justice which is a feature of the present age, despite so many facts which seem to belie the statement; there is also the fact that the Jews practically in every country have shown themselves willing to fight for their adopted lands. This may be said of all the belligerents

though we are not in a position to judge how far they have responded in the enemy countries, with their readiness. In Great Britain, France, and America, large numbers volunteered, and in connection with the Gallipoli campaign a corps of Jews did excellent service. Apart from all other considerations the Jews have, by their loyal service in the War, deserved the freedom which will be theirs in practically all lands.

Important though this is, and the Jews throughout the world must rejoice that their days of trial are over, there is something more required if the Jews are to obtain what they have so long desired. Palestine is their home, and the hope that once more a remnant should return, has never died. In the dark days the light has flickered low, but again and again it has sprung into flame. In the past fifty years we have seen the steadily-growing movement in favour of a return to Palestine, and the Zionist Movement, as it is called, has received new life since the outbreak of the War. Before, the matter was largely theoretical, for though some small successful colonies were planted there, the Jews, as a whole, felt that there was not sufficient security. The Turks treated fairly and justly these new colonists and went a long way toward meeting their wishes for autonomy. There are about forty settlements, with colonists varying from one hundred to a thousand. The relationship between the colonists and their Arab neighbours is, in every respect, friendly, and the latter readily admit that they have greatly benefited by their work. A recent writer, after a visit to these colonies said, "What has already been achieved entitles one to say with confidence that the country will be a national centre of Judaism to which all Jews will turn with affection, and which will bind all Jews together—a centre of study and learning, of language and literature, of bodily work and spiritual purification, a true miniature of the

people of Israel as it ought to be." The Turks have handed over the government of these colonies to the settlers, and they only interfered in cases of serious crime, and in the matter of taxes. The Jews are now turning their thoughts very seriously to this problem, and they now believe that there is an opportunity such as has never presented itself before in history, of making this movement a real practical one. Insistence is being laid on their claims to a place in their native land, and throughout the world, it is the main topic of discussion among the Jews.

We are, therefore, not surprised that Germany should have jumped to the opportunity and have used all its means to persuade the Jewish people that the fulfilment of their hopes will be most likely through their good offices. No one would be deceived by the German profession of sympathy with national aspirations, but a recent writer in the *New Europe*, has pointed out that many Jews have been inclined to pin their faith in the German authority. "Jewish hatred of Russia has long been tinged with pro-Germanism, since Germany seemed to be the one Power strong enough to overthrow the Russian giant, break down the Pale and open all the Russias to economic exploitation. Moreover, many perhaps, the majority of German Jews, inside and outside Germany heartily believed before the War that German military organisation was destined to rule the world, and that under its aegis their opportunities for trade would be infinite." Great Britain appears to have been quite unsettled as regards the question, and within the last few months there appears to have been very changing attitudes in the members of the Government. The idea of a separate Jewish regiment for service in Palestine was welcomed, but the enthusiasm was soon damped by the sudden volt-face. However, the atmosphere appears to be clear again, and Reuter cabled a few days ago that Mr. Balfour had definitely stated that the Government had

every sympathy with the Zionist aspirations. It now favours the establishment in Palestine of a national home for Jewish people, and will use its best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object. Of course, it is understood that such an object will not interfere or prejudice the religious and social rights of the non-Jewish communities in Palestine.

There has been much misunderstanding about the real facts concerning the Zionist movement. Responsible Zionists do not consider that the attainment of the status of an independent nation in Palestine is practical politics. "In the political sphere all that Zionism asks immediately is autonomy for the Jewish population, present and future, of Palestine, self-government in domestic, in internal matters, an extension of autonomy which the Jewish colonies already enjoy under the Turkish regime, independence in matters of education, of local government, and religion." There are fourteen million Jews in the world, but it is not thought that any but a small fraction of these will be desirous of taking up a new life in Palestine. It is believed that about a million Jews may migrate, and in a land so sparsely populated as Palestine such a number could be accommodated without interfering with the rights of the non-Jews. The Zionists do not seek to have the responsibility of the sacred places, either Christian, Jew, or Muhammadan, but they seek rather a country where they will be able to develop without those restrictions which have always been imposed on them in other countries. It is essentially a spiritual movement, the creation of a spiritual home for the Jewish race. They believe that the granting of a home in their ancient land will afford them an opportunity for a complete expression of the Jewish spirit. Only in the ancient seat of the Jewish race, a restored Judaism to which the Jews of the world can rally, and which shall in time establish a sort of form or standard of a complete Judaism, can

they expect that expression of the spirit of their race.

It will thus be seen that the question of the future of the Jewish race so far as it concerns Palestine is quite independent of the ultimate government of the country. It does not necessitate the removal of one power or government that their claims may be met. But naturally the Zionists are anxious that Palestine shall be incorporated in a country which may be

relied on to continue to them the autonomy they seek and which has proved by its past history that it recognises that unity is not necessarily uniformity. All lovers of freedom will rejoice that the prospect of a restored Judaism is now a matter not only of practical politics, but a very real probability. How the genius of the Jew for self-government will manifest itself will be watched with the greatest interest.

SHAKESPEARE'S ENGLAND: A Review

BY PROF. K. B. RAMANATHA AIYAR, M. A.

THE first plan of the book sketched by Sir W. Raleigh Sir S. Lee elaborated and then arranged for the writing of most of the articles. Out of the abundance of his own collections and researches he further selected appropriate illustrations and had made, by 1911, some progress, when other work made postponement necessary. In 1914 Sir Sidney had to give up all hopes of going on with the work and completing it. In Mr. Onions, co-editor of the Oxford Dictionary and author of the Shakespeare Glossary, the Clarendon Press found one who could carry on the work with the adequate knowledge and equipment for the particular task. In the final result we have two authoritative volumes on the life and manners of Shakespeare's Age, made up of thirty (strictly, forty-three) essays, contributed by experts in the various departments of Elizabethan scholarship.

People impatient of the growing mass of exegetical and critical apparatus of Shakespearean scholarship may say that the play is the thing wherein you must catch the conscience of the reader. About the supreme importance of studying the play itself there will be no difference of

opinion. But to study the play with any degree of full literary appreciation a serious effort must be made by the reader to place himself in the environment that the drama had. The volumes before us are eminently helpful to make the Shakespeare student realise the milieu of the Elizabethan or Shakespearean drama and, with some imaginative effort, to recapture the first rapture. A knowledge of the political, social, religious condition of the people of England in the reign of Elizabeth, of what London was like then, of the Elizabethan play-house, of actors and their vocation, of authors and patrons, of booksellers and the trade, of the life of the English people, of their homes, their costumes, their sport and pastimes will give the student of the drama a more vivid feeling of what he reads than he would have without such knowledge. To one unversed in such lore, Elizabethan literary expression would be a 'sleepy language. Lamb's paradox about Shakespeare's plays must not be taken too literally. As the late Mr. Rupert Brooke puts it: "To judge *The Duchess of Malfi*." [or Hamlet or Othello] from the book of the words which we happen to possess is a little like judging a great picture by a good photograph of it. The general plan is given you, and you see

* John Webster and the Elizabethan Drama. p. 24.

all the lines, and shapes and shading; and you have to supply the colour by an effort of the imagination. Much genuine æsthetic pleasure can be got from this; but none would be so rash as to assume that, after that, he knew the picture. With plays, people are more presumptuous. But an honest man will sadly have to acknowledge that in the text we have only the material for a rough, partial and hesitating appreciation of *The Duchess of Malfi*; and that this is the truer because it is an Elizabethan play, that is to say, it is written in a language somewhat different from ours, and pronounced differently too, and it was performed in conditions we do not completely know and cannot at all realise. It was composed for an audience accustomed to the platform stage and no scenery; which we can never be. It was composed for the stage and we judge it as literature; we are only readers. It is right enough to attempt to realise imaginatively Elizabethan plays as plays. It is right enough to admire their great literary merit and their rather accidental power as study-drama. But, after all, we have only the text—and that, a not always trustworthy one, one factor of several in the play, a residue, fragments of the whole. We are like men who possess sweet-smelling shards of a jar which once held perfumes, and know, how fragrant it must have been; but the jar is broken and the perfumes lost." In the attempt to piece the shards together, to catch the evanescent perfumes, the present work will prove most serviceable.

The Tercentenary Ode by the Poet Laureate on 'the myriad-hearted one,' 'the master of human song,' appropriately prefaces the book. In the first Essay Sir Walter Raleigh describes the salient characteristics of the *Age of Elizabeth*, the character of the Queen and of her influence on the age, the political beliefs and habits of thought as expressed by the representative man of his time, Shakespeare, the changes wrought in the

daily life of the people, the gradual rise in the standard of comfort as indicated in the style of building, food, clothing, &c., the more intangible changes of thought and outlook on life. In the last Mr. Henry Bradley gives what must be regarded as adequate treatment—to those that do not set up as specialists—of pronunciation, grammar, words and their meanings, colloquial English, and dialect.

Any attempt to indicate with fulness the varied wealth of the information conveyed in the 1000 pp. of the book and the illustrations is impossible and we must content ourselves with a reference to some of the Essays bringing out the illuminating nature of the comments on Shakespeare.

In the Essay on Religion, Rev. Mr. Bayne shows how in *King John* the politics of the 16th century are carried back into the 12th, and how even in the polished version of Shakespeare's, bluff King Hal speaks in the person of King John. Pandolph's ex-communication is definite and pointed in reference to Queen Elizabeth's case.

Here is an account of Shakespeare's attitude to the Puritans:

"In *Twelfth Night*, Maria is asked by Sir Toby to tell him something of Malvolio; she answers:

Maria, Sir, sometimes he is a kind of Puritan.

Sir Andrew. O! if I thought that, I'd beat him like a dog.

Sir Toby. What, for being a puritan? Thy exquisite reason, dear knight?

Sir Andrew. I have no exquisite reason for it, but I have reason good enough.

Mari. The devil a Puritan that he is, or anything constantly but a time-server.

The reference to the surplice in *All's Well* has been quoted already. Shortly before that allusion the clown declares that 'Young Charbon the Puritan and old Poysan the Papist, howsome'er their hearts are severed in religion' (I. iii, 36) are married men, run the same risks. Malqne suggests that the nicknames are derived from the fiery zeal of the Puritan and the Papist's

* *Shakespeare's England; An account of his life and manners of his age: Clarendon Press, Oxford. 25s. net/1917.*

fish diet on fast days. Again in *Pericles*, in a scene which has some Shakesperian touches in it, it is said of Marina that

She would make a Puritan of the Devil if he should cheapen a kiss of her. (IV. VI. 9).

Finally, the clown in the *Winter's Tale*, speaking of the Shearers, says that there is

But one Puritan amongst them, and he sings Psalms to horn pipes, (IV. ii 47-8).

In *Twelfth Night* there is a mention of a separatist sect, when Sir Andrew remarks :

Policy I hate: I had as lief be a Brownist as a politician.

These references are all slight and casual. That Shakespeare was not a Puritan, any more than he was a Papist, we gather from the general tenor of his plays and the central facts of his life rather than from any direct attacks upon Puritanism in his writings. The sketch of the credulous self-love of Malvolio was no doubt suggested in the main by Puritan preciseness, but Shakespeare's treatment of the character is kindly and could give offence to no reasonable person. At the same time in Sir Toby's exclamation:

Dost thou think, because thou art virtuous, there shall be no more cakes and ale? (Tw. N. II iii. 124-5).

We have a proof that Shakespeare fully understood the problem of which Puritanism always desired to cut the knot. Still more impartial and extraordinary even among Shakespeare's dramas for its infinite suggestiveness is the play of *Measure for Measure*. In *Angelo* the Puritan is dealt with seriously, almost tragically, just as in *Malvolio* he is dealt with comically, with admirable tact. "It is not the Puritan as a political person who is the subject of the drama, but the universal Puritan who is a part of everyman's mental and moral equipment."

The Hon'ble J. W. Fortescue's 'Army' lights up many a passage in Shakespeare and he shows how slender Shakespeare's equipment was in matters military. Rev. Bayne draws attention similarly to the slender vocabulary of Shakespeare

in the technicalities of religion. These remarks must make us recognise that Shakespeare was human and had his limitations. In Viscount Dillon's 'Armour and Weapons' there is an illuminating note on an Othello passage 'It is a sword of Spain, the ice-brook's temper'. The Variorum notes of Furness (p. 321. l. 315) will have to be added to and the Quarto readings preferred.

Vol. I. p. 132. "So the modern version, but in the earliest printed edition, 1622, it was Ice-brook's temper. Icebrook was the English name for Innsbruck in the Tyrol, whence some of the best steel was imported into England from the early part of the sixteenth century until the Civil War. This steel was used for the manufacture of Armour in England, and 'Icebrook' and other variants of spelling (Isbroka, Hysbroka, Isprugk etc.) can be found in documents quoted in the calendars of State papers from April 1517 to April 1595. Moreover, warm water of various degrees of heat was used here, as in Japan, by the famous swordsmith Musamane, for tempering the blades. Othello's expression merely means a Spanish blade of the best Innsbruck temper." Mr. Brett-Smith (Modern Language Review, April 1917) is willing to accept the above as a conclusive interpretation of the crux in *Othello*.

Nares, and following him Schmidt, and Onions, all explain the significance of suburbs in Portia's reproach of her dwelling in the suburbs of Brutus' good pleasure, but Wheatley's account of Suburban London adds a touch of vividness to what one might have been familiar with.

Among the more noticeable articles we would particularly call the attention of the student to those on the Play-house, Actors and Acting Rogues and Vagabonds, Scholarship and Hand-writing.

Without exaggeration it can be said there is infinite riches in the small compass of the two volumes and every serious Shakespeare student and School and college library must hasten to purchase this addition to the number of our silent but informing comrades.

THE RT. HON. E. S. MONTAGU

BY MR. S. SATYAMURTHY, B.A., B.L.

IN these days of Democracy and Republicanism it is not a common phenomenon to find many individuals having the vast powers which His Majesty's Secretary of State for India has. He is theoretically responsible to the British people through their Parliament; but, in practice, only to his conscience, and occasionally to the Cabinet of which he is a member. This is the result of historical accidents into which we need not enter here. India has no reason to complain of this, if she can always get a Secretary of State of the character, the attainments and the sympathetic imagination of the Rt. Hon. Mr. Edwin Samuel Montagu.

Mr. Montagu was born in 1879, and is thus the youngest member of the Cabinet. He is the second son of the late Lord Swaythling, formerly Member of Parliament for Whitechapel. He was educated at Clifton and Trinity Colleges, Cambridge, and distinguished himself at the Cambridge Union of which he was the President. His brother is the second Baron Swaythling, the head of the Banking Firm of Samuel Montagu & Co., London. "Of slight build, with dark complexion, and raven black hair, and a shrewd kindly face, with beaming eyes under spectacles, the first impression, it is said, gained of Mr. Montagu, is one of suavity, tact, and reticence. By birth a Jew, an oppressed race, Mr. Montagu perhaps has an instinctive hatred of all that smacks of tyranny."

Mr. Montagu entered Parliament in 1906 as one of the representatives of Cambridgeshire when he was 27, on the crest of a great wave of Liberalism. He is generally of a retiring disposition. Mr. Asquith early recognised the great ability behind his retiring disposition and appointed him his Parliamentary Private Secretary. He held this appointment for four years, from 1906 to 1910. In his 31st year, Mr. Montagu

was appointed Under-Secretary of State for India with a Parliamentary experience of four years. From February, 1910, to February, 1914, until his appointment as Financial Secretary to the Treasury, he discharged the duties of this trying office in a manner which is largely responsible for the high hopes which India now builds upon him.

In his Budget Speeches * Mr. Montagu showed himself to be a man of large ideas and generous enthusiasm. In his very first Budget Speech he disposed of the "microscopic minority" theory as applied to the educated classes of India in his characteristic way.

We must remember, however, that the amount of yeast necessary to leaven a loaf is very small; when the majority have no ideas or views, the opinion of the educated minority is the most prominent fact in the situation.

In these anxious times we have often been told by our critics that the Indian members of the Legislative Councils will prove themselves unfit to carry on the administration if they are given the power of the purse. Here is Mr. Montagu's testimony given as early as 1910:—"The one (salient point) is the admirable dignity, and sense of responsibility displayed by the non-official members."

Again, in 1911, he spoke of the standard of work in the new Legislative Councils as worthy of the highest praise.

Mr. Montagu has the vision to see that India is changing fast, as fast as if not faster than the West. If that was true in 1911, how much truer is it now. Mr. Montagu has a high conception of the patriotism of Indians. "In India, Hinduism teaches a fierce love of India itself, the Motherland, which is so wonderful as to be an example of love of country to the whole world, the

* "Speeches on Indian Questions." By the Rt. Hon. Mr. Montagu. Price Re. 1 8 as. G. A. Natesan & Co., Sunkurama Chetty Street, Madras.

love of country produced by worship of God." He has a high idea of England's mission in India. "And, when at intervals this well-ordered thought shows to us that they (Indians) have made social and political advance to another stage and demand from us, in the name of the responsibility we have accepted, that they should be allowed still further to share that responsibility with us, I hope we shall be ready to answer with prudence." India is now making that demand and she need have no anxiety as to the answer, so far as it lies in Mr. Montagu's power.

In 1912, Mr. Montagu visited India, and had the advantage of meeting almost all Indian leaders and knowing at first hand, India's wants and aspirations. Mr. Montagu said of his journey in India in the House of Commons, "I can only say that it would be almost impossible for me to forget the cordial assistance given by British and Indian officials and non-officials alike in my eager desire to find out what we could do to help them, and I shall endeavour to prove my gratitude by helping to bring about, as time goes on, some of the many schemes of reform which were advocated to me abroad."

Mr. Montagu is a man of sincerity and earnestness. Talking of the work of the Public Services Commission he said in 1913, "Mere lip service to a formula is worthless. I wish to appeal to British and Indians alike, to make this co-operation a real thing, by inspiring with the vital elements of tact, sympathy, and sincerity, the instruments of success in India." He holds very strong views on the abuse of 'prestige.'

We do not hold India by invoking this well-mouthed word. We must hold it by just institutions and more, and more, as time goes on, by the consent of the governed. That consent must be based on the respect which we shall teach them for the progressive justice of the Government in responding to their legitimate demands.

Mr. Montagu became Financial Secretary to the Treasury in 1914; was appointed a Privy Councillor in January 1915, entered the Cabinet in February 1915, but left it for his former

post at the Treasury, in May. He returned to the Cabinet in January 1916, as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and became Minister of Munitions in July, 1916. It was from this office that Mr. Montagu was summoned by Mr. Lloyd George to take up the high and onerous office of Secretary of State for India. Mr. Montagu had already shown himself to be a close and sympathetic student of Indian affairs. But, he was too unconventional, and too progressive to please the Anglo-Indian official who believes in making India go to sleep while he will do everything for her. And Mr. Montagu had committed the 'grave blunder' of making an epoch-making speech in the House of Commons on the report of the Mesopotamia Commission in which he mercilessly exposed the defects of the Indian bureaucracy and pleaded, with all the earnestness he could command for responsible government for India. This speech set the nerves of the reactionaries in England on edge, and there were not wanting some newspapers who gravely warned Mr. Lloyd George against the folly of appointing Mr. Montagu to this high office. India cannot, therefore, be sufficiently thankful to Mr. Lloyd George for his courage and wisdom in appointing Mr. Montagu, and giving him a practically free hand. India hopes and prays that Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Montagu will continue in their high offices long enough to lead India along the road to the 'Promised Land.'

Mr. Montagu's views on Indian Reforms are clearly and forcibly expressed in his Mesopotamian speech. It may be mentioned here that, after his appointment as Secretary of State for India he has said that the opinions which he gave expression to in that great speech are the opinions which he still holds.

Mr. Montagu's presence at the India Office has already made itself felt. The memorable announcement of the 20th of August has for the first time laid down "the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible Government in India" as the policy of His Majesty's Government. Perhaps the more important part of the announcement is the decision to take substantial steps in this direction as soon as possible. Mr. Montagu is in India now to consider what those steps shall be. And if only India is true to herself, she need have no fear that Mr. Montagu will not rise equal to the occasion.

THE BI-CAMERAL SYSTEM*

BY

MR. A. NARAYANA MENON, B.A., B.L.

THE bi-cameral system of legislature is a system by which legislation is carried on by two Chambers like the two Houses of the British Parliament. Students of history might, in the course of their reading, have come across experiments at legislation by a single Chamber. This is legislation by a unicameral system. Now, history has conclusively proved that unicameralism is a failure and that bi-cameralism is in every way preferable to unicameralism. The history of England under the Commonwealth gives us instances of the evils of unicameralism in legislation. Histories of other countries also have given a verdict in favour of bi-cameralism. Why is this? You will naturally ask. Henry Sidgwick says, "The main end for which a Senate (i.e., a second Chamber) is constructed is that all legislative measures may receive a second consideration by a body different in character from the primary representative assembly and if possible superior and supplementary in intellectual qualifications". Bagehot is equally clear on the point. He says "Though besides an ideal House of Commons . . . the Lords would be unnecessary and therefore pernicious, beside the actual House a revising and leisured legislature is extremely useful, if not quite necessary." The "Ideal House of Commons", thought of by him must be one "perfectly representing the nation, always moderate, never passionate, abounding in men of leisure, never omitting the steady and slow forms necessary for good consideration". Such a Legislative chamber exists nowhere in this world and hence the need of a second Chamber. Sir Henry Maine says, "What then is expected of a well-constituted second Chamber is not a rival infallibility,

but an additional security. It is hardly too much to say that in this view almost any second Chamber is better than none." Beside the danger of a unicameral legislature being apt to be swayed by passing passions it is dangerous in another way. It grows despotic and assertive when once it gets the whole power of legislation into its own hands. John Stuart Mill says "The same reason which induced the Romans to have two consuls, makes it desirable there should be two Chambers, that neither of them may be exposed to the corrupting influence of undivided power, even for the space of a single year". Another reason for the existence of a second Chamber is the need of giving adequate representation to the aristocratic element of the country in order to counterbalance the undue preponderance of the masses in the House of Representatives. The argument for this is that man for man the rich have more important interests to protect than the poor. Here the reference is not to mere private interests but to those social interests which are indissolubly bound up with private ones. An illustration will make the point clear. Excessive interferences with the management of industrial capital may be beneficial to the interests of labour, but it is objectionable not because it reduces the profits of individuals, but because it certainly diminishes the inducements to invest capital and as a consequence deters the social progress of the country in the industrial direction.

We have attempted above, to vindicate the cause of bi-cameralism in general. We have still to consider the question with reference to the Mother of Parliaments. But before we come to it we have to take a general survey of the history which made the English Parliament, what it is to-day; for, the bi-cameral system in reference to that legis-

*A paper prepared for the Ernakulam Literary Union.

lature was "evolved out of a series of constitutional accidents". The principle of the "Representation of Estates" was recognised in England, in as early a period of history as the year of the Model Parliament, i.e., the year 1295. But, then, three estates appear to have been represented in the Parliament—the lay, barons, the clergy and the common folk. The purpose of summoning these three estates was mainly to contribute to the financial necessities of the Kingdom. Though that Parliament contained the representatives of three estates, separately called in, it did not grow itself into a body of three Chambers or of one Chamber, as could naturally be expected. This was due to two causes:—There took place a session of the representatives of the Capitular Clergy from those of the parochial clergy resulting in the Spiritual Peers taking their seat with the Temporal ones. The Knights of the Shire who were mostly sons of barons and who could naturally be expected to go in with the barons kept aloof from them and joined hands with the burghers. The net result of all these was the advent of the bi-cameral system in the British Parliament. The House of Commons was given both weight and dignity by the presence of the Knights who were socially allied to the barons and thus served as an invaluable link between the two Houses. The almost purely hereditary character of the House of Lords and the largeness of the number in the House are of comparatively modern origin. Till the Reformation the House was neither predominantly lay, nor predominantly hereditary. The destruction of the Abbeys and monasteries in 1539 gave the lay element in the House numerical superiority. Still the number was not too large. The 17th, 18th and especially the 19th centuries were characterised by a lavish creation of peers. There were some attempts at checking the exercise of this Royal Prerogative. In the 18th century the Peerage Bill was introduced with that pur-

pose; but Walpole attacked it, and wisely. If the Bill had become law the House would have become the nest of an exclusive oligarchical caste. Now, it is capable of being recruited from the best brains of the country and, it has become the "safety valve of the British constitution" enabling the Government to advise the King to swamp the House to avoid any impending revolution. This was what we saw in 1832 and again in 1911. Notwithstanding the necessity of this Royal Prerogative remaining unclipped and unchallenged, we have to admit the mournful truth that the prerogative has been, especially in the 19th century so very lavishly exercised as to make the present day House of Lords both an unwieldy and a predominantly hereditary House. We have now in the House of Lords a little over 550 English peers, leaving out of account the Irish peers, the Scottish peers, the Spiritual Lords and the Life Peers. Legislation in England is carried on by the King, and by the two Houses of Parliament. But, it must not be supposed that the function of the House of Lords is confined to legislation. From an early period of history that Chamber secured some judicial powers also; it has the right to try barons at the first instance and it has extensive appellate jurisdiction in matters civil. The conflict between it and the House of Commons with regard to original jurisdiction in civil cases and kindred matters are not within the scope of this paper. We are mainly concerned with its powers of legislation. Before coming to that I have to impress upon you one thing. Though the House of Lords is attended by a large majority of hereditary peers we are not to assume that people attend that House by right of being the proprietors or the landlords of certain baronies. This question was decided in the Berkley-Peerage Case. Barons now attend the House, because they or their ancestors received writs of summons from the King and not because they hold any land direct from the King, as was the case at the beginning of the history of the House of Lords.

To return to the bi-cameral system of legislature as obtained in England. Here we have little or nothing to say of the House of Commons. It is attended by the representatives of the people elected by electorates of the people; each member sits there only for the life of a Parliament. For these reasons, among others, it is not subjected to much criticism. The only serious attack levelled against it is that there the members vote, not according to their likes and dislikes of particular measures but according to their likes and dislikes of the person who brings in a Bill—if he is a member of the Government, he is supported if he belong to the Opposition, in the majority of cases, down goes his Bill, whatever might be the intrinsic reasons for its adoption. Exceptions to this general rule very rarely occur; once a Government measure is defeated or once an opposition measure is supported, the Government of the day either resigns or approaches the King for a dissolution of the House to be followed by a re-election. In either case, the object is to bring about the usual state of things.

It is more in reference to the House of Lords that we have to discuss the question of the bi-cameral system in England, for it is against that House that very frequently serious charges have been levelled. Since almost all the criticisms have a direct bearing upon the legislative capacities of the House, it will certainly be fruitful if we first of all try to learn what the characteristics and qualifications of the House as a law-making body are.

In theory the powers of legislation of that House are co-ordinate with those of the House of Commons, with only one exception. This is but the theory. The exception has reference to matters of taxation. By a slow process of evolution the formula that grants are made "by the Commons with the advice and assent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal" came to be adopted in England. Since the 14th century there has been

little or no deviation from the path. At first separate Bills on separate items of Taxation were presented before the Houses of Parliament. Later on a consolidated Bill, comprehensive of all items of national expenses took their place. The House of Commons passed it and sent it up to the "Other House." That House was asked either to accept it or to reject it; no amendment was tolerated. To reject it, meant the rendering of the machinery of Government an impossibility in every sense of the term. So, no House dared to adopt such a position. Advantage was taken of this and in the 18th century we find the practice of tacking, i.e., adding on to Money Bills on alien matters, slowly adopted by some political schemers. As we have stated above, apart from matters touching the purse of nation, in theory at least the House of Lords has co-ordinate powers of legislation with the House of Commons. We should enquire how far the theory tallies with the practice. In the matter of private bills, no doubt the House enjoys co-ordinate powers. But it is not so with regard to Bills dealing with important public matters. All important measures are usually first introduced in the House of Commons—this is especially the case under the Liberal Governments, which want to belittle the importance of the "Other House" as far as possible. Here the House of Lords occupies an inferior position. The measures reach it after their consideration by the House of Commons which amends them wherever necessary and in the majority of cases little or nothing by way of alteration or amendment requires to be done by the Lords. It is only in this way that the Lower House occupies a higher position; it has no power of initiation at all, for it is in almost all cases the Cabinet that decides the matters in which legislation is necessary for England. The Cabinet has got a majority in the Lower House; and hence it introduces its measures first in that House; thus the

Commons alone get a first view of the matter for which they are asked to vote. This is what we ought to understand when we say that the Lords have not co-ordinate powers of legislation with the Commons in public matters of legislation.

Another characteristic of the House of Lords is that it never determines the fate of a Ministry—it is not “a Government-making organ”, as Prof. Seeley puts it. It is defeat in the Commons that a Government must avoid and not one in the Lords.

It must be said to the credit of the House of Lords that debates in the House are “real” ones and that they affect votes. Unlike the case in the Commons, where party discipline is in its highest perfection, in the House of Lords the number of votes for or against a measure cannot be even guessed beforehand. It is an excellent arena for the discussion of matters, which, though of grave national importance, are not yet certain of being ripe for legislative enactments, of matters on which party opinion is still undefined and of matters (like the question of National defence) which do not come within the four walls of party politics. The House has leisure, independence and courage. Says an eminent writer, “Besides independence to revise judicially and power to revise effectually it has leisure to revise intellectually. ‘Amendment as well as revision’ is its chief function. In the case of measures of ‘Secondary party importance’, its effect is invaluable. Not so in the case of matters of primary party importance, where the propriety of its use is open to question. Undoubtedly the result would be mischievous if not revolutionary if it threw out matters on which the views of the electorates were clearly expressed at a recent election which returned the existing Government to power.

The House is useful in another way. It provides “a reservoir for Cabinet ministers” who cannot be spared by the Government but who are too old and sickly to be able to cope with the

activity, energy and bustle which characterise the Lower House.

Bagehot has said that the House is an ‘ineffective barrier to revolution’; true; but we have also to admit that before passing revolutionary measures, it can conveniently and certainly ascertain, if it wants, that the revolutionary change is one really desired by the electorates, so far as they were not submitted to the electorates at the time when their votes were given to the Government which consequently came to power. But the only complaint that can be made with regard to the use of this right is that the House appears to realise it only during the days of the Liberals, for, with the Conservatives, they are all submissive.

Even from the last quarter of the 19th century Statesmen in England have been trying to reform the House of Lords. Their object and ideal has ever been to establish bi-cameralism on unassailable lines. With this motive, suggestions for reform have been made from different standpoints. Some have required statutory restrictions to be imposed on the powers of the House of Lords. This was what the Parliament Act of 1911 actually did. The rejection of the Finance Bill of 1909, which contained, according to the House of Lords, some provisions which had nothing to do with financial matters, but which tried to legislate for England on some social lines, was the immediate cause of the Act of 1911. Its provisions may be summarised thus:—

I. “Any money Bill which the House of Lords refuses to pass in the form in which it has come up from the Commons may become law by the signification of the Royal Assent. The decision as to which is a money Bill rests with the Commons.”

II. “Public Bills other than money Bills or a Bill extending the maximum duration of Parliament may also become law without the consent of the House of Lords provided they have been passed by the Commons in three successive

sessions of the same or of consecutive Parliaments and provided also that two years have elapsed between the second reading in the first session of the House of Commons and the third reading in that House in third session. The Bills in question must be sent up to the Lords at least one month before the end of each session.”

A set of politicians want alterations to be effected in the constitution and composition of the House of Lords. Another set wants restrictions of powers to go along with the change in the composition and constitution of the House. These two subjects can be conveniently discussed together. In 1876 and 1887 alteration of the constitution of the House was resorted to by enabling the Crown to create a certain number of Life peers known as Lords of Appeal in Ordinary. In 1871 bankrupt peers were disqualified from sitting and voting in the House of Lords. These were the reforms actually given effect to, in furtherance of the above objects. But, these have not gone a long way. Earl Russell tried to create Life peers in 1869. Changes in the number and mode of return of Scottish and Irish peers were suggested on two or three occasions. But none of these succeeded. Lord Rosebury came out with more ambitious and radical schemes. Lord Salisbury suggested some changes, but presumably he was not earnest about them, else he would have succeeded since there never lived another peer in England who was equally popular with the common folk as also with the aristocracy, as was that noble lord. It was in 1888 that Lord Rosebury's first Bill saw the light of day. In that, among others he wanted (1) the whole body of peers including Irish and Scottish ones to delegate a specified number of peers to sit as their representatives, for some definite time, in the House of Lords, (2) a large body of elected peers to be introduced—elected by large municipalities or by County boards or by the House of Commons or by all the three, (3)

the addition of Life and Official peers, (4) the adjustment of the proportion of the various elements, (5) the great self-governing colonies to be allowed to send their agents. (Undoubtedly the noble lord ignored the claims of India; probably, according to him, India was not ripe for enjoying such a privilege then!) and (6) in the case of disputes between the two Houses of Parliament, His Lordship suggested joint session to be held, to adjust matters of differences. These suggestions were thrown overboard by the Parliament of 1888. Similar suggestions were made by Lords Dunraven and Salisbury. Lord Newton introduced a Bill suggesting reforms; but he withdrew it in 1907 and this led to the appointment of a Select Committee of peers with Lord Rosebury as President to report on the matter of reform of the House of Lords. The report was submitted in 1908.

From the foregoing discussion of the subject one thing is clear. Almost all the political thinkers are agreed on one point. The Senate is an essential organ of every legislature. Some of the members of the Labour Party no doubt desire its abolition; but, evidently, they do it by forgetting all the lessons furnished by history on the subject. While many are for the preservation of the “Upper House” very few would vote for its preservation on the model of the English House of Lords. As Marriot says, “To devise a good second Chamber, to discover for it a basis which shall be at once intelligible and differentiating, to give it powers of revision without powers of control, to make it amenable to permanent public sentiment and yet independent of transient public opinion, to erect a bulwark against revolution without interposing a barrier to reform—this is a task which has tired the ingenuity of constitution makers from time immemorial.” To add to the difficulty so far as the British Empire is concerned, we hear now from all quarters of the Empire and reasonably too, the cry for the re-

modelling of the constitution of the Empire on a federal basis. With that change, a change of the constitution of the two Houses of Parliament on a basis hitherto not seriously thought of will have to be brought about. That change must evidently be from a federal standpoint. This is the last point to which I will advert myself.

To clearly understand what that is, a clear knowledge of the fundamental requirements of a federation appears to be essential. A federal State is a single State constituted of parts which may have been, *though not of necessity*, sovereign States previous to their union. After the union no part retains any sovereign power at all. Their union "becomes legally indissoluble so far as the action of the separate State Governments or of the Central Government is concerned." Dissolution can be effected only by constitutional amending process, where provision for such is made. A federation should be distinguished from a confederation. A confederacy is not a single state. It is a collection of independent sovereign bodies united on stated terms, only for certain defined purposes. Each of them can bid farewell to the union whenever it pleases. None of the separate States parts with its sovereignty in a confederation; but in a federation sovereignty is taken away from the separate States and vested in the Central Government. The federal principle acts as a connecting link between separate States without at the same time allowing smaller factors to be devoured by larger ones. It "supplies the means of creating a single State combining the whole powers of its members for international defence and for matters of general interest *without sacrificing the individual life and political susceptibilities of the component parts*". Historically, the prime motive of federation has been the need of defence. Closely connected to this is the fact that in foreign relations, the federation must conduct itself as a single unit. Since neither of the above can be effectually carried on without finance, it is necessary that the federal Government should have

some power of taxing individual citizens. To cover urgent and temporary needs the financial power must include the power to borrow also. These three powers—the conduct of war and defence, the control of foreign affairs and the power to raise money—are the prime essentials of a federation and these powers must always be strictly under the cognisance of the central power in the federation.

As indicated above, many of the present day politicians want to transform the constitution of the British Empire into a federation. As it is many types of Governments are to be seen in the Empire, so much so that it cannot be properly defined except by the use of negative terms. Some of the self-governing colonies demand the transformation of the Empire into a Federation. Since the outbreak of the war the demand has been put forward more and more loudly; but it is doubtful whether all of them at least will allow dependencies like India and the Crown Colonies to be raised to their level as factors of the British Federation. At least we have heard the views of Mr. Curtis of the Round Table. Now, the Indian demand is, and we are clear on the point, that the Dependencies and the Crown colonies also must occupy the same position of equality and privilege in the federal union as the Self-Governing Colonies aspire for, by the side of Great Britain and Ireland. India at least does not want to serve new masters as a result of the introduction of a federal form of government for the Empire. The result that we look to by the transformation that is anticipated is that each factor of the British federation will have a voice in matters of foreign relation and in matters of general interest, "without sacrificing," at the same time, "the individual life and political susceptibilities of the component parts."

BRAHMA DARSANAM

BY

MR. P. V. SUBRAMANYAM, M.A.

THE book* comprises a series of six lectures delivered by the author in Norway. As the author himself admits in the preface, the book is in no way a systematic treatise. Partly because it is a series of lectures delivered *extempore* and partly because it deals with the subject of Brahma-Darsanam or the Intuition of the Absolute as viewed by the six systems of Indian Philosophy, it contains discourses on various topics, though sometimes disconnected.

The first lecture opens with a definition of 'Darsanam' as "seeing with the divine eye" and then points out that the six systems of Indian Philosophy have only one aim viz., Liberation from ignorance, misery and imperfection and therefore are concerned with the discovery of ways and means of attaining Liberation. Two such ways are conceivable, says the author, (1) by the extinction of the soul, (2) by the soul's realisation of its true relation to God. He then rightly repudiates the view that the Buddha upheld the former, by citing an instance from the Buddha's preachings where it is clear that the Buddha meant only an extinction of the lower passionate ego and not of the immortal soul. After briefly alluding to the difficulties in settling the chronology of Hindu Philosophic Literature, the author passes on to the qualifications of a student of the six Darsanas. He maintains that among other qualifications, the student should have fulfilled certain duties towards the world and should possess a sort of mental equilibrium. The author then contrasts European with Indian Philosophy. While in the case of the former,

morality and religion are isolated, in the latter, there is a happy blending of all. Because the Darsanas base their assumptions on the Vedas, faith and reason go hand in hand without any breach. The Indian Philosopher basing his faith on the Supreme Being traces all his sufferings and miseries to a definite cause and is thus enabled to take up a kind of definite attitude towards life. Here the author reveals his leanings towards *Advaitism* by pointing out it is the highest kind of attitude taken towards life.

The second lecture presents the essence of Kapila's system in a nutshell. After showing that Kapila's theory of knowledge is essentially empiricistic the author points out that his whole system is characterised by a deep moral sentiment. The four ethical tenets of Kapila are briefly (1) the eternity of the soul (2) the imperishability of human feelings, thoughts and actions (3) rebirth according to the law of Karma (4) Liberation, the ultimate goal. Then follows a lucid exposition of Kapila's cosmology, the assumption of two independent existences, *Prakriti* or unmanifested, matter and *Purusha*, the spirit; the emergence of the first determinate entity, *Mahat*, owing to the contact of the two indeterminate entities; the evolution of the *Ahamkara* are the ego out of this *Mahat* and the emanations of the several states of consciousness out of this ego; these are some of the most important stages in the world-evolution.

In the third lecture after referring to the apparent conflict between science and religion, the author concludes that scientific reasoning is essentially limited in scope in so far as "it gives preference to a part over the whole of human experience." He then remarks that there are several ways of approaching Truth, through

* *Brahma Darsanam or The Intuition of the Absolute* being an Introduction to the Study of Hindu Philosophy. By Ananda Acharya, Macmillan & Co.

science, through religious mysticism, through philosophy. But the author's argument can be made use of to show how limited in scope each of these will be if it is independent of the rest. On the other hand does not Modern Philosophy with the help of Psychology aim at a scientific explanation of all the experiences of life including those of the external phenomena, of the intense feelings of the religious mystic, etc?

The fourth lecture begins with an analysis of the contents of the individual's consciousness and passes on to the inference that there is behind all the passing mental states a substratum called *Aksharam* or the Imperishable or the consciousness of the Absolute. Evidently following Sankara the author asserts that this consciousness of the Absolute can at best be described only in the negative, and that it is only out of this Imperishable one the Personal God is evolved. The distinction between two such Gods is necessitated, says the author, by the difference in the levels of spiritual perception and also by the nature of human language through which experience has to express itself. All religious minds are then classified into Dwaitic, Vishistadwaitic and Advaitic. These minds either perceive no similarity between God and themselves and pray Him for protection or recognise similarity in essence between Him and them with a difference in quality and power and are devoted to Him, or perceive an absolute identity and meditate upon it; but in no case, says the author, do they hold God to be the Creator. He only appears either as a benefactor or as a loveable Personality or as an intuitive flash of Truth. The lecture then closes with a sketch of Ramanuja's position.

In the fifth lecture "the psychological foundations of Advaitistic Philosophy" are brought out.

The sixth lecture attempts to establish Monism as the truth of life. After describing the evolution of the cosmos out of the primordial ether or *Akasa* and the composition of the spirit, the soul

and the body, the author contrasts Vedanta with Samkhya Philosophy. While the latter is dualistic and hence unsatisfactory, the former is monistic and offers a satisfactory solution of the problem of life. In the course of his defence of Monism, the author says that when once we question about man and the world, we bring ourselves into the lower world, for in the higher world there is no question and answer, but since everything in the lower world is an illusion, is not the conception of the possibility of a higher world necessarily an illusion?

Further the monistic standpoint is abandoned when the tacit assumption is made of the unaccounted existence of Maya on the one hand and Avidya its epistemological counter-part on the other. In passing the author remarks that the assumption of a plurality of selves is metaphysically and even logically impossible. Assuming it is so, the assumption of the Absolute as the only abiding reality and the rejection of all else as *Mithya* do not in any way afford any scope for *Brahma-Darsanam* or the intuitive flash of Truth. For Truth must come as a flash to some individual self, even though it is the Truth of the unity of all selves. So then one may not agree with the author when he says that *Samadhi* is the highest kind of intuition and in *Samadhi*, Brahman is revealed or realised or intuited in his undifferentiated unity. For, such an intuition is altogether impossible. Perhaps it is possible to have a realisation of unity in difference, as Pandit Sitanath Tatwabhushan suggests in his "Vedanta and its relation to modern thought."

On the whole the author deserves to be congratulated on his able exposition of the six systems of Philosophy in language which is devoid of philosophical technicalities. The book, it is hoped, will commend itself as a suitable introduction to Indian Philosophy.

SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR INDIA

I. Hon'ble Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan
The Hon'ble Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan, Member of the India Council, at the Bombay Anjuman-i-Islam "at home" held on the eve of his departure to England, said in the course of a speech delivered on the occasion:—

In these days we all talk of Self-Government and Home Rule, but there was a time when hardly any one in this country understood as to what was meant by Self-Government. It was left to Sir Syed that without knowing English or without up to that time having been to Europe he clearly grasped the true principles of Government and soon after the dark days of the Mutiny he boldly urged his views in his famous book called 'the Causes of the Indian Mutiny' in which he plainly told the rulers of the country that the real trouble was not due to any temporary cause but was due to the fact that the people had no voice in the Government of their own country. I believe I am justified in saying that this book of Sir Syed's was the foundation stone of Self-Government in India.

Gentlemen, this is not only my own view, but I can cite the authority of one whose words must carry weight with all of you. When I was in England nearly 25 years ago, I was once invited to lunch by that immortal Englishman whose name must ever be dear to the heart of every true Indian—I mean Mr. A. O. Hume. I shall never forget the conversation I had with him about the Indian politics of the day. Those were the days when Sir Syed was opposing the National Congress and Mr. Hume complained to me about Sir Syed's attitude towards his movement. I shall, so far as I remember, give you the actual words of Mr. Hume. He told me that 'the thing which for the first time put the idea of starting some such movement as the National Congress into my head was Sir Syed's own book "the Causes of the Indian Mutiny" and yet he is opposing the Congress.' That was what Mr. Hume thought

of Sir Syed's service to India. Those who have followed the constitutional advance in India must be aware of the part which Sir Syed's book had played in influencing the Government, as it is generally known that the Act of 1861, which for the first time admitted an Indian to the Imperial Legislative Council, was largely the result of what Sir Syed had advocated in his book. Thus not only the 'father of the Indian National Congress' took inspiration from Sir Syed's book, but the policy of the Supreme Government was also influenced by the views of Sir Syed and thus it may fairly be said that he materially helped in laying the foundation of Self-Government in India.

II. H. H. The Maharaja of Alwar

At a public meeting held at Alwar, H. H. the Maharaja of Alwar observed as follows:—

This gigantic War of Liberty, which has caused such mighty upheaval in the major portion of the world, has also very naturally had its effects on India. The trumpets of liberty and freedom are giving their ceaseless blast in the very midst of the din of battle where hundreds are daily sacrificing their lives for the freedom of the millions. The destinies of the countries are changing colours from day to day, and all this upheaval has naturally led India to compare notes, if not with other countries, at least with her sister Dominions which have proved to be such assets of the Empire. The trust which has been so implicitly reposed in the Self-Governing Dominions by the British people is repaid a thousandfold in their attitude towards the pivot of the Great Commonwealth, and although India's share in the present War has been generously appreciated by the British public, if I am interpreting India's sentiments rightly, I think, it feels that it may have been capable of doing a very great deal more, if she had greater opportunity of guiding her own destinies.

The gracious recognition by His Majesty the Emperor of India's place in the Empire during

the recent and future Imperial Conferences of Colonial Ministers has earned the gratitude of India, and has fired the enthusiasm of the people towards the higher goal, and a far-reaching announcement has followed recently which has been made by the mouthpiece of the British Cabinet representative of the English people as to the definite goal that lies before our country, and this historic announcement has, no doubt, done much to pacify the anxieties of India, as well to win her affection. The Secretary of State, in one of his speeches, has recently mentioned that there are two important duties that lie ahead of us to-day, the first and foremost of which is the successful prosecution of the present War, and secondly the preparation for the ultimate peace. Let no other consideration or self-interest then cloud, from our view, the just goal before us, and in our spare moments, of which there are plenty, let us prepare ourselves for the sweet fruits of peace to which we are all looking forward. It is only in keeping with the traditions of British statesmanship that H. E. the Viceroy of India has come forward with a dignified and statesmanlike announcement recently in the Legislative Council, exhorting us to put our heads together in order to work out practical schemes with regard to the future. The new goal, which lies ahead of us, has raised issues which have, unfortunately, formed the subject of controversy which, in some cases, has undoubtedly exceeded the limits of sober criticism, although I fully realise that in all big undertakings that are worth the name, obstacles and difficulties must always arrive. Surely, it is our human endeavour to overcome them to the best of its abilities. I therefore can see no room why even the divergent interests should show the seed of mutual unpleasantness if the goal that is before us is kept clearly in view. It is the mutual distrust that is generally responsible for the outbursts of hysterics. If the issues before us are going to

lead us to no other destination than to a gigantic tug of war for communal interest based on mutual trust, then the future is foredoomed.

There is the English official community and the Anglo-Indian community. Then there is the Indian official and the non-official public of the country, including Hindus, Muhammadans, Parsis and so forth. There is the class deserving of every sympathy from its countrymen, but wrongly called the Depressed Classes. The interests of these and many more communities are, no doubt, involved in our journey. Have there not been different communities in the past? Does any one say that the foundation of love and good-will has dried from India's heart that her sense of justice and gratitude has withered, that her stream of toleration and the power of viewing things in their proper perspective has disappeared? If this was so this great Nation of ours, of which we feel proud, would not have survived the test of the struggle of existence for so many centuries. What other land in the world can boast of so many churches alongside mosques, and mosques alongside temples? If this is not co-operation, does not this show respect for others' opinions and principles. India only waits for the opportunity and I have faith that it will prove its worth again in the future.

If the political goal of all the communities in India is the same, namely, greater freedom in order that this country may rank alongside other sister Dominions of the Empire, then surely it is an occasion for mutual congratulation, joy and good will, instead of heated controversy or wild vituperation and calumny or unbecoming and ungracious interpretations of each other's sentiments and principles.

Whatever we may be in accordance with our religious precepts and ideals let us be firm in the welfare of a United India. It is only human that we should in our lives desire to taste the

sweet fruits of our promised destination, but if we are anxious about the pace, there is surely nothing that helps so much to accelerate its attainment as mutual trust and right understanding. To my mind the pace depends entirely on India and India alone.

Supposing for arguments' sake that India had her ultimate object fulfilled, and all that seems impossible were made possible, supposing we had our hearts' desires fulfilled to-morrow by having in our own hands our birthright of guiding the destinies of India, I do ask would that be the be-all and end-all of our existence? Let us not forget, in the midst of all this present military, social and political upheaval of the world, that the object of life is still distant and lies in the ultimate rising of the soul towards its final emancipation. We must not only unite India in love, but deluge the world with our spiritual forces of affection and the higher knowledge of the self for the general good of humanity and of mankind in the same way as we have much to take. We have also some very rich treasures to give. It is, indeed, a high ideal, and some people will say a far-fetched ambition. Let it be so, but it is our golden birthright and our heritage. Let us all join hands in a vast song of harmony and love, affection and good-will and pray to Almighty that He may give us strength and knowledge in order that we may attain our ultimate and final goal and salvation.

III. Mr. C. R. Das

At a Mass Meeting held in Calcutta on the 7th October, 1917, Mr. C. R. Das said:—

We ask for Home Rule or Self-Government not for another bureaucracy or oligarchy in the place of the bureaucracy that there is at present moment. In my opinion, bureaucracy is bureaucracy, be that bureaucracy of England or Anglo-India or of India pure. We want no bureaucracy.

We want Home Rule, Self-Government by the people for the people. We want Self-Government for every individual in the country. The poorest raiyat or the richest zamindar must have a share, must have a voice. If these Anglo-Indians wish to make India their home, let them do so, and we will fight with them on the same platform for Self-Government in this country. If they come here to make money and all their interest lies in how best to make money I say to them, "you are not friends of India."

IV. The Hon. Lala Harkishen Lal

In his speech as Chairman of the Reception Committee, of the Punjab Provincial Conference held on the 29th October, 1917, at Lahore, the Hon'ble Lala Harkishen Lal remarked:—

You may be aware, gentlemen, that there is something brewing in the political circles known as Autonomy. The word Autonomy connotes some kind of independence, some kind of control, on some kind of affairs, by some kind of people. The details are not known; we ought, therefore, now and hereafter be fully vigilant and on the watch, or we might be landed in an awkward hole. We want a fair measure of independence in Provincial affairs no doubt; but we want the control in the hands of the people of the Province, and not in the hands of the Peshwas. Bureaucracy of these days resembles the Peshwas of the Mahrattas; when the servant first thought that he was the master, and eventually became the master himself. This is what is happening once again. Bureaucracy has come to believe, and is trying to realize a dream that the Bureaucracy and no body else should be acknowledged as the Ruler of the land. All higher authorities, be they the Viceroy, the Secretary of State or the Parliament, they be all set aside once for all in its favour. This is the greatest danger with which the country is beset, and this is the hardest nut for us to crack. But crack it, we must.

The sooner the better. We must make it quite clear, before we part, that we want a Punjab Autonomy controlled by the Punjabis themselves, for which I have shown above we are by heredity, education, patriotism, and experience quite fit.

V. The Hon. Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas

In my opinion every country has a birthright of being governed by its own people, and the question of fitness is entirely wide of the mark. Unless that were so, every civilized and advanced country would have the right of conquering every backward country like China, for instance, and governing it by its civilized methods. As for heterogeneity, that factor exists in several countries, Austria for example, which still govern themselves. As a matter of fact, the gulf that formerly separated Hindus and Mahomedans, the two real communities who make up India, the rest being negligible, has been bridged, and the representatives of both these great communities are agreed that India should have Self-Government.

As regards the educated Indians being in a microscopic minority, are not the governing class of every country in a minority? Those with the best brains and at the topmost rung of the ladder, must always be an infinitesimal fraction of the large mass of the people. But how do the present governing class of the bureaucracy compare in number with the educated Indians? The total number of immigrants from Europe, according to the census of 1911 is 131,968, of which the United Kingdom sends 122,919. Of these 77,623 British-born were serving in the Army, leaving less than half a lakh of civil population. Why should they claim to be more entitled to govern the people than the educated classes? The total number of literate Indians calculated at the lowest rate of six per cent. would be more than fourteen millions. Look at their

number and ours. Also consider our knowledge of our people, their habits, modes of thought, modes of living, their prejudices and predilections and our identity of language with them as compared with these qualities possessed by our Anglo-Indian rulers.

For the realization of the objects of Self-Government it is essential that the principle of election should be further and further extended not only in the constitution of Municipalities and Local Boards, but also in the appointment of their Presidents.

VI. The Hon. Pundit Gokaranath Misra

In this Speech as President of the U. P. Provincial Conference held in October, 1917, the Hon'ble Pundit Gokaranath Misra said:—

The whole history of our political agitation is thus bound up in a great measure with the history of the growth of Anglo-Indian Bureaucracy. Due to various causes, diverse political accidents, regrettable ignorance of a large number of the people, their unhealthy social development and last though not the least due to the commercial interests of the governing race itself, there has grown up amongst us a formidably centralised and powerful bureaucracy, the like of which is difficult to find in the annals of any nation. Intoxicated with the love of power, fearful of the loss of its prestige, foreign to the life and civilisation of the governed, it has grown up like one of those "Mammoths of geological antiquity," whose enormous size and threatening constitution have long ceased to have a proper place in the natural economy of things. The Anglo-Indian Bureaucracy has completely outgrown the needs of the people, their desires and aspirations. It has gathered round it a mass of defects entirely inconsistent with the healthy development of the people under its charge.

THE WORLD OF BOOKS

[ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION.]

The Si-Fan Mysteries. By Sax Rohmer
Methuen's Colonial Library, London.

In this book, the mysterious Fu-Manchu, the Tibetan or Chinese Doctor of mystery, who was laid to rest in an earlier volume of the author, is restored to life and given a new lease of mystery-mongering activity of the breathless, half-understood, incredible type, that appears to be the favourite method of interpreting the East. The author evidently belongs to a school of sensational writers, whose stock in trade consists of a capacity to imagine nightmares, utterly divorced from anything like real intellect or scholarship. A hazy idea of a new form of Yellow Peril menacing the staid and sober civilization of the West, in the form of an emissary of a secret political society of China, whose only method of preparing the way for the Yellow domination of the world appears to be to commit a series of secret assassinations of nobodies for no conceivable reason, by methods and processes which are scarcely intelligible, is trotted forth as the underlying idea, and we are treated to a series of disconnected events affecting various individuals who spring up in succeeding chapters in the manner and method which healthy humanity can associate only with insomnia or lunacy.

The Dream Problem. Vol. I. Edited by Ram Narayan, L. M. S.

The book is a symposium by several writers interested in the problem. The Editor circulated a problem of dream among several persons and the solutions he received for this from Indian and foreign contributors have been published in the form of this book. It also contains the editor's contributions. The author does not claim finality for any of the solutions and he invites further thoughts on the subject which may suggest themselves to readers of the first volume. The several solutions are at once interesting and thought-provoking, especially the first solution deserves mention because of its exhaustive nature.

Study of Jainism. By Kannoomal. M. A.
Published by Atmanand Jain Pustak, Pracharak Mandal, Roshal Mohalla, Agra.

This is an exhaustive manual of Jainism by a learned Jain author. It treats of the chief Jain categories, Soul, Matter, Merit, and Demerit, the flow and retardation of their respective effects, Bondage, and Liberation. There are also chapters on the Jain Saints or Tirthankaras, and on the ideals of a Jaina Sadhu and House-holder respectively. The book is very useful for those who are interested in learning the chief doctrines of our Jaina countrymen. It must be said that the analysis of the essentials of moral life, found in Jainism, is hardly surpassed by any other known religion in the world, except perhaps Buddhism, which, however, labours under the disadvantage of denying any real spiritual entity like the soul.

The Piyadasi Inscriptions. By Ramavatara Sarma, Sanyal & Co., Calcutta.

This is a popular edition of the Asoka inscriptions which are to be shortly published by the author, on a more elaborate scale under the auspices of the Calcutta University. The volume begins with an interesting introduction in which the author briefly reviews the career of Asoka and classifies the inscriptions according to their geographical units. The 14 Rock Edicts are then taken and, in the space of 22 pages, not only the originals but their Sanskrit renderings and English translations are given. The two separate Rock Edits (P. 22-29), the seven *stambha tekhas* (p. 29-42), and the *stambha tekhas* of Siddhapuram (43-44), Saranath (p. 45-45) Babra (P. 46-47), Rummindei (p. 48-49) and Nigilva, including the Queen's Edict, are then edited on the same plan. The three cave inscriptions which follow, complete the main portion of the book. The Maski Edict, recently published by Rao Sahib H. Krishna Sastriar is, we are glad to observe, noticed by the author and assigned its place among the kindred edicts.

Prof. Radha Kumud Mukerjee lectures at the Punjab University.

November 19. Madras protest manifesto against compartmental autonomy.

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

9. That Provincial Governments responsible to the Government of India and the Secretary of State shall have power to do or repair public works upon which the value of invested capital depends, the neglect of which is due to default of the Provincial Government, and to charge the cost thereof to the revenues assigned to the Government in default,

A cleavage of opinion took place over the 'position of land holders. The Zamindars who were present urged that the permanent settlement should be explicitly safeguarded, with interests to proviso (8) which dealt with commerce and industry. Finding that the others present, both European and Indian, were opposed to their view, they withdrew from the conference. Further negotiations are, however, proceeding to secure their adhesion. As discussions proceed further a movement will be made to secure the adhesion of leading men whose views on the coming constitutional changes have seemed hitherto to be irreconcilable. It is anticipated in some quarters that the amount of support to be obtained will be sufficiently adequate to enable the scheme to be placed before the European Association with a request that it shall formally adopt it and that similar steps may be taken with respect to the Congress.

UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

Education and Responsible Government

The following is an extract from Sir James Meeson's recent Convocation speech to the Allahabad University.

The British Government has announced that the ideal for India is responsible government, which means the administration of the country by an executive authority responsible through an elected legislature to the people; and we now have to shape our course towards that goal. The task is one of the most vast and complex to which any country has ever set its hand; and to-day I can refer only to two aspects of it, and only in the briefest and most general manner.

In the first place, it seems to me that we are committed to a complete over-hauling of our educational policy. It has suffered in the past from the conflict between the two ideals which Lord Cromer described; but there is no longer room for confusion. And the old dispute between quantity and quality in our educational output is dead. This University and this Provincial Government have fought a stout fight for quantity and quality, in the face of frequent misrepresentation and constant opposition. We have raised our standard steadily and deliberately; we have reduced the number of our formal examinations, and at the same time endeavoured to vitalise them; we have made the portals to our academic diplomas straight and narrow. Our policy at times has seemed to be harsh, and individual hardship has been inevitable. But we believed in all sincerity that poor and easy education is the worst of gifts, and that the steady strengthening of our educational fibre is essential to enable India ever to compete with other nations in any field of human activity. We fought on, in the trust that the time and results would justify us. We had neither money nor the teaching power to make our foundations both wide and deep; and we preferred to deepen rather than to extend. But now we must do both; the money must be found and the teachers must be trained and properly paid,

and the scope of at least our vernacular education must be greatly enlarged. Quality is just essential as it ever was and even more so; for India will need the best intellectual power with which we can provide it for its political progress to study the art of ruling, and to guide the awakening thought of the country into right and stable channels. Quantity, however, assumes a new and vast importance. Responsible government is a pyramid, which can only grow with its base; and its base is an intelligent electorate. Our task is thus to introduce into the apathetic masses in our rural areas, and into the ignorant proletariat of our towns, a degree of education which will fit them in ever-increasing numbers, to be the basis of our future political structure. In terms of the ordinary democratic machinery, we have in other words to create a voters' roll, a substantial proportion of the people who will understand what power a vote gives them, and what responsibilities it implies.

Without an enormous development of national education, this task is an impossibility; to use a vote wisely and effectively, the future elector of India will need something more than his mother wit. He will have to distinguish between shams and realities in regions unfamiliar to him and on topics to which he has never given a thought. He will have to learn an independence of mind in which he has now no practice; and even the secrecy of the ballot will be a novelty for which nothing in his past training has equipped him. All this can only come in one way. The details of the curriculum, the devices for fitting it into the ordinary life of an industrious people, the supply of teachers and the gigantic problem of finance, are matters upon which I cannot possibly enter here and now. But it is clear as the noonday that, if responsible Government is ever to be ours, the education of the electorate, is a problem of the most vital import, upon which we must set to work at the earliest possible moment.

TOPICS FROM PERIODICALS

Armenia and the Armenians

His Excellency Ismael Kemal Bey, President of the Provisional Government of Albania, and before noted for his liberal views and his struggles for a constitutional regime in Turkey, contributes an article on the above subject to the October number of the *Fortnightly Review*. He places the Armenians in the first rank among the peoples of the Near East, not merely from the political point of view, but also in a humanitarian and personal sense. Though they have been always persecuted and massacred from the days of Assyria, they enjoyed a long period of relative peace from the establishment of the Ottoman Empire until the reign of Abdul Hamid. They were always considered as the most faithful Christian subjects of the Empire and they did not inspire in the minds of the Turks either distrust or suspicion. When after the Crimean War, Turkish statesmen began an era of reform, the Armenians were the first to benefit; and the first Christian ministers and high dignitaries of the Porte were Armenians. And it was not until 1894 that conditions were suddenly changed. Abdul Hamid was convinced that the Armenians were the only people in the Empire who were capable of propagating liberal and to him pernicious ideas. As the Armenians had considerable commercial relations with England, and as England had acquired by the Treaty of Cyprus the right to demand reforms in Asia Minor, he thought they constituted a dangerous element in the State.

The Armenians were convinced that their national evolution should take place under the auspices of the Ottoman throne; and they had distrust of Russia, since in Russia, the Armenian was looked upon as a dissenter and a revolutionary, an enemy of the Czar and of the Orthodox Church. During the Armenian massacres of 1894, the Sultan felt sure of the help promised him from Russia and did all he could to resist the pressure of Great Britain. He tried to show the

powers that he was actually and seriously occupying himself with questions of reform, and pretended to offer pledges of good intentions to Great Britain. The true Liberals all over Turkey did their best to raise the alarm by warning the country and the representatives of Liberal Europe of the danger that was threatening but their warnings fell unheeded.

Now the writer offers a solution of the whole problem. There is no difficulty with regard to Armenians in Russian territory, since Russia has announced as its chief aim the emancipation of all the subject peoples. An Armenian State having its centre in the region of Ararat, extending from the Black Sea to the Caspian and backed by the Christian region of the Caucasus and having more than two million inhabitants would assure the prosperity of the Armenians, and would be an order of element and stability in the centre of the heterogeneous populations of Asia Minor.

Asia after the War

Lala Lajpat Rai gives in a recent issue of the *New York Outlook*, a forecast of the changes that will be brought about by the war. Apart from the altered values that will be presented to the world in every sphere of its activity, Mr. Lajpat Rai sees that "the idea of democratic control is going to receive a tremendous impetus, and that Asiatic countries will witness momentous changes in their political status." After dealing with Japan, India, and Persia, Mr. Lajpat Rai writes this note of caution.

The Allies will make a great mistake if they plan a complete and final extinction of Moslem power in the world. The Moslems are so unlike the "mild Hindu" (though even the Hindu is no longer so very mild) that a policy of extermination will rouse them to unity and consolidation, with almost certain disaster to European domination in Asia. If the Allies are true to their own aims, they should be willing to let the people of Asia organize their own government on their own lines, with such restrictions only as may be absolutely necessary to impose in the interest of the orderly progress of the world. One thing, however, may be noted. Asia is awake, and will not submit to an arbitrary, despotic exploitation of herself by others, whether political or economic. The interests of world-peace require that the legitimate aspirations of the Asiatics to manage their own affairs and live their own lives should be respected by all sincere democrats the world over.

'The Postulates of Young India'

Under this title are included the conclusions arrived at by Prof. B. K. Sarkar as a result of his study of the facts of universal history in the light of comparative chronology. These are given in a recent number of the *Hindustanee Student*, a monthly organ issued by the Hindustan Association of America. Prof. Sarkar regards that humanity is fundamentally one in spite of physical and physiognomic varieties and of age-long historic prejudices, that there are no race-types and race-geniuses and no oriental or occidental ideals of existence, and that differences are essentially individual, and that human life is always governed by 'the desire and power to live and flourish by responding to the thousand and one stimuli of the universe and utilising the innumerable world-forces.'

Again, coming to the dynamic part of the development of man, Prof. Sarkar holds that the territorial limits of nationality have changed almost every generation, that the so-called cultural unities have not necessarily led to national or political unities and that the so-called nation-states have never been the embodiments of single homogeneous cultural types. It is to the subordination of the East to the West in recent times both in politics and in culture, that the Jingo fallacy, 'East is East and West is West' is mainly due. India was never shut off from the main track of humanity's progress and had no epoch of 'splendid isolation.' And the professor would urge the following points on the earnest consideration of Indian youths.

Young India of to-day is, therefore, not to approach culture or dharma in terms of geographical limits or indigenous, i.e., national race-ideals, but drink of it and add to it as a growing stream of universal life-promoting truths;—thereby compelling the world's recognition of its powers and services as a living member of the human race.

2. India is not one, but many. The motto of Young India is to be not unity at any cost, but efficiency. Emphasis should be laid not so much on solidarity as on the attainment of strength by all means.

Indian Art

A Voice from India is a new periodical published by the Minerva Publishing Company, intended to bring before the world-public the art, literature, poetry, life, etc., of the great Hindu race; and its fifth issue which we have received contains among other notable articles, contributions from Laurence Housman on Indian art, Edmund Russell and Mrs. Mrinalini Sen. Housman declares that the art of India contains abundant material to substantiate its claim to rank beside the great styles of the West, but that it needs for its full understanding by the West, 'a new orientation.' Dr. Coomaraswamy holds that the identity of drawing with painting is the chief characteristic of the greater part of Oriental art which is distinguished by its pre-occupation with form and design. It is in its conveyance of three-dimensional qualities by two-dimensional methods that the Indian art reveals the consummate skill and science which are at the root of its conventional limitations.

For Indian sculpture, thanks to Mr. Havell and others the battle is already won, and the beginning of our understanding of its values came when we learned to look for its noblest developments elsewhere than in the products of the Gandhara period of Greeco-Roman influence, and ceased to set up as a subconscious standard of merit any inferior reflections of schools whose internal philosophy we already understand and appreciate. In Dr. Coomaraswamy's studies of the Rajput and Mughal schools we meet with astonishing instances of mature and masterly art, containing something far higher than a merely decorative value. In the direction of their style they show a close parallelism to the noble and impersonal art of Pietro della Francesca and Puvion de Chavannes, two Western masters distinguished by their subordination of individuality to type. This is to be more especially seen in examples of the Rajput school, but throughout the tendency is toward type and away from individualism. That is why to many Western minds such art appears cold and lacking in delight; but to opponents of its high claims we would recommend as a crucial test, the sleeping "Vishnu" from the cave-sculpture of Mamallapuram. If such work is to be denied a place among the heroic things of art, we must seek new and narrower definitions for what remains. Some of the drawings which the Essex House Press has so delicately reproduced in recent books of Dr. Coomaraswamy are worthy of comparison to the best line-work of Durer and Holbein.

Self-Government for India

Janus writing in the October issue (War Number) of the *United Empire (Royal Colonial Institute Journal)* expresses views about self-government for India, some of which are eminently commendable and others have been obviously borrowed from the Sydenham school of thinkers. It is declared that the work to be done in India is twofold—firstly, the progressive liberalising of the institutions of the country, executive, legislative and administrative; and secondly, the broadening of the basis on which these institutions rest. One essential condition of success is the maintenance of a due harmony between the two processes, so that each step towards free institutions must be accompanied by the progressive extension of representation to the mass of the people, with the result that complete responsible government and a truly democratic franchise shall arrive in the country simultaneously. At present the former process has gained a substantial start; and the correlated process, i.e., the extension of representation, must derive its impetus not only from India itself, but also from 'the other elements of the British Empire; though exactly what is meant by 'other elements of the British Empire' is not clear.

Janus divides the Indian politicians into three classes, Home Rulers, Assenters and Thinkers. He says that the first class consists of a comparatively small number of people, who want complete responsible government, right away, and who decline to admit that there is any difficulty in this abrupt transition and whom the unpreparedness of the mass of the people does not disturb in the least.

The Assenters comprise the bulk of Indian politicians, since "assent is the most striking characteristic of their public activities." They differ from Home Rulers in paying some attention to the question of franchise.

If we could penetrate through the surface-layer of assent to the subconscious workings of these minds, we should probably find that self-government presents itself to them as the rule of the classes to which they belong, not the subjection of those classes to the vast majority of the people.

I come now to the Thinkers. They are not very numerous, and they are too apt to keep their thoughts to themselves, but of late a few of them have been tempted to place their ideas before the public. These ideas are always interesting, and some of them have the merit of practicability. The Thinkers, as a rule, accept responsible government as the goal, but they recognise that it cannot be reached in one step, and they devote themselves mainly to planning out the road and indicating the successive stages.

These, according to the writer, are the declared object of only the variously politically-minded 'classes' but not of the masses.

India and the Indians

Mr. V. B. Metta, B. A. (Cantab.), Bar-at-Law, writing in the October-November number of the *Hindustan Review*, heralds the dawn of the national era as consisting in the work of creating and refining what he calls the New Synthesis. He writes:—

India receives everybody with open arms. There is room in her large heart for many types of civilisations. She has welcomed with the universality of her Asiatic soul—the cultures and creeds of Persia and Arabia, Judea and Ancient Greece in the Past. It is a source of pride to her that her children think of the glories of other times and climes. Let the Parsi think of the Avesta's simplicity and sublimity—let the Moslem sing of the splendour of Baghdad and Cordova. The expansion and elevation of the mind of her children by vaster geographical horizons does in no way hurt her self-respect or lessen the intensity and amplitude of her emotional and psychical gifts to them. She is at present welcoming the civilization of Modern Europe. It will take her time to find out what is good for her and what is not—in that civilization. But she expects the united help of Hindus and Mohamedans, Parsis and Christians and Jews in the work of creating and refining the New Synthesis. On her forehead, flaming with an enduring fire, we read the eternal, cosmic Truth,—Unity is Beauty.

THE INDIAN REVIEW WAR BOOK.

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Recruitment for the Indian Civil Service

The *Journal of Education* for October contains its remarks on the recommendations made by the Public Services Commission of India for recruitment to the Civil Service of India. The Commission recommends a return to the 1878-91 system of recruitment of the candidates at the close of their school life. The defects of the present system, when the candidates are selected after their University career, are two; (1) the civilian gets into harness at too late an age and gets an insufficient preparation for his work, (2) and the civilians do not often retire until they are 60 or more years of age; and it is only when they are old that they come to occupy very important posts. The successful candidate gets only one year of preparation in England during which he has to familiarise himself as best as he can with Indian history and law and one or two Indian languages. The Commission recommends a system under which candidates are selected early and take a three years' course at a University in the necessary subjects. The Commission also recommends that the work of candidates for the Civil Service in schools should be assimilated to that of candidates for University scholarships. Hence the only difficulty is the age limit of 17½ at which early stage, a severe competition will be a very distracting element. Another proposal of the Commission is that no candidate should be admitted to the examination who has not been in regular attendance at a school recognised by the Civil Service Commissioners for the three preceding years. But the Commission do not propose that recognition should be limited to schools of a particular social status, and say that the examining authorities must have some dispensing power to meet the case of candidates coming from India and the Dominions. Another feature about the conclusions of the Commission is that though the competitive system was much criticised, they recommend its maintenance, just as two English Commissions did in recent years (1)

The Macdonnell Commission on the English Civil Service. (2) The Treasury Commission on the Examinations for class I Service.

British Poets in India

In the October number of the *Calcutta Review* appears an article under this heading by Mr. T. O. D. Dunn. It deals with the poetry written by Englishmen in India throughout a period of more than one hundred years. Anglo-Indian poetry, in the estimate of the writer, began in a mood of desperate seriousness.

Sir William Jones, Dr. John Leyden and Bishop Heber might be justly described as intro-poetive scholars aware of the literary possibilities of India and devoted to the high purposes of the Muse. On only one occasion was this mood broken; when the Hudibrastic nonsense of the genial "Quiz," whoever he may have been, struck a note of revolt. But this work cannot claim any serious place as literature in the period preceding the arrival of Macaulay in India. As social life developed in the larger cities, poetry served a less serious purpose. It became the medium of wit, satire and agreeable relaxation. Of this type of verse Henry Meredith Parker is indubitably the first and best exponent. His manner and his method have fortunately remained with us; and his direct successors, as Bignold, Yeldham, Kendall and Symms, have carried on his tradition in a style worthy of their genial and witty predecessor. Just after the middle of the century Sir Edwin Arnold and Sir Alfred Lyall redeemed English poetry as then produced in India, from the common-place. The first brought the energy of true literary genius to work upon Indian themes; the second allowed his intimate and lengthy experience of the East to become concentrated in verse of small bulk but of incomparable quality. Both writers have revealed from the Western point of view the poetic possibilities of a land rich in its own classical and vernacular poetry; and have in one sense explained the range and excellence of the Imperial Kipling. The decline of our poetry from the high level attained by these writers need give no cause for alarm. This decline has been marked by the polished wit of a Leviors, and by the occasional verse of certain contemporaries who delight the drawing rooms of London.

It may well be asked with whom will rest the laurels of the future? The great forces created and loosened by the brilliant dogmatism of Bentinck, are gathering to some startling conclusion. In the realm of art their operation may have amazing results. When the glittering armour of language that Shakespeare wore with such effective grace, is donned by some modern Aryan of comparable capacity the world will wonder at his feats in the field of letters. Meanwhile let us look back with gratitude upon those who for more than one hundred years of exile have kept alive the fires of English song.

Modern Russian Literature

M. Mouravieff Apostol, writing in the August number of the *Asiatic Review*, describes the essence of the various literary epochs after the flourish of the romanticism that flourished in the middle of the 19th century. The most important of these post-Romantic writers are the two famous philosophical humanitarians who may be said to represent a whole epoch in themselves—Dostoevsky and Tolstoy. "Instead of rising up in revolt against contemporary realities, they are full of sympathy with them. The sacrifice, the problematic heroes and preach the insignificance of individual leadership—the necessity that every unit should bow before the truths which the majority has accepted. This is the teaching of these two great thinkers and is the reason why they are called preachers."

Dostoevsky's book "The Brothers Karamazoff" depicts the intellectual progress of the liberals in Russia, with all their excitement and revolutionary idealism. It touches every chord of the human soul and all the information concerning the contemporary life of Russia, moral, intellectual and social. Tolstoy was a mystic and a preacher in the last years of his life. He began by being an artist, then evolved into being a thinker and ended by being a preacher. Tolstoy as an artist is far greater than Tolstoy as a preacher or philosopher. In all his artistic writings, he has created endless new types, new forms and epochs, whereas in his philosophy, he upset and destroyed many ideals but built up no new ones to replace them; and his influence as a philosopher was more or less forced upon the people. The other contemporary writers Goutcharoff, Grigorovitch, Gorki, are far less great, and they have replaced classical literary strength with symbolism, materialism and a strongly political tendency. Many of these authors do not appeal to those who seek, not so much political propaganda and party tendency, as deep psychology, beauty of form, and interesting parables and symbols. The special characteristics

of Russian literature are (1) preponderance of psychology over the appeal to the concrete; (2) romanticism nearly always accompanied by realism; (3) irony and satirical doctrines without sarcasm; and (4) democratism i.e. the tendency of the writers taking their heroes from the lower peasant classes where they found more interesting and individual types. Many consider the present period of Russian literature to be one of decadence.

Some Outstanding Emigration Problems

Mr. H. S. L. Polak, writing to the *Bombay Political Reformer*, says about the prospects of Indian emigration to the Dominions that it is hopeless to expect that they would go back upon their old policy of racial exclusion, and that each Dominion will oppose to the death anything in the nature of unrestricted Asiatic immigration into its territory, both on the ground of miscegenation and for economic reasons as alleged by them. Two quotations from the article are given below which illustrate the real causes of mischief at work.

Take again the relations between the professions of the Government and the attitude of the average European citizen of any Province of the Union. The Government have given repeated assurances that they wish only that the Indian community may feel a sense of repose and security. One cannot possibly doubt their sincerity, but it is equally impossible to ignore the fact that South African Indians can enjoy neither repose nor security when they know that hardly a municipality in South Africa but it determined upon the extermination of the Indian trader and the ruin of all independent Indian enterprise. There is an unavowed campaign throughout the Union to exploit Indian labour in the interests of white capitalists, to deprive Indians of their trading rights, upon which the community's welfare so largely depends, whilst, in Natal, a movement has been recently set a foot, under the guidance of the Natal Municipal Association, having for its object the municipal disfranchisement of Indians.

The fact is that, as Sir Harry Johnston has declared, the average man in South Africa is more thoroughly hostile to colour than even the citizens of the United States. Save perhaps at the Cape—and even here colour prejudice is increasing—while South Africans regard all non-whites as being, for all practical purposes, on the same level as the semi-barbarous natives of the country, and as being unworthy of any rights at all.

Mr. Polak concludes that until Indians get greater rights in their own country, they will be unable to secure and protect the rights of their countrymen abroad and that the real work of helping Indian residents abroad has to be commenced and developed in India itself.

Japanese Post Offices and Postmen

It is pleasant to learn, from an article by K. Sasto in the *Japan Magazine*, that a leading feature of the Japanese postal system is the unvarying courtesy of the officials and the frequency with which mails are delivered.

Established some forty-five years ago, the postal system is to-day remarkably efficient, and at present no fewer than 8,000 post offices are working in the Empire. The postmen receive very small wages, yet they work sheerfully ten hours a day. The writer says:—

When the Japanese postman is engaged he is given a note book with full instructions as to his duties, and is warned that his prospects depend on faithful observance of his responsibilities. This book is to him what the military memorandum book is to the soldier. Among the instructions he is to consider important are, courtesy to the public, frugality of living; he must memorise his route, with the names of the streets and so on; he must be agreeable with his fellow-postmen, and must not live more than two and a half miles from the post office.

During the summer months, temporary post offices are established in places frequented by summer visitors. One of the most famous of these is the one on the summit of Mount Fuji. Consequently postmen have to climb Fuji-san every day, carrying the mails.

The chief business of the Japanese post office is, of course, the despatching and delivery of mails and generally conducting business in much the same way as post offices in Great Britain; but the post office also collects taxes for the city or nation, transmits money in large or small sums, has a special delivery system for letters and parcels, and postal savings department that has to deal with millions of money annually. The post office sells debentures for Hypothec and Industrial banks, and carries on a system of small life insurance. The wireless telephone system invented by Japanese experts is said to be superior to that used abroad, the method of giving signal calls being especially superior.

After reading so much in its praise it is rather disappointing to learn that the most unsatis-

factory feature of the Japanese postal system is its apparent indifference to the promotion for telephone service. Hundreds of applications of telephones are always waiting, for every one that can be installed. Tokyo handles more than a billion telephone calls a year, and deals with some 17,000,000 calls outside the city. Urgent calls are charged double, and night messages are cheaper than day calls.

The Tokyo Central Post Office is a fine structure near the Central Station. In the building there are stables for the numerous horses employed, and garages are also established for motors and motor cycles. About five hundred employees are constantly at work on the 700,000 pieces of mail matter handled daily. The building is managed by Mr. A. Nozaki.

A New Doctrine of Life

Taireido, or the Great-Spirit-Way, is a new doctrine of life recently systematised and taught by a Japanese thinker named Morihei Tanaka of Tokyo. The idea is that if one has a proper conception of the universe and is able to grasp the force and meaning of cosmic thought and cosmic processes he will have control over nature and self, even to the extent of eliminating evil and disease. Tanaka's idea is to reorganise man's knowledge of science, philosophy and religion, and give a newer and truer interpretation to human life and experience. His system of thought as derived from physical research, he calls the science of *Reishi*, the practical application of which he calls the art of *Reishi*. Those who wish to know more of Mr. Tanaka's teachings and methods may do so by communicating with the Editor of the *Japan Magazine*, 1825, Shimo Shibuya, Tokyo, Japan.

Japanese and British Commerce

Writing in a recent number of the *Asiatic Review*, Mr. K. Yamasaki, the Japanese Consul-General, contributes his views concerning the "resources of Japan in their relation to British commerce after the war." He says:—

As regards trade relations between Japan and the British Empire, it is gratifying to note signs of an increase of trade between Japan on the one hand and India and Australia on the other. We must see to it that after the war German trade shall never revive in Japan, nor in the United Kingdom, nor in the British Dominions and Colonies, so that commercial relations between Japan and the British Empire may become closer, unless undue obstructions are placed on the road. China is one of the of greatest commercial markets in the world. Japan has been accused of encroaching upon British trade interests in China. But, in my belief, the accusation is absolutely devoid of foundation. Lancashire will continue to supply China with cotton goods of high grade, only a comparatively small quantity of cotton of coarse grade being shipped from Japan to China; and above all, I hope that friendly feeling will continue to prevail between English and Japanese merchants in China, in order that they may advance hand in hand, united in the task of developing the vast resources of China, most of which remain dormant.

The cordial sentiments and common interests consecrated by the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, are still more firmly strengthened by the joint task which Great Britain and Japan are carrying out in penalising the enemy of human progress and human welfare, and it is our earnest desire that the trade between the two countries may receive a fresh stimulus after the war in order to enable England and Japan to contribute yet further to international good fellowship and civilisation.

Orpheus and his Lyre

In the current number of the *Theosophist*, Mrs. Margaret Cousins explains the significance and symbolic value of Orpheus and the legend connected with him. The influence of Orpheus was primarily national and was the spiritual formative power which gave Greece its national self-consciousness. In the place of frantic enthusiasm and unrestrained pleasure, he substituted an æsthetic purity of life and manners, linked to the love of the beauty of nature and of art, especially as manifested in music.

Enriched by his gifts of beauty, Greece continued to shine as the brightest jewel in the diadem of the nations, and even when, unable to combine powerful physical force with the culture of the Arts, she was conquered by the more material nation of her time, then "captive Greece took captive her rude conquerors," and became the dispenser of artistic inspiration to all the Western world. The influence of Orpheus thus became international as well as national.

Orpheus supremely represents the spiritual artist, and the articulator of the emotions in their natural language, poetry and music. All art is essentially one, all Orpheus by his love of nature and his power over it by sound, taught this lesson. His dismemberment at his death allegorises the separation of Art into compartments, each art jealously holding to its own specialised form. This separation arose from the testing in which the spiritual artist failed to disarm the inner unity and merely attached himself to outer forms.

The artist of to-day is still wandering in incompleteness, seeking the Eurydice of the soul. Only when Beauty again consciously and fully becomes the handmaid of the Spirit when Art truly becomes the servant of Religion, when Harmony is breathed forth from every act of the consecrated life, when one is one's own High Priest and Artist, Leader and Server, Musician and Lyre—will the influence of Orpheus on his followers be accomplished, and Celtic race reach the solar heights to which Orpheus sought to lead it. Then will the sound thereof reach the ends of the earth.

An Electoral System for India

Writing in the November *East and West*, Mr. Bharatmya pleads for an extension of the system of representation by groups. His suggestion is to divide the electorate in the following manner:—

(I) Christians, (a) Europeans, (b) Eurasians, (c) Indians; (II) Hindus, (a) Cultivators, (b) Labourers, (c) Landowners, (d) Merchants, (e) Professional classes; (III) Jains; (IV) Muhammadans, (a) Cultivators, (b) Labourers, (c) Landowners, (d) Merchants, (e) Professional classes; (V) Parsis; (VI) Sikhs. Obviously in some Provinces some of the groups would not occur or would be in such small numbers as not to be of sufficient importance to form a separate group, while in others there would be other groups. Thus in the Punjab it might be advisable to sub-divide the Sikhs. The criterion for determining whether any body of electors should form a group might be their number or the amount paid by them in taxes. Numbers might then be allotted to each group at the rate of one per 100,000 literate male adults, and one per 200,000 illiterate, subject to the proviso that the minimum number of members for any group be three, no matter how small its numbers.

In the estimate of the writer, the advantages of the system are:—

(1) It would ensure the true representation of all substantial interests in a reasonably fair proportion to their interests and numbers, and would prevent the Council being largely monopolised by one class. It is true that, the smaller a minority was, if it formed a separate group, the larger in proportion would be its representation, but this disproportion would never result in a smaller number of electors being represented by a larger number of members than a larger number would be; moreover the interests of the smaller groups would, as a rule, be greater in proportion to their numbers than those of the larger groups.

(2) It would ensure the careful consideration of the claims of minorities and prevent their being overridden in a ruthless fashion. In this connection consider for example a question of tenancy legislation; neither landlords aided by others could override tenants, nor could tenants similarly aided override landlords: the two parties would be forced to compromise as either could block the other's proposals.

(3) It would provide an electoral system that would automatically widen and become progressively more democratic with the spread of education. There would be no necessity to alter the franchise 'per saltum,' a process apparently invariably of an upsetting character. An assembly so constituted with the check noted above on constitutional changes might probably be safely left to work out such changes.

(4) It would act as a stimulus to education.

(5) It should go far to prevent the rise of any system of Party politics and all the evils that system involves.

The oldest Agricultural Experiment Station

The oldest Agricultural Experiment Station in the world, according to Mr. St. Nihal Singh in the October issue of the *Wealth of India*, is situated at Harpenden, in Hertfordshire, less than thirty miles from the heart of London. Its existence dates from 1843, when Mr. (afterwards Sir) John Bennet Lawes began experiments to ascertain the manurial requirements of various crops, and the yield under various conditions. Bousingault had already begun similar experiments on his own farm at Bechelbronn, in Alsace, but his effort never developed into a public enterprise, as did that of Lawes. The next oldest agricultural experiment station was established in 1852 at Mockern (Germany.) In 1887, the United States Congress appropriated money to start agricultural experiment stations in the various States incorporated in the American Union, though such a station had been established twelve years earlier at Middletown, Connecticut.

INDIA IN INDIAN AND FOREIGN PERIODICALS

THE INDIAN PROBLEM: ITS SPIRITUAL ASPECT. ["Prabuddha Bharata," October, 1917.]

THE METHOD OF MIND TRAINING BY THE ANCIENT HINDU ARYANS. By Dr. S. Venkoba Rao, B. A. ["The Mysore Social Review," September, 1917.]

THE CAPTURE OF GOLKONDA 1687. By Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., P.R.S. ["The Modern Review," November, 1917.]

THE APPROACH OF THE YOUNG MISSIONARY TO BUDDHISTS AND HINDU. By The Rt. Rev. Bishop R. S. Copleston, D. D. ["The International Review of Missions," October, 1917.]

FORTY YEARS' SANITARY PROGRESS IN BOMBAY. By C. C. James, M.I.C.E. ["The Asiatic Review," October, 1917.]

MR. GOKHALE'S TESTAMENT AND THE INDIAN CHURCH. By the Bishop of Rangoon. ["The East and the West," October, 1917.]

COMPULSION OF INDIANS IN MILITARY SERVICE. By Mr. J. N. Chaudhuri B.A. ["The Hindustan Review," October, 1917.]

FEUDATORY INDIA

PRINCES IN COUNCIL.

Lord Chelmsford's Speech

The Conference of the Ruling Chiefs and Princes of India opened on the 5th November in the Legislative Council Chamber, Delhi, about forty nine Princes being present. H. E. the Viceroy opened the Conference with the following speech:—

Your Highnesses,—I welcome you once more to this Council Chamber in which we meet for the second time to discuss in a friendly and informal manner certain matters as to which the Government of India would be glad to learn your views and to enlist your co-operation. I am glad to find that the Conference has not lost its popularity and that the number of members attending exceeds that of last year. This shows, I think, that Your Highnesses realise the advantage of such meetings not only as giving an opportunity for bringing your views before the Government of India but also as drawing you into touch with larger issues affecting the welfare of your States and of India generally.

Some of you, I know, contemplate the early establishment of some constitutional assemblage of the nature (to use the words of Your Highnesses' address last year) of a Council of Princes with specified functions and well-defined powers. That, Your Highnesses, is an ideal which you may well place before yourselves but which must, I fear, wait for its realisation until further experience indicates the lines on which these informal conferences may appropriately be developed in joint interests of yourselves and of the Empire at large. In the speeches which I delivered at the last Conference, I made it clear that its function was to advise the Government of India on certain specific matters concerning yourselves, your States and your people and I urged that you should give time for development and growth before giving to this assemblage a formal shape in which its functions and powers would be strictly defined. My view was and is that if an institution is to meet a real want and to give real help towards the progress of India it must evolve gradually on lines which experience may show as best suited to its healthy growth. I am strengthened in this view by what has happened during the past year. You all know of the notable development in regard to the Imperial Conference, how in 30 years from being an assemblage of Colonial Premiers presided over by the Colonial Secretary it has now, through gradual stages of growth dictated by the needs of the time, become a body representing the whole Empire including India and the Indian States and presided over by the Prime Minister. You know too how the Indian representatives including your own able and distinguished representative H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner were admitted to the innermost councils of the Imperial War Cabinet and were in a position to exercise a voice in shaping the policy of the Empire. Could any more convincing example be found of the advantage of proceedings slowly along the

road of natural evolution in preference to building up on paper an artificial structure which after its completion may be found altogether unsuited and unadaptable to the needs which it is intended to supply? I say then once more let us continue these conferences in their present informal shape and I can assure you that for my part I wish them to continue annually during my tenure of office and let us carefully and patiently watch the course of events. The constitution of India, as you will have realised from a recent pronouncement made by His Majesty's Secretary of State, is itself destined to change as time goes on, in harmony with the higher political education of the Indian people and their natural aspirations for a greater share in the administration of this country.

To turn to a question of even wider and more pressing interest I cannot let this occasion pass without thanking Your Highnesses once more for the most generous and loyal support which you have given towards the prosecution of the great war. Since I last addressed you in this Chamber, I have called on you for greater efforts in two directions, first in the matter of providing adequate reserves for the maintenance at full strength of your Imperial Service Troops which are doing such admirable work on active service at the various theatres of the war and secondly in the matter of raising recruits in your territories for the fighting forces and auxiliary services concerned with the army. In both cases I received from Your Highnesses a most gratifying response to my appeal. As regards the Imperial Service Troops all the Durbars concerned have given generous concessions for the period of the war including increases of pay and pension, the grant of batta money, rewards to recruits on enlistment and special terms of land revenue to the families of men on service. These concessions have been very effective in stimulating recruiting and in most cases the depots of the Imperial Service-Troops have, I am glad to learn, been brought up to the required strength and arrangements made to secure a steady flow of reserves for the future. In addition to these measures, certain States have decided to increase the strength of their Imperial Service units for the period of the war. Thus, His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir has recently added a complete new battalion of Infantry while the Kapurthala and Bahawalpur Durbars have both increased their units by the strength of a double company. Last, but not least, His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala has most generously offered to equip and maintain a camel transport and two mule transport corps in the Indian army for the same period. As regards recruiting for the regular army their Highnesses the Maharajas of Gwalior, Bikaner and Patiala have given valuable advice and assistance to the Central Recruiting Board which has been constituted to co-ordinate the efforts which have become necessary both for the formation of new regiments and to maintain existing combatant and non-combatant forces at their full strength. I have appealed to Your Highnesses and I am sure that my appeal will not be in vain to do your utmost to encourage your subjects to come forward at this momentous juncture. The question of the supply of man-power is vital and I know that I can count on you not to slacken your efforts to obtain recruits until victory has been finally achieved.

The Maharaja of Bikaner

At the close of the Conference, H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner, on behalf of the Ruling Prince, made a speech in which he pointed out:—

When the views of individuals and associations regarding the nature of political reforms to be introduced in British India are shortly to be considered by Your Excellency in conjunction with the Secretary of State, we have no doubt that you will both also consider questions connected with the Ruling Princes and the Indian States, and we trust that before the British Government come to any decision on such questions, we the Ruling Princes will also be consulted. It can never be too often emphasised that we represent about one-third of the Indian Empire's population, and no scheme for the progress of India can be regarded as satisfactory or complete which does not take into consideration questions relating to these important territories outside British India. We feel that we too must keep a definite goal in front of us, and whilst it is essential that our rights and privileges and our position as allies and friends guaranteed to us by solemn treaties and engagements with the British Government remain unaltered, our States cannot afford to lag behind in the general advance which India's association with Great Britain alone has rendered possible. It is for these reasons that we are now all the more anxious to see the early establishment of a constitutional chamber which may safeguard the interests and rights of ourselves and of our States. As we clearly stated last year, we have no desire to encroach upon the affairs of British India any more than we want outside interference in the affairs of our States and ourselves. It is hardly necessary, therefore, to repeat that we have no desire to claim a voice in the settlement of any matters other than those relating to ourselves and our States or which are of imperial or common concern.

H. E. the Viceroy in concluding the proceedings of the Conference referred thus to the future of its constitution:—

It may be possible to arrange for a preliminary and informal discussion on the subject towards the close of Mr. Montagu's stay on India, and I shall lose no time in placing before him your views on the subject when they have been formulated. In the meanwhile, I would suggest that you turn the matter over in your minds with a view to forming the outlines of a scheme which, while ensuring due scope for the representation of your views, will not infringe the principle to which you have given expression, namely, that the scope of any such assemblage which you may advocate shall be strictly limited to the matters relating to yourselves and your States or which are of joint interest to yourselves and the Government of India. In framing your scheme you will, no doubt, bear in mind the possibility of providing that the chamber or council which you would wish to bring into being should be so constituted as to permit of joint consultation with the high dignitaries of British India.

RULING PRINCES' BANQUET.

The Ruling Princes and Chiefs, assembled at Delhi, gave a brilliant banquet on the night of November 8, in honour of the Maharaja of Bikaner, Sir James Meston, and Sir S. P. Sinha. Covers were laid for 344 guests including all high officials and their families, and also H. E. the Commander-in-Chief.

Jam Sahab of Navanagar

After the Viceroy had given the loyal toast, the Jam Sahab of Navanagar said that the function set the zeal of their unanimous approval of the magnificent services rendered by the distinguished guests under the circumstances of singular novelty, delicacy, and seriousness.

Maharaja of Gwalior

The Maharaja of Gwalior, in giving the toast to the Viceroy dwelt at length on the Chiefs' Conference which represented their psychology and ambitions, their difficulties and their hopes. He paid tribute to the Maharaja of Bikaner who, at the Imperial Conference, had upheld the traditions of their order and justified the selection.

Lord Chelmsford

In replying to the toast H. E. the Viceroy made a speech in the course of which he said:—

At a time like the present when the shadow of the great war is over us all and when the varying emotions resulting from the ebb and flow of that distant struggle are the ruling influence in our daily life, I find something peculiarly inspiring and stimulating in the presence here in Delhi of so many Princes and Chiefs who have identified themselves so absolutely and wholeheartedly with the cause of the Empire. The loyalty you tendered to our King Emperor here, at the great Durbar in Delhi in the days of peace, has proved no empty formula for now in the hour of the Empire's trial we see you redeeming your pledge, placing your swords and the resources of your States at the service of your sovereign.

After paying a glowing tribute to each of the three representatives to the Imperial Cabinet, His Excellency proceeded:

Let me, however, lay before you what was said of them by the Prime Minister of Canada on his return to that Dominion after the Imperial Conference in a speech on another occasion. I quoted what Sir Robert Borden said of the Indian representatives in the Imperial Conference. To-night I quote his words with regard to the three gentlemen on the occasion of this dinner. Speak-

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ing in the Canadian House of Commons, he said "the Indian representatives were the Maharajah of Bikaner, one of the Indian Princes and a man of splendid loyalty and devotion who governs his country along progressive lines and who has contributed in every possible way to the winning of this war. Another member was Sir Satyendra Sinha who was a member of the Executive Council of the Viceroy of India, a man of notable learning, experience and ability and of great fairness and moderation as well. The third was Sir James Meston, the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, who has had a career as a civil servant in India, and who also is a man of commanding ability and wide experience."

The Maharaja of Patiala

H. H. the Maharaja of Patiala in proposing the health of the guests made special mention of the strength of each representative's merits. Touching the broader aspects of their mission to England, the Maharaja observed:—

The Conference marked, what Lord Curzon rightly called, a remarkable forward step in the constitutional evolution of the Empire. The representatives, he pointed out, were to be regarded not as members of an Imperial Conference of the old style but as members for the time being of the governing body of the British Empire.

The association of the Indian representatives with this governing body of the British Empire marks indeed a new chapter in India's history. It was England's manifesto to the world that India too was to be given a share in the responsibility of the Imperial Government and the announcement of the Prime Minister in the House of Commons on the 17th May was a glad assurance to us all that the brotherhood of England and India established on the battlefield was to abide after the war. Mr. Lloyd George said, meetings of an Imperial Cabinet should be held annually or at any intermediate time when matters of urgent Imperial concern require to be settled and that the Imperial Cabinet should consist of the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and such of his colleagues as deal specially with Imperial affairs, of the Prime Minister of each of the Dominions, of some specially accredited or possessed of equal authority and of a representative of the Indian people to be appointed by the Government of India. We hope, said the Premier, that the holding of an Imperial Cabinet to discuss foreign affairs and other aspects of Imperial policy will become an accepted convention of the British constitution. With the essential idea of this announcement we are in full accord, but would only make one suggestion, namely, that in addition to a representative of British India there should also be at the annual Imperial Cabinet a representative of the Indian Princes. I do not, I hope, indulge in any flattery of the order which I have the honour to represent, if I say that the comprehensive task of Imperial reconstruction will hardly be complete without the continuous consultation and comradeship of Indian Princes. It will, I hope, be acknowledged that the manhood, the material resources, the intellectual energy, the courage and co-operation of the Indian States, have contributed not a little to the making and strength of the British Empire. Our States have their shares in the freedom. Our States

have their shares in the up-building and strengthening of the English Government in the East. We are of the organic life of the Empire. We may reasonably claim to have a vote and a voice at the annual meeting of the Cabinet that is to shape the Imperial policy.

His Highness concluded with the following apt reference to H. E. the Viceroy and Mr. Montagu's part in the making of the India after the war:—

We welcome this note in the statesmanlike announcement of the Secretary of State, and we are happy that India has, in the honoured President of this evening's function, a Viceroy whose political mind understands the psychology of the Indian situation and who has by his acts given proof of a sympathetic policy. India has cause to be grateful to His Excellency as well as to the Right Hon'ble E. S. Montagu. The times indeed in which we live are too sacred for mutual strifes, too momentous for mutual aspersions. The times are new. The times are great and call us all to cross the bounds of commonplace to take up the task and the burden of to-day, to set forth in mutual trust with bright, brave, hopeful temper as the comrades in a common cause of the Empire upon the road which India must tread unbending, unrelenting, to gain the goal.

The Maharaja of Kapurthala

His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala, as President of the Reception Committee, said:—

I would like wholeheartedly to identify myself with His Highness of Patiala's eulogy of the personages who are the subject of this toast. The spectacle we witness this evening is in itself a moral inspiration. We are celebrating so to speak the debut of India at the round table of our imperial body politics, no less than the achievements of our distinguished delegates.

The Maharaja of Bikaner

After suitable replies from the three illustrious guests, the gathering of notables dissolved. H. H. The Maharaja of Bikaner, after paying a glowing tribute to the service of Sir S. P. Sinha and Sir James Meston, concluded with a word of congratulation to H. E. Lord Chelmsford on the admirable manner in which His Excellency is guiding British India in these trying times. Said his Highness:—

The recent pronouncement by the Secretary of State, on behalf of His Imperial Majesty's Government, and the sympathetic and statesmanlike speech by His Excellency the Viceroy early in September, open a new chapter in the political history of India, and cannot but have the most beneficial effect. This must be a source of genuine gratification to those who have at heart the best interests of the Empire and of this country. I feel sure that I am voicing the sentiments of my brother Princes on offering my respectful congratulations to His Excellency the Viceroy on the great events and the courageous part he has taken in these great events.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

Sir S. P. Sinha on Emigration

In the course of his speech at the banquet at Delhi, on November 8, given by the Ruling Chiefs in honour of the three Indian representatives to the Imperial Conference, Sir S. P. Sinha referred to the emigration question in the following terms:—

There were few matters specially and intimately concerning India which came before the conference, and I think we have every reason to congratulate ourselves on the results. One was the resolution by which the conference recommends to the Dominions Overseas that a resolution passed by the Colonial Conference in 1907 excluding India should be rescinded, and that India should hereafter be represented at every future conference. Another was the resolution accepting the principle of reciprocity of treatment between the Dominions and India, and recommending our claims for favourable consideration by the Governments concerned. There has been some criticism that neither of these resolutions is productive of any practical benefit to India. I am unable to admit either the force or the justice of such criticism. It is true that neither of these resolutions affects the internal constitution of the Government of India but was it possible or desirable that the Conference should deal with that? Would it have been reasonable to ask that the Dominions should concede to India what they have not conceded even to England herself—the right of free and unrestricted immigration? It is a concession which they cannot make without giving up the right—the fundamental right—of every self-governing country to determine the character and composition of its own population. I could not insist on unlimited numbers of my countrymen having the right to settle in Canada or Australia, because I could not with equanimity, contemplate similar settlements say of our English subjects in Kashmir or our Negro fellow-subjects in the plains of Bengal. If I was in error in not insisting upon this extraordinary commission, I was at least in good company, for Mr. Gokhale, than whom India has had no greater patriot in recent times, had a few years before expressly repudiated any such claim on behalf of India. My Lord, our relations in the past with many of the Dominions and Colonies have not been happy, and I think they themselves would not deny that their treatment of our countrymen has been sometimes worse than inhospitable. On the other hand, we in India have not always discriminated between the different Dominions and Colonies. Our causes of complaint against them are not the same in every case. Some of them want our labour, others do not, and their treatment of our emigrants varies accordingly. We have, therefore, distinct grievances against different Colonies, though we are inclined to lump them all against the Dominions generally. I do not, however, desire to dwell on them, nor am I able to assert that our grievances in those respects have all been removed. To expect that would be to expect a miracle of which the age has long since passed. But I venture to claim that the resolution in question clears the atmosphere and indicates a disposition to remedy these wrongs as far as and as soon as

possible. We considered it the part of prudence to be content with such a notable advance and to leave the rest to time and to the growing feeling of solidarity which the war has unquestionably engendered, and a debate in the Canadian House of Commons, on the 18th May last, in which both Sir Robert Borden and Sir Wilfrid Laurier dealt with the resolution in question, shows that we were right.

Emigration Committee

A memorandum from the Gujarat Sabha to the Secretary for the Department of Commerce and Industry states that the Gujarat Sabha has duly considered the report of the Inter-departmental Committee on colonial emigration, recently published, and has examined the scheme therein set forth. In the opinion of the Committee, the scheme, if enforced, is bound to degenerate into the system of indenture. It contains in it all elements that go to make that system. The Committee of the Sabha has come to the conclusion that it is not possible to devise a scheme of state-aided emigration that would be free from indenture taint. The Committee of the Sabha, therefore, suggests that the scheme should not be adopted, that there should be no state-aided or state-regulated emigration to the colonies and that the emigration to colonies should be free and at the expense and risk of those who intend to emigrate.

Floods in Durban

The following communication has been received in India touching the flood disaster at Springfield, in which many Indians had suffered.

"500 families are affected. Number of deaths unascertained but will not exceed 100. Durban Mayor has opened a fund."

Indians in Zanzibar

We learn from the *Indian Opinion* that Mr. Yusufali A. Korimji, President of the Zanzibar Indian National Association, has given the sum of Rs. 7,000 on behalf of his firm, and Rs. 500 on his own account, for building a public hall for the Association, in the name of the grand-father of the present partners, Sheth Krimjee Jivanjee, to be named "The Karmi Public Hall."

INDUSTRIAL & COMMERCIAL SECTION 757

The Tata Industrial Bank

With a view to developing the industrial resources of the country by Indian capital especially in regard to the starting of manufacturing industries in India from raw materials, obtained in the country, Messrs. Tata & Sons propose to open a Bank called "The Tata Industrial Bank" to be registered in Bombay under the Indian Companies' Act. It will be managed by a Board of Directors, composed of experienced businessmen and there will be no managing agents. The authorised capital will be six crores in shares of rupees seventy five each. The present issue of capital will be limited to rupees four and half crores of which only Rs. 37½ per share will be called up in instalments of Rs. 7½, i.e., the paid-up capital will amount to rupees two and quarter crores. Messrs. Tata & Sons have, in consultation with a powerful and influential group of London financiers arrived at a well-considered scheme of an Industrial Bank suited to the requirements of the country. They expect that this financial group will take up a considerable portion of intended capital and there will be an English Shareholders' (London) Committee. The group do not intend to invite public subscriptions of capital. It is stated that the proposed Bank will make industrial business a speciality and, being provided with ample resources, will be able to invest a considerable portion of it for longer periods than ordinary banks could or would do under the latter's existing constitutions and conservative traditions. One of the functions of the new Bank will be to provide necessary pecuniary help for comprehensive preliminary investigations of industrial proposals and requisite working capital. When the investigations eventuate in the establishment of industries on a commercial basis the proposed Bank will do all ordinary exchange business like other banks. Its special object will be financing and assisting the development of existing new industries and, as

incidental thereof, make advances to and underwrite debentures issued by such concerns for their working capital and grant accommodations against block accounts. The bank will have an up-to-date Intelligence Section and a competent staff of experts, scientific and commercial, to study and report on industrial schemes brought to its attention.

Flour Mills in India

Enquiries were recently instituted by the Department of Statistics regarding the milling capacity of the Flour Mills in India. The results of the enquiries show that the thirty-five mills, now working under the approved Roller system, can turn out per hour 2,961 maunds of flour, 966 maunds of Atta, 954 maunds of Bran, and 87 maunds of other products (suji, etc.), total 4,968 maunds or 182½ tons. Excluding bran and other products the quantity of flour and "Atta" milled per hour amounts to 3,927 maunds or 144 tons. No information was collected regarding the period of working per day for each mill; but assuming that the mills ordinarily work 12 hours a day and excluding 52 Sundays, the total quantity of Flour and "Atta" milled in a year would amount to 14,748,000 maunds or 542,000 tons. This is equivalent to 774,000 tons of wheat grain. The quantity of wheat (grain) normally exported being 1,400,000 tons (average of three years before the War), it would, therefore, appear that the Indian mills cannot mill the whole quantity of wheat exported from India, in addition to the quantity they now mill.

Madras Exhibition.

In connection with the Industries and Arts Exhibition, proposed to be held at Madras under the auspices of Lord Pentland in aid of the war funds, the Travancore Government has offered to co-operate with the Madras Committee and to send exhibits from Travancore. We understand that the exhibits may be sent in so as to reach Madras about the 12th December next.

The Tanning Industry

Meetings are being held in several mofussal towns in the Madras Presidency to consider the present condition of the tanning industry in Southern India. Speeches are being delivered protesting against the action of Government in prohibiting all skin-tanning in the country. Many tanneries have been closed and thousands of workmen have been thrown out of work. The meetings request Government immediately to relax its order.

Uses of Waste Paper

There are many practical purposes for which so-called 'waste' paper can be utilised. Old letters and envelopes of good quality were repulped and worked up into inferior kinds, while old newspapers, of no value for this purpose, if properly treated form the basis of a kind of papier-mache from which all sorts of useful household things could be made. In Germany, for years past, such things as babies' baths, washing-up bowls, and so on, were made of this, and very nice they were—wonderfully light in weight, cleanly, and strong.

Cotton in India

Last year 2,200,000 bales of cotton were consumed in the whole of India of which Bombay's share alone came to 1,100,000 bales. It will thus be seen that the industry has progressed satisfactorily in spite of the much criticised cotton excise duty levied on Indian-made cloth at the command of Lancashire. In 1900 the consumption of cotton in the whole of India was 1,453,400 bales producing 4,587,000 cwts. of yarn and 98,000,000 lbs. of cloth. In 1910, 1,935,000 bales of cotton were consumed producing 5,600,000 cwts. of yarn and 228,800,000 lbs. of cloth. In 1915 the consumption of cotton bales rose to 2,100,000 bales producing 5,820,000 cwts. of yarn and 277,000,000 lbs. of cloth. Practically, between the year 1900 and the year 1915 the production of cloth increased threefold.

The Champaran Enquiry

The report of the Champaran Agrarian Enquiry Committee, with the resolution of the Bihar Government on it, is published. With one exception, the report is unanimous and the principal recommendations are: (1) the substitution of a purely voluntary system of growing indigo for the *tinkathia* system; (2) the continuance of the temporary lease system in estates under the Court of Wards; and (3) other measures designed to meet grievances arising out of the existing practices.

In regard to the first recommendation the resolution states that the *tinkathia* system, which, there is ample evidence to show, is not necessary to ensure the continuance of the indigo industry, has outlived its day and that in spite of periodical revisions of the terms of engagements entered into by tenants, the system is essentially unpopular and must necessarily give rise to friction between planter and tenant. The Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council, therefore, accepts the Committee's recommendation that the system should be entirely abolished, and that this should be effected by legislation in which special provision should also be made for the regulation of the growing of indigo as a system of free contracts, which should be absolutely voluntary and for short terms only.

The Lieutenant-Governor accepts the recommendation of the reduction of some enhanced rents, *sarashbasi*, *tawan* and other *abwabs*, and recognises that these recommendations represent a reasonable compromise between the conflicting interests of tenant, lessee and superior landlord, and he will request the Court of Wards to give immediate and general effect to them. His Honour agrees that in some areas at least there is full justification for amending their law so as to enable the Collector, on his own motion, to enquire into and punish such exactions on the part of a landlord.

The rest of the resolution deals with minor recommendations.

The Coconut Industry

Messrs. Tata Sons and Co. have embarked upon another big industrial enterprise based upon a business taken from the Germans who had made a monopoly of it before the war. A company with a capital of fifty lakhs of rupees, had been floated by them to develop the coconut industry in Southern India. The whole of the capital has already been privately subscribed, all the shares being taken up by a few industrial magnates of the city of Bombay.

The German capitalists made a large fortune out of this industry. It promises to play an important part in the industrial development of the country now that it has been acquired by Messrs. Tata Sons and Co.

Training of Mill Operatives

Mr. N. B. Saklatvala, a partner of Messrs. Tata and Sons and a representative witness of the Bombay Millowners' Association said to the Industries Commission that Messrs. Tata's firm at no time had found the least difficulty in obtaining capital. The Bombay public were ever ready to invest in mill concerns started by individuals or firms with experience and reputation. Government aid was hardly necessary for a mill industry but any other industries with great possibilities of success, which, owing to foreign competition, were not in a position at present to make headway needed Government aid. This help could be given by an import duty being levied for some years on the imported articles, or the articles used for the industry might be imported duty free and exempted from income-tax, or guaranteed Government purchase. In certain industries Government help would be indispensable, such as shipbuilding, the manufacture of electrical goods, the making of mill machinery and the production of coal-tar colours. Great technical skill and a large capital were required for these and private enterprise was not likely to take the initiative in such industries.

Glassware in India

The Pioneer writes:—

In 1913-14 India imported glassware, including bangles, of a total value of Rs. 1,94,50,000 and of this amount the two enemy countries were responsible for nearly Rs. 1,16,00,000. On the outbreak of hostilities, supplies ceased and it became necessary for India either to make up the deficiency herself or to import her requirements from elsewhere. Japan saw the possibilities of the situation and her glass exports to India have increased year after year till now they occupy the position Austria formerly did—in 1913-14 imports from Japan amounted to over fifteen lakhs of rupees, in 1914-15 to over nineteen and a half lakhs, in 1915-16 to sixty lakhs and in 1916-17 to eighty-nine lakhs; Austria's exports in 1913-14 were valued at about Rs. 87,40,000. India, however, is doing something to supply her own demands, and in the United Provinces decided progress has been made during the past three years in the commercial manufacture of glassware. There have been difficulties encountered, such as irregular supplies of coal and scanty supplies of alkali, which, with the help of the Director of Industries, have been practically surmounted, and faulty construction of furnaces at the glass-making factories, which the Government Glass Expert has been, in most cases, able to rectify. The bangle-making industry has made rapid strides during the past year and to-day Firozabad, the centre of the industry, is turning out bangles which little more than two years ago the makers declared it impossible to manufacture. Mr. A. H. Silver, the late Director of Industries, is of opinion that the conditions for glass making in the United Provinces are very favourable and says that prices are such that the industry should be able to hold its own.

AGRICULTURAL SECTION

Agricultural Association of Kanara

Recently a "Kanara Agricultural Association" was started by some people most of whom depend solely on agriculture. So far they discussed only agricultural topics in their meetings. Lately, it seems, they received an invitation from the Collector to send any representation they have to Mr. Montagu, through him. Availing themselves of the opportunity, they resolved in a meeting, specially convened for the purpose, that the Association accords its full support to the Congress and Moslem League Scheme of Reforms; that those Reforms are urgently needed and that, therefore, the Association does not wish to send a separate deputation to Mr. Montagu. The resolutions will be duly communicated to the Collector for submitting them to Mr. Montagu. The meeting was a fully representative one; for it consisted of Hindus, Mussalmans and Indian Christians.

The Food-Value of Rice

As a food, writes Edward Albes, in the *Bulletin of the Pan-American Union*, rice is nutritious and very easily digested. Boiled rice, for instance, is said to be digestible in one hour. As to its food value in comparison with wheat flour, analyses show that 100 pounds of cleaned rice contain 87.7 pounds of nutrients, consisting of 8 pounds of protein, 0.3 pound fat, 79 pounds of carbohydrates, and 0.4 pound of ash; 100 pounds of wheat flour contain 87.2 pounds of nutrients, consisting of 10.8 pounds protein, 1.1 pounds fat, 74.8 pounds carbohydrates, and 0.4 pound ash. The deficiency of albuminoids and fats can easily be supplied from the milk or meat gravies with which it is usually eaten, or from leguminous vegetables such as peas, beans, etc.

Manuring the Sugar-cane

The *Wealth of India* says that a digest has been made of all the results obtained for ten years of experimental manuring of the sugar-cane in the field in Java. The results given by earthnut

cakes as manure have been compared with those yielded by sulphate of ammonia.

The conclusion reached is that the former seed cannot be deemed equal to the latter. A mixture of the two manures gives better results than the use of oilcakes alone.

In rather sandy soils, the oilcakes produce better results than in clayey soils. The nitrogen in sulphate of ammonia not being so expensive as that in oilcakes, it is more economical to use the former.

The production of the sugar-cane is less when oilcakes are used than with sulphate of ammonia, but the richness in sugar is not affected.

Apples as a Food

A writer in *Good Health* observes:—

The apple has well been called the king of fruits. Although most people enjoy an apple on account of its pleasant fragrance and delightful flavour, still comparatively few realise the numerous good and useful qualities it possesses. . . . Like most fruits the apple contains a very large amount of pure, clean water, nature's nectar and a comparatively small quantity of food substance. Still, the nutritional properties of the fruit are not to be under-estimated or despised. Naturally the composition of apples varies enormously, some being comparatively watery while others contain a very appreciable amount of sugar and starch as well as acids and salts. Various analyses show that the apple contains from 80 to 85 per cent. of water, about 5 per cent. of proteid or nitrogenous material, from 10 to 15 per cent. of carbonaceous matter, including starch and sugar, from 1 to 1.5 per cent. of acids and salts. The sugar content of a fresh apple varies from 6 to 10 per cent. according to the variety. Then we must not fail to point out that the fresh apple is rich in vitamins and is classed among the most valuable of the antiscorbutic fruits for relieving scurvy.—

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Literary

THE REVIEW OF REVIEWS.

A new feature of the October number of the *Review of Reviews* is a most arresting article by a "Military Critic" on "War Weariness." The Editor announces that this critic has been commissioned to write a series of articles on various points of importance connected with the War. A paper that many will turn to with interest is that written by the late Mr. W. T. Stead many years ago, now printed under the title of "Democracy and Christianity." Mrs. Croom-Johnson supplies a criticism of the play "The Invisible Foe" and this is followed by Mr. David Gow's interview with Mr. H. B. Irving.

WAR'S EFFECT ON READING.

A grim witticism of the early days of the war, says the *Literary Digest*, was that it is a great instructor in geography. Now we learn from competent authorities that the war has greatly improved the taste of the reading public, and the *New York Times* quotes Mr. E. Dekke, of the New York Public Library, as saying:—

"It is the future that seems to be bothering a great many of the people who come here from day to day and spend hours with their heads buried in books. Consequently they are not satisfied with history alone. They go to the economist and the philosopher for information and enlightenment. They feel that facts alone, as recorded by the historian, do not explain the problems which confront us. They are grasping out not only for the concrete but also for the abstract facts of life in a determination to see things for themselves and see them straight. . . ."

"Reading of German authors in general has had a big decline. The classics, such as Goethe, Schiller, and Lessing, are still in demand, but modern German writers make little or no appeal to the average reader."

GERMAN WAR LITERATURE.

A contemporary says that the German public and the German journalists know nothing about war except what they have read in German books about 1870, and that German "war reports" read exactly like the "works" prepared for the German youth. Here is an instance of the literature which comes handy to the German youth. Thus:

It is really not in the least difficult to write about the war. The catchwords are provided. Hindenburg is a genius. Joffre is a mere dabbler, the German soldier is good and noble, the Frenchman is a greyhound, the Englishman is a rowdy, the Belgian is no good (our best non-commissioned officer was killed last night by a Belgian bullet), the Serbs have run away, and the Russians are always drunk. Tra-la-la-la-la. . . . A common practice is to write a short preliminary report, to be followed in one of the next issues by the real thing. This main article is always a glory. The guns roll up, there are loud cheers, one trench is taken after another, the battlefield reeks with the flesh of the defeated enemies, and once more undying fame is pinned to a standard (my regiment has not got a standard.) It only needs lager beer, hot sausages, and a brass band to complete the customary celebrations of the Battle of Sedan.

PRESS IN THE PUNJAB.

The following is published in the *Punjab Gazette*: In exercise of the powers conferred by section 16 of the Indian Press Act, 1910, His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab is pleased, in supersession of notification No. 373, dated the 8th March, 1911, to direct that the printers of every newspaper in the Punjab shall deliver two copies of each issue of such newspaper as soon as it is published and free of expense, to the Officer-in-Charge, Press Branch, Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab, at his office in Lahore.

Educational

DR. SADLER ON THE POWER OF EDUCATION.

Dr. M. E. Sadler, the Chairman of the Calcutta University Commission, writes in the *Times* that the power of education in a nation's life depends chiefly on five things, viz.:

1. Support given to it by public opinion, especially employers of labour and associations of workers.
2. Earnestness of parents.
3. Skill and insight of Government in aiding or organizing schools.
4. Vitality of intellectual, spiritual or artistic traditions in the community.
5. Purposeful industry [and self-training of young people receiving education, etc.

BOMBAY MATRIC EXAMINATIONS.

The Committee appointed by the Senate of the Bombay University to draft regulations to give effect to the scheme of a Joint Board for conducting the Matriculation and School Final examinations, has submitted its report, recommending that the regulations, which have been drawn up in regard to the constitution and functions of a Joint Board and the conduct of the examination to be entrusted to it, be adopted. On the question of allowing candidates to answer in the vernacular question papers in certain subjects, the Committee was nearly equally divided.

PROF. MUKERJI ON INDIAN ECONOMICS.

Professor Radhakumud Mookerji, M.A., F.R.S., Lecturer in Economics, Calcutta University, who had been invited by the Punjab University to deliver a series of lectures on Indian economics delivered his introductory lecture before a large gathering of students in the University Hall, Lahore, on the 6th November. The Vice-Chancellor presided. Professor Mookerji began by giving an outline of his scheme of an

independent School of Indian Economics. He considered the inapplicability of western economic theories to Indian economic and social conditions, urged the necessity of developing new economics for India, which will contribute towards the formulation, on the basis of general and comparative study of western and eastern types of social evolution, of economic principles of universal validity on the one hand and on the other towards the development of commercial habits and the constitution of Indian social order, based on human instincts and natural sympathies, which had been threatened by the anti-social tendencies of latter day industrialism. This will set at rest the apparent conflict between the communalism of the East and the competition of the West, and will make for real progress and vital well-being and culture, instead of the false progress which is now associated with an increase of mere mechanical efficiency and power.

INDIAN EDUCATIONAL SERVICE.

Dr. Tej Bahadur Saptu has obtained from the Government of India a statement showing the officers recruited for the Indian Educational Service since its reorganization on the 23rd of July, 1896.

Period	No. of appointments	No. of Hindus
1896-1900	29	Nil
1901-1905	56	Nil
1906-1910	92	Nil
1911-1916	115	7(?)

	Entered	Passed	per cent. fail.
Matri.	14,221	8,280	41.7
I. A.	5,994	2,739	51.5
B. A.	3,338	1,728	47.5
M. A.	655	309	53.0

Calcutta University Examination Results for 1916,

Legal.

THE SEVEN STAGES OF THE LEGAL PROFESSION.

The following funny lines by S. C. Mookerjee will be read with interest:—First stage, the briefless,

Loafing and loitering in the court's corridors;
Then the promising junior with his shamla senior
And bulky voluminous brief, dogging his senior
Ungrudgingly to court. And then the patti-fogger,

Waiting in suspense, with a pitiful petition
made to his client's order. Then an Advocate
full of tall talk and moustached like the shikari

cat,
Forcible in speech, strong and fiery in argument,

Fighting the tuppenny-happenny matter,
Even to the Privy Council. And then the Lion
of the Bar,

In fine black gown with spectacles to match
With a jaunty air and a wise smile in the
face

Quite up to the dodges and requirements of the
profession.

And so he makes his pile. The sixth stage
ushers

In the old crippled Legal adviser
With a bolster at the back and, "hookah" in

front
His purse always well preserved, a practice too
well-known

To need a special mention; and his deep loyal
devotion to Mammon

Changing again into the worship of sleep and
idleness, finds play

In advice and opinions. Last stage of all,
That closes this substantial legal career,

Is retired Grand-fathership and mere non-
entity

No sense, no argument, no voice, absolute
nothingness.

CRIME IN MADRAS.

Mr. F. Armitage, Commissioner of Police, in his report for last year states that there were only four cases of murder in Madras during the year, two of which were of new born infants whose bodies were found on the roadside. In house breaking the number of cases increased from 298 to 313. Mr. Armitage regrets that detection was not achieved in most of the serious cases.

JUSTICE SIR ALI IMAM.

The Hon'ble Justice Sir Ali Imam has joined the Patna High Court Bench in succession to Mr. Justice Sharfuddin, who retired with effect from the 10th September, 1917. So far as the Patna High Court is concerned, it is the first appointment to the Bench from the members of the High Court Bar. Sir Ali Imam's antecedents observes the *Patna Law Weekly* "induce us to confidently hope that he will be an acquisition to the Bench. W disfavour, as a rule, the practice of translation from the Bench to the Executive Chamber, and vice versa. But we think Sir Ali Imam's experience at the Bar, especially during the few months next before his elevation, will stand him in good stead in discharging the onerous duties of his office."

"CHRONICLE" DEFAMATION CASE.

At the High Court of Bombay, on November 5 a special Bench consisting of Justices Batchelor, Beaman and Marten delivered judgment in appeal preferred by Mr. Surajmal B. Mehta, a solicitor of the High Court of Bombay, against Mr. B. G. Horniman, Editor of the *Bombay Chronicle* and others under Clause 15 of the Letters Patent against the judgment and decree of Sir Basil Scott, Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Heaton who were divided in opinion passed on the 29th March 1917. Their Lordships delivered separate written judgments. Mr. Justice Batchelor held comments made by the respondent were fair. The appeal therefore failed, and the plaintiff's suit dismissed with costs throughout.

Medical

THE BABY'S ROOM.

The following paragraph is taken from a pamphlet prepared by the Committee of American Association for the study and prevention of infant mortality:—

A quiet room if possible with a south or south-westerly exposure should be given to the baby. It should be well ventilated at all times. An open fireplace is desirable. The room should contain no upholstered furniture or any curtains. The walls and floors should be so finished as to allow frequent wiping with a damp cloth. A porch adjoining the baby's room and running water near by are desirable. The temperature of the baby's room should be kept not higher than 68° or 70° in winter and in summer should be kept as cool as possible with awnings and shutters. The windows should be kept open day and night in summer, and in winter the room should be aired two or three times a day.

I. M.'S. PROMOTION.

It is notified that pending the resumption of normal conditions the following rules shall govern the claims of officers of the Indian Medical Service to accelerated promotion: Officers under twelve years service at the outbreak of war. Those who qualified in part and those on study leave or combined study leave who were recalled to duty shall receive accelerated promotion with pay and position.

Officers who had completed twelve years' service and over at the outbreak of war.—Those who qualified in part or who were recalled from study leave or combined study leave shall receive accelerated promotion with advantages of position but without back pay, provided that in the opinion of the Director-General, Indian Medical Service, such officers produce satisfactory evidence of their

intention to have qualified fully before the expiry of sixteen years' service.

Rule for all other officers.—The period within which they are required to qualify for accelerated promotion (i. e., while in the rank of captain or within four years of their promotion to the rank of major) shall be extended by a period equivalent to the duration of the war. Officers qualifying within the latter period shall receive exactly the same concession as if they had qualified within the prescribed time.

AYURVEDIC DEPUTATION.

The All-India Ayurvedic Deputation, in connection with the visit of the Ruling Princes to Delhi, waited upon them. Ayurvedic practitioners from all parts of India attended the deputation.

All the Princes in general and the Maharajas of Rewa and Alwar in particular showed active sympathy with the cause of Ayurveda. The deputation wanted to consult with Sir Sankaran Nair, the Education Member, on the subject and the representative of the deputation, Vaidyaratna Kaviraj Jogindranath Sen, had a private interview with Sir Sankaran Nair in regard to the matter.

Hakimul-mulk Hakem Ajmal Khan entertained the Kavarajas at an evening party.

SIR PARDEY LUKIS.

Surgeon-General Sir Pardey Lukis, Director-General of Indian Medical Service, who had been ailing for some time, died last month of heart failure. Since the war broke out, Sir Pardey had a strenuous time with his official duties as well as those connected with S. John and Red cross. He has had two extensions of service beyond his normal term of office, his death is a great loss to the country as well to the service of which he was such a distinguished head, and whose services were warmly acknowledged by the Royal commission on Mesopotamia. His death has cast a gloom over the station, and greatest sympathy is felt for Lady Lukis and his sons and daughters.

Science

BOSE'S INSTITUTE.

Another princely contribution from Bombay has been made towards the sum of rupees fifteen lakhs, required for the establishment of Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose's research institute in Calcutta. Mr. Mulraj Khatan, the well known millowner and merchant prince of Bombay has made a gift of exchequer bonds of £15,000 sterling, amounting to rupees two and quarter lakhs, to Dr. Bose for the establishment of the research institute.

NEW TEST OF DEATH.

A discovery of great value for testing with certainty whether a person is dead has been made by Dr. Tashiro, Professor of Physiology at Chicago University. As described in the *Lancet*, it is too technical for the layman's understanding, but a doctor explains that the test is made by crushing a piece of muscle and comparing it with a piece of uncrushed muscle. If the person is alive the crushed piece gives off more carbonic acid gas than the uncrushed piece, as a result of the stimulation produced by the injury. Dr. Tashiro claims that this test can be applied within a few minutes, or almost within one or two hours of death.

WATER STERILISER.

A new portable water steriliser has been invented. It comprises a battery of dry cells carrying between its two electrodes blotting paper charged with sodium chloride (common salt). The electrodes are placed in the drinking water to be made safe, and the passage of the current changes the salt into sodium hypochlorite, one of the most powerful of oxidisers, by which any microscopic organisms in the water are destroyed in a minute or so. The taste of the water is not affected. A vest-pocket apparatus, which may be used many times, suffices for the single traveller, but for large camps or companies provision may be made for sterilising many barrels of water at a time.

WATERPROOFING CLOTHES.

Prof R. E. Schup of the Harvard University writes in the *Literary Digest*:—

Place the gasoline in cans or other closed vessels far from any fire for a day or more where temperature ranges between 70° and 95° F. Then pour into a pail or other open vessel. Heat the paraffin to 212° F., or above, and pour into the gasoline while stirring rather vigorously. Dip small articles into the mixture and wring and shake gently, lest an electric spark should be developed by friction. Large articles may be placed in a tub and the mixture poured over them. It is better to turn them over once or twice, so that the mixture may be evenly applied. If this is done and one pours on only enough to moisten them, one can avoid the disagreeable task of wringing.

"In this way I have waterproofed a good-sized tent with only a few minutes of labor."

MR. EDISON'S INVENTIONS.

Mr. Thomas Edison, America's greatest inventor, who has practically isolated himself since the war began is devoting his entire time to study a device to defeat the enemy. He has a big staff of experts and about 4,000 men working for him at New Jersey. The other day Mr. Edison had an hour's chat with Mr. Wilson at the White House. For military reasons it is not permitted to divulge the projects which Mr. Edison and his assistants have been labouring with, and which he believes may have a far-reaching effect upon warfare on the sea and in the air. It may be stated, however, that he has already turned over to the Navy Department one invention which officers believe may be adapted to naval usages with excellent results. Only a few naval officers have had the opportunity to see the test of the invention, and they are satisfied that it will prove valuable if its nature is kept secret until it is taken into action.

Personal

MR. MONTAGU AND PARTY IN INDIA.

The Right Hon. E. S. Montagu, Secretary of State for India, arrived in Bombay on the morning of the 9th November. On the arrival of the mail steamer, a deputation proceeded in an R.I.M. launch to the steamer, and Mr. Montagu arrived with them at the Bunder, where he was received by H. E. Lord Willingdon, The Secretary of State and H. E. the Governor then drove to the Yacht Club. The arrival was private.

The Secretary of State's party included Lord Donoughmore, Chairman of Committees, House of Lords, Mr. C. H. Roberts, M.P., Sir William Duke, Member of the Council of India, Mr. M. C. Seton, Secretary, Judicial and Public Departments, India Office, Mr. Kisch, Private Secretary, and Mr. Parsons, Assistant Private Secretary.

Surgeon-General Sir George Makins, President, Royal College of Surgeons, who is on an extensive tour of inspection of hospitals in India, also arrived at Bombay on the same day.

The party left for Delhi the same Night.

THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

A. G. G. writes in the *Daily News and Leader*:

The time has not come to pass judgments upon the strategy and tactics of the war. No doubt the historian will put his finger on many mistakes with us as with the rest—but it is not possible, I think, to question the confidence which prevails in the present command, a confidence touched in the case of the Commander-in-Chief with something approaching affection. Modern war does not lend itself to the intimacies and hero worship of the past and affection is a slow and a rare growth but the grave and finely tempered spirit of Sir Douglas Haig has become a subtle influence which one may feel pervading the whole army.

GAMBETTA AND LLOYD GEORGE.

Mr. J. A. Lovat Fraser writes in the *Welsh Outlook*:

Between the careers of Gambetta and Mr. Lloyd George there is certainly a resemblance, which suggests a similarity of character. If one were writing biographies in pairs like Plutarch, there is no statesman to whom Mr. Lloyd George could be more suitably compared than Gambetta. The Welshman, like the Frenchman, is a provincial, a radical, a lawyer, and a man of the people. Mr. Lloyd George, like Gambetta, early abandoned the law for politics. He came to the front in the political world by the same methods. He has maintained his hold of the democracy by a style of oratory that resembles that of Gambetta. In numerous details of his life he recalls the life of the Frenchman.

THE CHIEF COMMISSIONER OF ASSAM.

It is officially announced that, with the approval of the Secretary of State, the term of office of the Hon. Sir Archdale Earle, Chief Commissioner of Assam, has been extended to the end of March 1918. Sir Archdale Earle will be succeeded by the Hon. Mr. N. D. Beatson Bell, at present a member of the Bengal Executive Council.

SIR W. HERSCHEL DEAD.

Sir William Herschel, Bart. who died recently in England was born in 1833 and was educated at Haileybury and Oxford. He entered the Indian Civil Service in 1853, retiring in 1878. During his service he was one of the Secretaries to the Board of Revenue, Calcutta, and was Commissioner of Cooch Behar. Sir William discovered the use of finger prints and after proving their individuality and persistence for 15 years, initiated the modern system of identification for civil purposes in Bengal in 1878. He is succeeded in the baronetcy by Rev. J. C. W. Herschel, his elder son.

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Political

THE INDIA OFFICE.

The *Times* says:—Mr. Fisher, President of the Board of Education, will represent the India Office in the House of Commons, during the absence of Mr. Montagu. Mr. Fisher will not occupy himself with departmental routine, but will be in close touch with Lord Islington.

COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION.

At a largely attended meeting of the Madras Provincial Congress Committee recently the following resolution was passed unanimously:—“That the Madras Provincial Congress Committee is of opinion that, having regard to the peculiar circumstances of this Province, communities in the Province other than Brahman should also be adequately represented in the Legislative Council. The Madras Provincial Congress Committee is at the same time of opinion that representation should be on a territorial basis as far as possible.”

SPECIAL ANDHRA CONFERENCE.

Among the resolutions passed at the Special Andhra Conference held at Bezvada were the following:—

(1) This Conference, while holding that the reforms embodied in the resolution on Self-Government passed at the Lucknow Congress last year, are the irreducible minimum to be given in the coming reforms, urges the Viceroy, Secretary of State for India and the British Parliament to give effect to it immediately.

(2) This Conference approves of the principle of Communal representation to Legislative Councils on the following lines:—(1) Non-Brahman Hindu Communities should have an irreducible minimum of representation fixed, having regard to their numbers, wealth and taxpaying capacity. (2) Brahmans should have their representation fixed, having regard to their education, culture and population. (3) Similar

representation should be given to Christians. (4) Panchams also should have adequate representation. (5) Voting should be direct. (6) Franchise should be extended. (7) Non-Brahmans should have a fair share in the public services.

(3) This Conference is of opinion that in order to preach Self-Government as advocated by the Congress and by the Moslem League, common folk workers must go about villages and get signatures of people to the memorial to be presented to Mr. Montagu.

BENGAL DISTRICT BOARDS AND NON-OFFICIAL CHAIRMAN.

As an experimental measure the Government of Bengal have sanctioned the appointment of a non-official chairman to the Twentyfour-Pergannas, Jessure, Burdwan, Backergunj, and Murshidabad District Boards.

PARLIAMENTARY ELOQUENCE.

A perusal of the following paragraph from the *World*, remarks the *Leader* of Allahabad, may give some consolation to busy official members of Indian Legislative Councils, such, for instance, as the Hon. Mr. Lionel Davidson, who feel sick of the waste of their valuable time caused by valuable Indian non-official members:—

It will be a surprise to many to learn that the most talkative M. P. in the House during the last session was Mr. Walter Long. In a parliamentary handbook we read that he spoke 229 columns of Hansard, Mr. Hogge coming second with 219, and Mr. Asquith third with 202. The three peers who headed the list in the House of Lords were the Earl of Crewe; the Marquis of Lansdowne and the Marquis of Salisbury. The greatest questioner was Mr. Ginnel, who asked no fewer than 896 questions, Mr. Hogge running a good third with 606. Mr. Tennant answered 2,111 questions on the floor of the House, Mr. Forster 1,685, Mr. Asquith 1,152 and Mr. Samuel 1,200.

General

BOMBAY BOY-SCOUTS' ASSOCIATION.

The following message from the Premier has been received by the commissioner and organizing secretary of the Bombay Presidency and Hyderabad Boy Scouts' Association :—

I feel much encouraged to think that any words I may have spoken should be the means of helping on the Boy Scout Movement.

It is perhaps only since the beginning of the War, during these three years of constant drain upon the manhood of our nation, that we have come to realise the great value of the movement which your 'Chief' inaugurated six years before. We all now see the meaning of the motto represented by the initials B P., and which the Association has lived up to with such sincerity and success.

I do not think I am exaggerating when I say that the young boyhood of our country, represented by the Boy Scouts Association, shares the laurels for having been prepared with the old and trusted and tried British Army and Navy. For both proved their title to make the claim when the great war broke upon us like a thief in the night. It is no small matter to be proud of that the Association was able within a month of the outbreak of war to give the most intelligent and energetic help in all kinds of service. When the boyhood of a nation can give such practical proofs of its honour, straightforwardness and loyalty there is not much danger of that nation going under, for those boys are in training to render service to their country as leaders in all walks of life in the future.

I can only say to all sections of the movement, Old Scouts and New Scouts, Scout Officers, and Patrol leaders, go forward : stick to it to the end.

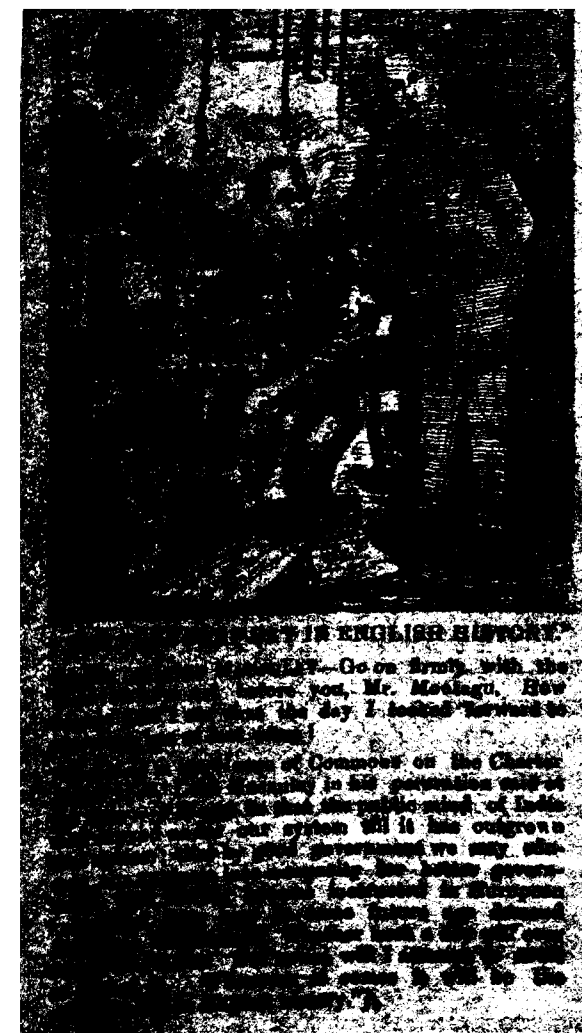
OUR DAY.

Mrs. Sarala Devi Chaudhrani has received a communication from the Private Secretary to

H. E. Lady Chelmsford, in reply to her suggestion for incorporating the emblem of the Star of India in the flags for "Our Day" celebration from which the following is an extract :—Her Excellency asks me to say that she was at once struck by the excellency of your idea that there should be special "Our Day" flags for India, and is now having flags designed which will combine the two main ideas, that of the Red Cross and that of the Star of India. Her Excellency hopes others will help as you have helped in putting forward fruitful suggestions for consideration by the Committee. Her Excellency also expresses the hope that the cordial co-operation of Mrs. Sarala Devi and other Indian ladies will do much to make "Our Day" a great success.

RIVAL SYSTEMS OF MEDICINE.

Hindoo Patriot writes :—We refuse to believe that the Allopathic system of medicine would have a death-blow dealt at it or would have suffered any the least indignity, if the amendment to the Medical Registration Act, proposed in the Bombay Legislative Council, had not been negatived. Is the touch of *Ayurveda* and the *Unani* system of medicine really perdition to the practitioners of the orthodox school? Readers will remember the wellknown Madras case of a Madras doctor being "debarred" for the offence of encouraging *Ayurveda*. Fortunately for the world, there is no law against lawyers—written or unwritten, and which holds out to him the threat of disbarment, if he would take to the study of the law of other nations. In that case, Sir Rash Behary—the prince of lawyers—would, we believe, have been the very first offender caught in its meshes. Why this sectarianism in the age of liberalism? Why should intolerance be in the polity of the Allopathic school? As in the domain of religion, so in the sphere of medicine, "Help and Not Fight," "Assimilation and Not Destruction," "Harmony and Peace and Not Dissension" will soon be written on the banner of every school of medicine.

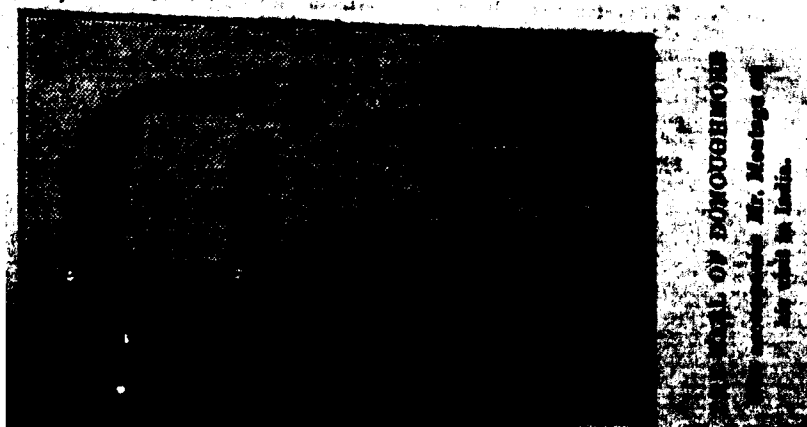




MR. C. H. ROBERTS, M.P.,
Who accompanies Mr. Montagu on
his visit to India.



MR. E. S. MONTAGU, The Secretary of State for India.



MR. C. H. ROBERTS, M.P.,
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OUR CLAIMS TO SWARAJ*

BY MR. M. K. GANDHI.

TO say that a knowledge of letters is essential to obtain Swaraj betrays ignorance of history. A knowledge of letters is not necessary to inculcate among people the idea that we ought to manage our own affairs. What is essential is the grasp of such an idea. People have to desire Swaraj. Hundreds of unlettered kings have ruled kingdoms in an effective manner. To see how far such an idea exists in the minds of the people and to try to create it where it is absent, is the object of this petition. It is desirable that millions of men and women should sign it intelligently. That such a largely-signed petition will have its due weight with Mr. Montagu is its natural result.

No one has the right to alter the scheme of reforms approved by the Congress and the Moslem League, and one need not, therefore, go into the merits thereof. For our present purposes we have to understand thoroughly the scheme formulated most thoughtfully by our leaders and to faithfully do the things necessary to get it accepted and enforced.

This scheme is not Swaraj, but is a great step towards Swaraj. Some English critics tell us that we have no right to enjoy Swaraj, because the class that demands it is incapable of defending India. "Is the defence of India to rest with the English alone," they ask, "and are the reins of Government to be in the hands of the Indians?"

* From the address to the recent Guzerat Political Conference specially translated into English for the collection of "Speeches and Writings of M. K. Gandhi" published by Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price Rs. 1-8.

Now this is a question which excites both laughter and sorrow. It is laughable, because our English friends fancy that they are not of us, whilst our plan of Swaraj is based upon retention of the British connection. We do not expect the English settlers to leave this country. They will be our partners in Swaraj. And they need not grumble if in such a scheme the burden of the defence of the country falls on them. They are, however, hasty in assuming that we shall not do our share of defending the country. When India decides upon qualifying herself for the act of soldiering, she will attain to it in no time. We have but to harden our feelings to be able to strike. To cultivate a hardened feeling does not take ages. It grows like weeds. The question has also its tragic side, because it puts us in mind of the fact that Government have up to now debarred us from military training. Had they been so minded, they would have had at their disposal to-day, from among the educated classes, an army of trained soldiers. Government have to accept a larger measure of blame than the educated classes for the latter having taken little part in the War. Had the Government policy been shaped differently from the very commencement, they would have to-day an unconquerable army. But let no one be blamed for the present situation. At the time British rule was established, it was considered to be a wise policy for the governance of crores of men to deprive them of arms and military training. But it is never too late to mend, and both the rulers and the ruled must immediately repair the omission.

In offering these views I have assumed the propriety of the current trend of thought. To me, however, it does not appear to be tending altogether in the right direction. Our agitation is based on the Western model. The Swaraj we desire is of a Western type. As a result of it, India will have to enter into competition with the Western nations. Many believe that there is no escape from it. I do not think so. I cannot forget that India is not Europe, India is not Japan, India is not China. The divine word 'India alone is the land of Karma (Action), the rest is the land of Bhoga (Enjoyment),' is indelibly imprinted on my mind. I feel that India's mission is different from that of the others. India is fitted for the religious supremacy of the world. There is no parallel in the world for the process of purification that this country has voluntarily undergone. India is less in need of steel weapons, it has fought with divine weapons; it can still do so. Other nations have been votaries of brute-force. The terrible war going on in Europe furnishes a forcible illustration of the truth. India can win all by soul-force. History supplies numerous instances to prove that brute-force is as nothing before soul-force. Poets have sung about it and Seers have described their experiences. A thirty-year old Hercules behaves like a lamb before his eighty-year old father. This is an instance of love-force. Love is *Atman*: it is its attribute. If we have faith enough we can wield that force over the whole world. Religion having lost its hold on us, we are without an anchor to keep us firm amidst the storm of modern civilization, and are, therefore, being tossed to and fro. Enough, however, of this for the present. I shall return to it at a later stage.

In spite of my views being as I have just described them, I do not hesitate to take part in the Swaraj movement, for India is being governed in accordance with the Western system and even the Government admit that the British Parliament

presents the best type of that system. Without Parliamentary government, we should be nowhere. Mrs. Besant is only too true when she says that we shall soon be facing a hunger-strike, if we do not have Home Rule. I do not want to go into statistics. The evidence of my eyes is enough for me. Poverty in India is deepening day by day. No other result is possible. A country that exports its raw produce and imports it after it has undergone manufacturing processes, a country that in spite of growing its own cotton, has to pay crores of rupees for its imported cloth cannot be otherwise than poor. It can only be said of a poor country that its people are spendthrifts, because they ungrudgingly spend money in marriage and such other ceremonies. It must be a terribly poor country that cannot afford to spend enough in carrying out improvements for stamping out epidemics like the plague. The poverty of a country must continuously grow when the salaries of its highly-paid officials are spent outside it. Surely it must be India's keen poverty that compels its people, during cold weather, for want of woollen clothing, to burn their precious manure, in order to warm themselves. Throughout my wanderings in India I have rarely seen a buoyant face. The middle classes are groaning under the weight of awful distress. For the lowest order there is no hope. They do not know a bright day. It is a pure fiction to say that India's riches are buried under ground, or are to be found in her ornaments. What there is of such riches is of no consequence. The nation's expenditure has increased, not so its income. Government have not deliberately brought about this state of things. I believe that their intentions are pure. It is their honest opinion that the nation's prosperity is daily growing. Their faith in their Blue Books is immovable. It is only too true that statistics can be made to prove anything. The economists deduce India's prosperity from

who

appreciate the popular way of examining figures shake their heads over Blue Book statistics. If the gods were to come down and testify otherwise I would insist on saying that I see India growing poorer.

What then would our Parliament do? When we have it, we would have a right to commit blunders, and to correct them. In the early stages we are bound to make blunders. But we being children of the soil, won't lose time in setting ourselves right. We shall, therefore, soon find out remedies against poverty. Then our existence won't be dependent on Lancashire goods. Then we shall not be found spending untold riches on Imperial Delhi. It will, then, bear some correspondence to the peasant cottage. There will be some proportion observed between that cottage and our Parliament House. *The nation to-day is in a helpless condition, it does not possess even the right to err. He who has no right to err can never go forward.* The history of the Commons is a history of blunders. Man, says an Arabian proverb, is error personified. *Freedom to err and the duty of correcting errors is one definition of Swaraj.* And such Swaraj lies in Parliament. That Parliament we need to-day. We are fitted for it to-day. We shall, therefore, get it on demand. It rests with us to define 'to-day.' Swaraj is not to be attained through an appeal to the British democracy. The English nation cannot appreciate such an appeal. Its reply will be:—"We never sought outside help to obtain Swaraj. We have received it through our own ability. You have not received it, because you are unfit. When you are fit for it, nobody can withhold it from you." How then shall we fit ourselves for it? We have to demand Swaraj from our own democracy. Our appeal must be to it. When the peasantry of India understand what Swaraj is, the demand will become irresistible. The late Sir W. W. Hunter used to say that in the British system, victory on the battle-field was the shortest cut to success. If educated

India could have taken its full share in the war, I am certain that we would not only have reached our goal already, but the manner of the grant would have been altogether unique. We often refer to the fact that many sepoys of Hindustan have lost their lives on the battle-fields of France and Mesopotamia. It is not possible for the educated classes to claim the credit for this event. It is not patriotism that had prompted those sepoys to go to the battle-field. They know nothing of Swaraj. At the end of the war they will not ask for it. They have gone to demonstrate that they are faithful to the salt they eat. In asking for Swaraj, I feel that it is not possible for us to bring into account their services. The only thing we can say is that we may not be considered blameworthy for our inability to take a large active part in the prosecution of the war.

That we have been loyal at a time of stress is no test of fitness for Swaraj. Loyalty is no merit. It is a necessity of citizenship all the world over. That loyalty can be no passport to Swaraj is a self-demonstrated maxim. Our fitness lies in that we now keenly desire Swaraj, and in the conviction we have reached that bureaucracy, although it has served India with pure intentions, has had its day. And this kind of fitness is sufficient for our purpose. Without Swaraj there is now no possibility of peace in India.

But if we confine our activities for advancing Swaraj only to holding meetings, the nation is likely to suffer harm. Meetings and speeches have their own place and time. *But they cannot make a Nation.*

In a nation fired with Swaraj-zeal we shall observe an awakening in all departments of life. The first step to Swaraj lies in the Individual. The great truth, 'As with the Individual so with the Universe,' is applicable here as elsewhere. If we are ever torn by conflict from within, if we are ever going astray, and if instead of ruling our passions we allow them to rule us, Swaraj can have no meaning for us. Government of self, then, is primary education in the school of Swaraj.

772 IN THE KINGDOM OF THE SHADES

BY

DR. FITZGERALD LEE, M.A., F.R.G.S.

IN the region of eternal twilight I saw many shades moving together as if impelled by some occasion of supreme importance; but apart from them, and in front, were two figures who moved not, but stood facing each other and holding deep conversation together. These two were strangely unlike in appearance and manner of dress; yet in one thing there was a likeness between them: the indefinable stamp of greatness which marks leaders of men and eminent Captains of War.

The one nearer me was short of stature; his features were of classic mould, and his face of olive complexion; his massive head was slightly bent forward, and he held his hands behind his back. He wore a long grey great coat, thrown open in front, showing many glittering orders on a uniform of white, scarlet and blue.

The other was tall and stately; with aquiline features, fair of face and slender of figure. He wore a long blue military cloak which hung down loosely from his shoulders; and he held himself erect as a pine of the Caucasus.

The taller of the two leant forward towards the other, and said:

"It is now over a century ago—as men of the world reckon time—since you and I made war against each other. On that long summer's day when we faced each other on earth for the first and last time, I hoped and believed that mankind had seen the last of War: that, even with all their boundless stupidity, the twenty long years of fighting which came to an end on that day would have been sufficient to warn them against the futility of ever again trying to settle international disputes by the worst of all means—the edge of the sword. Nor was I at the time the only man who cherished these high aspirations. Some great men of my time believed then that wars had ceased for ever. The little men followed suit. The quacks and mountebanks who are called politicians took occasion to preach the empty cant of what they called a millennium of lasting Rest and Peace."

It was here the other broke in: "Rest! There is no such thing on earth. Nothing on earth is at Rest and Peace! It is only found in the grand and silent majesty of Death. From the day when I emptied my guns against that bloodthirsty official,

the Paris mob, until the stormy night when I passed away on a gloomy rock in the ocean, I never knew the meaning of Rest and Peace you mentioned? Pray when was the world at Peace? When was your own country at Peace for example? When were your countrymen ever tired of War? Even when you were fighting against me, did you not pick a quarrel with your brethren across the ocean and fight against them? Surely your countrymen ought to be the very last to believe in Rest, or speak of Peace on Earth!"

A reply came quickly:

"What you say is not only true of my country, but it is always true with regard to all countries which prefer progress to stagnation, and marching forward to marking time. That country which marks time is left behind, and will soon find itself last of all; then the doom of that country is sealed. It holds out its hands for the manacles; it stretches out its neck for the sword of the executioner or the rope of the hangman. My people have always realised that their safety lies only in progress; and in the present frail nature of man progress is only to be gained by wars and fighting. Your history is proof of this. You progressed from sheer Anarchy to Republicanism, and from that to Imperialism, fighting incessantly, till the sun of your glory, already darkened by the black smoke of Moscow, set for ever on the blood-soaked fields of Belgium. For this you were made a subject for censure and reproach; but you were only acting in accordance with the irresistible law inherent in Imperialism; namely, that Imperialism can live only by progress; that progress means conquest in some shape or other; and that conquest means War. And this has been the incontrovertible Law of Empire from the most ancient times even to the present day. Imperialism has always meant repression, aggression, coercion and a presumptuous hostility to the idea of racial equality. Imperialism has ever been the personification of man's desire to dominate his fellow-men and to impose his will on them. And the attempt to carry this desire into effect is the cause why you and I and others have been summoned here, at this moment, before the Great Tribunal, to give evidence as to Imperial Wars that strict Justice may be awarded."

DECEMBER 1917.]

IN THE KINGDOM OF THE SHADES.

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The rosy twilight suddenly became pale and grey. An immense army was seen assembled in the kingdom of the shades. The men, in the "field-grey" (*feld-grau*) uniforms and flat helmets were grouped in regiments, divisions and army corps, as for a great review; but silence reigned over all. The 10th corps was all there to a man; they had fallen before the British in Flanders and the Russians in the plains of Poland. The 3rd (Brandenburg) corps lined up, too; behind it the 60,000 of the dead of Verdun. The two corps of the Imperial Guard were formed up in divisions; they had fallen on the banks of the Sambre and Meuse. Altogether there were three millions of what had once been men; men to whom their Imperial Master had said, "You will return to your homes before the leaves fall from the trees."

And far away in brightness above the pale gloom of the Judgment Place were seen the forms of the murdered innocents: those of Dinant, Aers-chot, Nomeny, Louvain and many other ruined cities; even the blackened coalminers of Charleroi whose defenceless bodies had been used as a living shield to protect the advance of the Imperial savages. And the women of the *Lusitania* were also there, still clasping in their arms the little children they had in vain attempted to save in life.

The trumpets sounded; a bent and haggard form staggered forward to stand before the Judgment seat. As he passed before his regiment of guards, he made an effort to raise his beetling head, and he looked out from under his sootey eyebrows on those forms he had once known so well. But he met with no response from the sardonically grinning mouths and the eyeless sockets of the Dead Guard.

The Judges were assembled. The charges against the accused were read; and the reading of them sounded as the continuous rolling of the thunder. The first crime was the destruction of the Kingdom of Belgium. With it were found up the violation of treaty and the perjury of the Imperial criminal. He was reminded that since the earliest days in the history of humanity the sworn faith of one people to another had been held as the most sacred thing. Even when the ancient City of Rome was still only peopled by outlaws and savages, they never entered into war against a neighbouring tribe without having first given warning of their intention; and this was done with the most solemn rites and

ceremonies. But the abomination of the crime against Belgium was that the Imperial criminal, while resolved on the ruin of that unhappy country, had professed peaceful intentions towards it.

Here a snarl was heard from the bent form before the Tribunal: "The Belgian people resisted!"

To this the reply came: They attempted to defend their honour, which is the right of every man; and their existence, which is the natural right and instinct of even the beast of the field.

Again the criminal growled out: They fired on my troops; Here an innumerable mass of people crowded round the Tribunal. They were old men, women, young girls, and little children. With one accord they raised their voices: O Liar, we had no weapons of War and no arms to fire!

Then each of them came forward, and they recounted the awful story of their death. And the mothers spoke for the little murdered infants who were too young to speak for themselves.

The accused was then asked what he had to say. He stuttered: My soldiers believed that they were attacked. Every soldier, in any country, and at all times, has acted in a similar manner in like circumstances.

Here the Judges decided to take evidence as to the truth of the statement put forward by the accused. The first witness called was the man in the grey military overcoat: Napoleon Buonaparte. He said:

I can speak with certainty of what my soldiers did in War and in the field. The most terrible misfortune against which I had to contend was the burning of Moscow. It was one day in the middle of September, and there was a posse of fifteen men stationed outside the Governor's Palace, under the command of a sergeant of my old Guard, named Bourgogne. He has recorded the facts in his published Memoirs. General Perneti, Commander of the Artillery of the Guard, rode up to the post, and handed over to Bourgogne some Russians who had been seized in the very act of setting fire to the buildings in which my soldiers were quartered. The General ordered that they should be at once despatched by the bayonet. Having given the order he rode away. The French soldier has never had any taste for killing in cold blood. The Russians wore thick sheepskin coats; and the French soldiers obeyed orders in that they stabbed through these coats, but not too deep to inflict a mortal wound. And all the time the flames were rising and roaring in the Kremlin.

Again, during the time that the soldiers of the accused occupied Belgium, their plunderings and bestial brutalities, in addition to the military exactions and forced contributions, laid on the cities and towns, have been such as were never heard of before in the history of war. In the end of the year 1806, I occupied the country of the accused, after the battle of Jena. On the 18th of October I entered the Prussian capital, Berlin. According to the evidence of the Prussians* themselves, no citizen was robbed or despoiled by any soldier of my Army. It was cold winter time; and the daily ration of each of my soldiers included one bottle of wine. But many of the French soldiers saw that the citizens on whom they were billeted had some difficulty in supplying the wine; so they requested their officers to order that the common, cheap beer of the country should take the place of the wine. And it was so arranged. The year before, at Elchingen, the clothes of my soldiers of the guard were drenched with the heavy rains. To dry their clothes, some of them made large fires in an about a country mansion, which caught fire and was burnt. My orders with regard to this are still on record. I said "I shall make you pay for this. I shall give six hundred francs myself, and each soldier of the Guard will give a day's pay; and the money must be at once paid to the owner of the house." It was done so. Three years afterwards, when I entered Vienna as a conqueror, an Austrian historian of that time (Koherausch) wrote that the people of Vienna suffered much less from the French soldiers than they had suffered from their own countrymen. And I can bring forward the evidence of my Marshals to prove that the soldiers of my Army never disgraced humanity as the accused and his soldiers have done.

Marshal Ney came forward and spoke: I got four of my gunners shot for sacking a Church.

Marshal Soult said: All through the campaign of 1806 it was a standing order in my corps that knapsacks should be inspected every four days; and if any stolen articles were found in a knapsack the soldier to whom the knapsack belonged was flogged. Marshal Davout said: I had two of my Chasseurs shot in Poland for robbing a poor man of his bread.

Marshal Saint-Cyr gave evidence: When I was besieged by the Austrians in Dresden, I had only twenty thousand men in all, while the Austrians outside were a hundred thousand. My men were

* von Vertzen.

starving: yet none of them ever robbed any of the inhabitants to satisfy his hunger. And when ultimately the Austrian commander agreed that we should be allowed to march out with all honors of War and go back freely to France, no sooner had we got a few miles on our way than we were called upon to surrender to the Austrian Army, and we were made prisoners of War. For this is how the Teuton keeps faith, and his nature has not changed in a century. As I stated in my published Memoirs, of all the nations who fought against us there was only one who always acted honorably and in good faith towards us, and that was the English. When we fought the Germans at the great battle of Leipzig, the Saxons were our allies, and marched out with us against the Germans. But, directly they got on the battlefield, they turned their arms against us, their sworn brothers-in-arms, and went over to our enemies. But everlasting and just retribution will not be denied. The great-grandsons of these very traitors, in one of the recent battles in Flanders, made an attempt to go over and surrender to the English. But in the act of doing so they were torn to pieces by the shot and shell of their own Allies, the Prussians; and the treachery of Leipzig was avenged. Here the stately form of Wellington appeared. He spoke in measured tone:

It is in no way necessary for me to make any personal statement as to the honourable conduct and humanity of my soldiers in War. I shall not even bring forward the evidence of any of my own countrymen who have written the history of my time: but I can turn to the evidence put forward by the historians of France and Germany to prove that the savagery and brutality which is so characteristic of the German soldier in the present War were unknown in my Armies in the Peninsula. Certainly at Badajoz, Ciudad Rodrigo and San Sebastian, a few of my men committed excess against the inhabitants; but this was in the red-hot rage of battle or in the reaction of victory. For, as I have often stated, victory can destroy the morale of an army just as much as defeat; and the best proof of my statement is the loss, not only of morale, but of common humane instincts, and the feelings, honor and justice, in the armies of him who now stands accused before us.

A sound as of the wind sweeping over a field of corn was now heard in the arena. The field-grey hosts had vanished; their place was taken by a surging, disorderly multitude of hideous yellow

savages, dressed in the skins of wild animals, and the acrid smell of burnt wool* added to the repulsive stench of their bodies smeared with oil. A man who was evidently their leader advanced in front of them. He was short of stature, and squat; brown and repulsive-looking; and his arms were the limbs of a gorilla, his hairy hands hanging lower than his knees. He laughed like a hyena as he approached the Imperial criminal, and said, "We meet at last. Of you also it has been told that grass never grew again where your horse had once trodden. You have given my name Atila, to one of your cursed progeny, a son of yours. You think you resemble me who lived many centuries before the name of your family or your land had ever contaminated the ears of man. But yes: our story is somewhat the same. We both brought down the horrors of War on people proud of a civilisation far more ancient than our own: both of us had to submit to the fortune of War on the same plain of Champagne near to the city of Chalons. I have been told that the English call your people after the name of my own people, Huns. In this the English do me an injustice. In my wars I only acted according to the usages of my time, which were hard and cruel. Be it so. But I was never so lost to the sense of honour among us, rude and primitive thought it was, as to break my pledged promise, or to slaughter for the mere love of killing, which, I believe, is what is called your "gospel of frightfulness". It would not have paid. It would have raised up all mankind against me, as the world has now risen against you. The descendants of my soldiers† are not cursed, as yours will be—those of them who survive—by all posterity. They are only cursed in that they have stood in arms side by side with your savages, which has tainted them with a taint hard to be got rid of, and all those who have stood by your side in this War, shall be for ever held the accursed of the human race. For myself, I have not been punished with the extreme punishment, for the reason that, in all my wars, I never appealed to the Great Creator to assist me in my butcheries, neither did I presume to blaspheme His Name by asking Him to punish‡ and destroy those whom I had driven to take up arms in their own defence. I do not know what your idea may

* "The smell of the battle and slaughter is always the acrid smell of burnt wool." Zola, *La Débâcle*.

† The Hungarians, or Magyars.

‡ "Gott strafe England" (God punish England), the every-day prayer of the Germans.

be about your particular form of god. Though I never feared man, I feared and respected my own old pagan gods too much to ask them to accompany me on my campaigns and assist me in tearing my enemies to pieces. They would have struck me dead with their lightnings had I so insulted them.* But you! you have respected nobody on earth or in heaven except yourself; and in truth you are a very mean and unworthy object of worship. The name of Him in its application to you is disgraced; and I do not remember any of the peoples of my time, brutal and depraved as they may have been, who sank to a lower level in War than your people and you."

He turned towards the Tribunal, prostrated himself on his face, then rose and left with his followers.

The accused was then asked by what right he had not only robbed the Belgians of their country but robbed the country of its people by deporting large numbers of them to Germany, there to be treated worse than beasts of burden.

The Imperial criminal replied:

"I had seen that I should be compelled to retreat. I could not leave behind me people who would have assisted my enemies. Of the five hundred men I got shot at Tamines, more than four hundred were of fighting age. These men would not join my army. Should I have left them to fight for my enemies? Why should I leave to my enemies any means of resistance or of subsistence? I destroyed the regions from which I was withdrawing my armies. But in doing this, I was only following the example of other leaders in War. For instance, Marshal Turenne devastated the Palatinate in 1673, as his successors did again in 1689. This cannot be denied.

Marshal Turenne was summoned and appeared. He said. "It is true. But how can you dare to compare our crimes with yours? Here is a true account of what happened in the Palatinate in 1673. Sixteen villages were destroyed, of which eleven were burnt. None of the people of these villages were butchered in cold blood nor taken away into slavery. It has been said that War has become more humane since my time. But this is not true. The accused and his followers have acted far more brutally than his forefathers did in their seven years' war."

The Marshal was about to continue when he was interrupted by the appearance of a sallow, sharp-

* Jernandes, *History of Attila*, tells us that the Hun King had a deep respect for his pagan gods.

featured man, in a brown suit, carrying an apple-tree walking-stick. He burst out with impatience. "Why go back to the Germany of my time, no matter what might have been the crimes of those days, to attempt to justify the brutality of this disgrace to my name, this successor of mine, who has caused the name of my old Kingdom of Prussia to stink in the nostrils of all civilised men! Who can compare this degenerate to me in the waging of War? In the spring of 1758 I was fighting against Marshal Daun, the Austrian, in Silesia. Just then I was very anxious that the Dutch should come on my side. I remember a conversation which I had with my Secretary, De cott, on the subject. * We were in a small village near Landshut. He said: you know you are strong enough to compel the Dutch to be your Allies. But I said, why should I employ force to compel these people to come on my side? Force is not justice. They are a free people, and it is for themselves to say whether they will assist me or not. But, he said, you can threaten to overrun their country, if they do not assist you. I said, it would be a shame to even think of committing such an act, and I shall never use either threats or force to the Dutch. And here I find this disgrace to his name acting towards the kingdom of Belgium more shamefully than I was advised to act towards the Dutch, and treating the Belgian people far more cruelly than the highway robbers and cutthroats of my days treated their wretched victims. As I got the name of the "Philosopher of San Souci" I hear he had the ambition to be called the "Philosopher of Potsdam." If so, he should have remembered one of the maxims of favorite author, Machiavelli, when he says "a tyrant can kill a man or kill men; but no man can kill a whole nation." Again, this curse to the name of Hohenzollern encouraged his officers and soldiers to rob and plunder; and even his own sons—Royal Princes forsooth—have shown themselves past masters in the craft of the burglar and house breaker. As he appealed to the example of former Wars, I shall tell him how I acted towards conquered peoples. In 1758, in the month of April, some of the merchants of Troppau came and informed me that my soldiers had plundered their stores. I

discovered the culprits, and had them publicly flogged in the market-place. In June of the same year, as I was out walking with my Secretary, De cott, an old peasant came up to us, weeping and said that one of the *Virandiers* attached to my army had stolen his horse. I told him I would look into the matter; and shortly after this the gay *Virandiere* herself came riding along on the stolen horse. The peasant identified the horse as his property; and I got some of my men to dismount the wench, lay her on the ground flat on her face, and administer to her such corporal punishment as boys used to get in the schools. Such was my method. Yet, I believe, this degenerate scion of my house has awarded the Iron Cross to one of his officers whose principal achievements have been robbery and plunder; another of his blood hounds got a woman shot in cold blood for attending to wounded and dying soldiers without having first enquired into their nationality. My old friend and opponent, Marshal Saxe, once told me that he always gave severe punishment to any man or officer in his army who was found guilty of violence towards women. But I believe there cursed successors of mine and their followers have the fashion of looking upon women somewhat after the manner of the Eastern peoples; and, by all accounts, they have also developed a taste for other oriental fashions and vices. And they attempt to varnish their vice by calling it *Kultur*. In my time, with all our faults nobody could have called us hypocrites; but now the kingdom I loved so well has developed a breed not only of hypocrites, but of public robbers, murderers and wild beasts. Away with this arch criminal, who has ruined his people and brought untold misery on the world!

When the form of Frederick of Prussia had vanished, the Imperial criminal offered no further defence, and the executioners were called in. They carried out the condemned thing, and hurled it into that river of boiling blood which Dante, in the twelfth book of the *Inferno*, saw bearing on its waves, in everlasting torture, the tyrants of the human race.

* General von Hammerstein, of the 6th Corps.

† Miss Cavell.

‡ *Life of Marshal Saxe*, by Dettmer.

§ Maximilian Harden, in *die Zukunft*; the Eulenburg case.

* *Memoires of Henri de cott*, published by Koser, Leipzig, 1885.

A Plea for a more Rational Curriculum

BY

THE LATE PROF. H. P. FARRELL.

[A melancholy interest attaches to the article as the author died since this contribution was received.]

THE aim of education is the formation of character, that is to say, the development of the moral, mental and physical qualities of the pupil so as to enable him to cope as successfully as possible with every problem, emergency, condition, or circumstance with which life may confront him—life right up to its very end and including death itself. Now this formation of character is a complicated business in which many elements take part—the home, school and college, family, religion, ancestral traditions, economic status, climate and all those innumerable factors which go to make up environment. Of these, it cannot be too strongly emphasised that the ordinary day-school all the world over, but especially in India, is one of the least effective. Yet this is a fact which is constantly disregarded when any good or evil results are attributed to education, for the word is invariably used as though it were synonymous with school-training. The influence of the day-school is very small. It is different with the boarding-school of which the English Public School may be taken as the best type, for, here the boy is taken complete possession of, for considerable periods of time, and his whole environment, during those periods, is provided by the school. In the day-school, however, and this applies with special force to India, apart from a few feeble efforts at direct moral and physical training, it is only by the acquisition of knowledge that the boy's character is influenced. Now it is a very important question and one that is attracting considerable attention, whether the day-school cannot do more than this, but it is an even more important question and

one that attracts no attention at all except from professional teachers whether the knowledge which at present forms almost the only means of influencing the pupil's character is correctly acquired, or whether it is acquired at all.

In the science and art of education, a rule for the acquisition of knowledge is laid down, which, although often disguised under such portentous names as "apperception" or the "association of ideas" is a very simple one. It is this—that in learning and teaching you must proceed from the "known to the unknown". "All the business of war, and indeed all the business of life, is to endeavour to find out what you don't know by what you do know," said the Duke of Wellington to Croker, and in that sentence the Iron Duke embodied the whole theory of education in so far as the latter consists in the acquisition of knowledge.

Now let us apply this to India. The Indian boy leaves a home of certain customs, habits, lines of thought, religion, and beliefs, which are as much a part of him as centuries of existence can make them; he is sent to school and college, and as soon as he has learned to read, write, and speak in English, he is plunged into a curriculum which consists in the main of English literature and history, with a little Indian history from an English point of view, and a second language. Leaving out of the question such subjects as arithmetic, elementary science, geography, and drawing, which, whether they are well or ill taught, are seldom properly assimilated, and which the majority of students are glad to drop at the earliest opportunity, the main subjects of the curriculum are generally crowned in college

with the study of the higher flights and fancies of English literature and of the literature of the second language, more advanced English and European history, and possibly philosophy.

Now these subjects have little or no connection with the ordinary home life and beliefs of the Indian student, and according to present methods, when he attempts to study them he is merely floundering in an unknown sea. Of course, it is possible to make the connection, as it is possible to teach any subject to any boy of reasonable ability, provided that the correct road is taken from the known to the unknown. But ordinarily this is not done, and any one with experience of the work of Indian students will be aware that these subjects are not and cannot be properly taught under present conditions, and that a great deal of the subject matter is merely learnt by rote or as we say, crammed. That is to say the boy is not educated, and the school and college are failing in the one factor in the formation of character in which their influence ought to be paramount, viz.—the acquisition of knowledge.

An example to illustrate this general indictment. Among the prescribed books in English literature in at least one Indian University, there are two of a widely-different character that recur year by year with remarkable frequency. They are "Pride and Prejudice" and "Paradise Lost". They are prescribed too, generally for the first or second year of the University course. Now "Pride and Prejudice" is one of the most delightful books ever written in the English language, but how can a young Indian student brought up according to the Indian custom and tradition of family life, be expected to understand and appreciate this simple shrewd account of the manner of life, domestic habits, conjugal and family relations, amusements, hopes and fears, of a typical middle-class English family, living according to the traditions, conventions, and religious standard of England of a century

ago. There is hardly a point of contact between the family of the Bennetts and a typical Indian home. I do not say that no Indian student can understand or appreciate "Pride and Prejudice," but it is essentially a book to come at the end of a long course of study of English life and literature; a book to be appreciated by the student who has spent several years in England; and most emphatically not a book to be set for a young student to read quite early in his University career.

Still worse is the case of "Paradise Lost." This is a book which should never be prescribed for a general examination, but should be given for study only to those who have specialised in English literature, for only they can properly understand and appreciate it. Even in England, "Paradise Lost" is one of those books which everyone speaks of with reverence, but few people really read, and a book which is so intimately connected with the Biblical narrative and the Christian religion, which abounds with references to and quotations from Greek and Latin literature is, quite apart from other reasons, connected with the literary style and difficulty of the book, totally unsuited to be an educational medium for students who are not Christians, who have read little or nothing of the Bible, and who have no knowledge of the classical literature of Europe. "Paradise Lost" is essentially an unknown book and the path to it from the known, is, in the case of the Indian student a long and arduous one to be trodden only by the few. Ninety per cent. more of these who read "Paradise Lost" for an examination make no attempt to understand it, but simply learn the editor's and lecturer's notes, and reproduce them mechanically at the examination.

History (English and European) which forms another staple subject of the school and University curriculum is equally open to the objection that, as taught at present, it plunges the student into

a bewildering mass of facts concerning such totally unknown quantities as the Roman Catholic Church, the Reformation, Dissenters, Whigs and Tories, the Reform Bill, and the Holy Roman Empire. How very little the framers of our curricula have really studied the correct path from the known to the unknown is shown by the fact that in schools greater stress is laid upon modern English history and the growth of the Empire than upon the early history of England. Yet, to the Indian school-boy guided to the study of history along the correct path, via the history of his own people, the wars of the Heptarchy, the early village community, the coming of the Normans, and the growth of Feudalism, would be much easier to understand than modern constitutional and imperial growth. The latter should be left to a later stage in his studies.

The sum of this indictment is, therefore, that, according to the ordinary school and college curriculum in India, the school-boy and college-student are continually plunged into new subjects which have so little relation to the knowledge that he already possesses, that he cannot properly understand them. The result is that failing true comprehension, he endeavours to learn mechanically and by rote the knowledge that he has to present for examination. In other words, he "crams", and it is generally charged to the system of examinations that so many students suffer physical break-down in the preparation for them, and that so many other students who pass them are so ill prepared for the business of earning a livelihood, and seem to have benefited so little from their education whether as regards the formation of character or as regards the possession of a certain amount of well-digested general knowledge. But, examinations are not the root cause of the trouble. Furthermore, it cannot be too greatly emphasised that, generally speaking, it is not the teacher who is to blame. Of course, there are bad teachers in India in all

grades of education, but my experience is that, in the larger towns at any rate, there are to be found teachers, primary, secondary, and collegiate, who are as enthusiastic in their profession, have as ready a knack of handling a class, and are as conversant with the principles of their art as could be desired. No. The fault lies with those who have framed our curricula, and the arch-offender was Macaulay himself.

So much for destructive criticism. What is the remedy? Are we at this stage to throw over the whole system of Western education and revert to curriculum founded upon the vernacular and classical learning of India, which Macaulay so scornfully rejected. Hardly! For better or for worse India has adopted Western education, and her future development depends to a great extent upon the proper assimilation of Western knowledge through the medium of the English language. Parenthetically, however, it may be remarked that much more might, perhaps, be made of indigenous learning and literature than is done at present. We look to the new University of Mysore to give us a lead in this direction. Our problem is a different one. It is to lead the Indian school-boy to the knowledge which has been systematised in Europe by means of the path which commences with the knowledge that is already his, or in other words, to discover as many points of contact as possible between Western civilisation and Indian home and village life. No subjects could be chosen which have fewer points of contact than English literature and history and yet these form central or co-ordinating subjects of the Indian school and college curriculum.

It is worth while examining why this is so. From the time of Macaulay onwards probably over 90 per cent. of the Englishmen who have had most influence on education in India, have been educated in the English Public Schools and Universities, and most of these again have been brought up mainly

in the literatures of ancient Greece and Rome, and have come to India with a very sincere respect for the classical tradition in education that is now slowly but surely giving ground before the "modern side" in all the Public Schools. Hence the literary bias of school and college curricula in India. English takes the place of Latin and Greek and "Paradise Lost" is expected to do for the Indian school-boy what the "Iliad" did for his educator.

The merits and demerits of English classical education are the subject of much controversy. Its defenders point with legitimate pride to that fine product—the English Public-School boy. But it is almost certain that the latter is the result not so much of a drilling in the Classics, as of the whole series of influences which the public school brings to bear on him outside the class-room, in the dormitory, in the study, and above all in the playing-field. In other words, the English Public School moulds and develops character by other means than the mere acquisition of knowledge. Now these influences are so intimately connected with English upper and middle-class life, habits, and traditions, that to transplant them wholesale to India would be a task of considerable difficulty and of doubtful success. No Indian school-boy, for instance, would tolerate the imposition of such tasks as fall to the lot of even the easiest burdened "fag" in an English Public School. This reflects no discredit on him. It merely indicates that the traditions according to which he has been brought up are utterly different to those of his contemporaries in England, and that the influence of the school upon him must be in accordance with Indian habits, traditions, and manner of life. Educationists have so far recognised this that their efforts to transplant the English public school system have been of a very half-hearted nature, and in the long run it has come to this that only one part of it has been really adopted and that the least important, namely, the literary nature of its curriculum.

If English literature and history form the most arduous path from the known to the unknown for the Indian school-boy—a path beset with many chasms to be bridged and precipices to be scaled—there is a subject by which the road can be made as easy and as gentle as one can wish—and that is science. English literature is peculiar to England and has little to do with India but the verities of science are true all the world over. Elizabeth Bennett could have lived only in England and only an Englishman can properly understand her, but the law of gravitation acts in India as well as in England, and the proof thereof has nothing to do with a man's nationality. It is science, therefore, that should form the central or co-ordinating subject in the introduction of the Indian student to Western knowledge and not literature or history. Furthermore, it is far easier to find a comparatively straight and easy path from the known to the unknown in science than it is in these subjects or in philosophy. Science must be understood in its widest sense to include nature-study, physics, chemistry, biology, mathematics, and geography. It has the supreme advantage that it can be commenced at the very earliest stage in the village school long before the school-boy is introduced to the English tongue. Simple arithmetic, the construction of a plain map or plan of the school-room, and then of the roads or fields around the school, the points of the compass, the pole-star, the rising and setting of the sun, the curvature of the earth, hills, valleys, rivers, the growth of the trees and of plants, the properties of air and water, the elementary laws of physiology, physics and chemistry, the habits and uses of domestic animals are all of them so many steps from the known to the unknown of so short and easy a nature that no maxim of education is broken in taking them. Thence by similar short and easy steps it is possible to lead the pupil onwards to

the physical geography of his province, the habits of all the animals he has ever seen, the physiology of his own body, elementary biology, chemistry and physics, so that by the time he is in the higher standards of the secondary school, he has the requisite mass of knowledge easily to comprehend the more advanced truths of science, truths which he could not even have imagined in his village home, and which require greater facilities to demonstrate than can be obtained except in a large school or college. English, of course, must be taught as at present, but it should be English as a language, as a medium for the interchange of thought, and not as a literature. Only in the highest classes of the secondary school should literary subjects be taught, so that those who have an inclination for these studies, may discover their bent, and pursue it at the University. Science and English, including composition, paraphrase, and such prose books as are best suited to teach the spoken language rather than to serve as examples of supreme literary merit, should be the main and central subjects throughout the school and even in the junior classes of the University. Masterpieces of literature such as "Paradise Lost" should be prescribed only for those who specialise in English literature in the senior years of their University career. For the rest, poetry, if prescribed at all, should be limited to such simple lays and ballads as Scott and Macaulay wrote. It is in the senior years of his University career that a student should specialise in any subject for which he has an inclination. Language, literature, philosophy, history, mathematics, and science would, doubtless, all have their devotees as at present, but by reason of the careful and correct nature of their previous general education, students would have a much better chance of understanding and appreciating these subjects than at present, while those students who have not the scholastic bent for specialisation, would go out into the world with a trained intelligence and a sound general knowledge.

One last word of caution. It is maintained that by prescribing science instead of literature as the main path of a boy's education, that path can be made one that leads continually from the known to the unknown. Yet it is possible for those who have the framing of the detailed curriculum even in science to commit bad errors, if they do not remember that it is the phenomena that can be observed in India and not those of England that the pupil must be taught to study scientifically. The two are not always the same, and by copying mechanically the details of a course in science as arranged for an English school or college, the student may at once be plunged into difficulties. A friend whose work is the teaching of biology, informs me that he used to meet with considerable difficulty because the text-books prescribed or recommended, and the details of the syllabus, all had in view animals, e.g., the lobster, as they are found in Europe or in European waters, ignoring Indian conditions entirely. Thus the lobster that he could obtain for demonstration and dissection was different from that described, while the earthworm was practically non-existent in his district.

The path from the known to the unknown is not a difficult one, but it is necessary for us, who have to trace it for our students, to have a full knowledge both of the starting point and the goal. When we set out on a long journey into an unknown country, it is the mystery that surrounds our destination, that is the difficulty. The starting point is clear enough. But with Indian educationists the difficulty seems to be just the opposite. They are well acquainted with the country into which they desire to guide their pupils, but they appear to know little or nothing of those bounds to the student's knowledge which form the starting point of their intellectual journey.

A Japanese View of European Civilization

(Letters of a Japanese scholar to an English friend).

EDITED BY MR. V. B. METTA., BAR-AT-LAW.

MY DEAR WILSON,

I have heard many Westerners talk of their civilization, as *Christian civilization*,—an expression, which, I think, is devoid of any meaning,—for the civilization of Modern Europe is hardly the product of the teachings of Jesus Christ. The foundation-stone of your 'Modern' civilization was laid at the time when your Feudalism expired,—that is, more than fourteen hundred years after the death of Christ! And is Europe even now really Christianized? How many of your statesmen are inspired 'to-day' by the ethics of Christianity? Does not 'diplomatic policy' often mean 'dishonesty', or 'underhand dealing' in Western languages? And do not all your political moves prove that the two most prominent factors in your national life are War and Commerce,—which can have no possible connection with your Religion!

Commerce, once a quiet, tractable child in Europe, has now become overgrown and all-powerful,—which continually threatens to engulf you in everlasting misery. Your village-life, from what I saw of it when I was in Europe, is fast disappearing. Your cities are becoming larger and larger with the gradual increase of trade and commerce. Needless to say, they are destroying, if they have not already destroyed, all true artists and sincere lovers of Nature from your midst. Your people are so many machines,—whose sole business in life is to manufacture wealth. Your endless problems of Capital and Labour, are the result of a system of life based on crude and cruel ideas. You are not economically independent. A tariff-reform in another country ruins hundreds and thousands of human beings in your own country. Foreign trade has become

* The West has taught Europe the folly of relying upon foreign trade for means of self-subsistence.

dispensable to you,—a fact which is 'au fond' the cause of your social and moral degeneration. Tired of fighting with each other in Europe after the Renaissance, you began to look out for 'fresh fields and pastures new' where you could dispose of your goods most advantageously. With this object in view, you began to persecute the physically weaker or inadequately-armed races of the world. You have conquered and almost annihilated by absolutely un-Christian methods many of the aboriginal races of Africa, America, and Australasia. You came to Asia ostensibly for trading purposes, but really for conquering and exploiting her. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the fire of her ancient and indomitable blood had not cooled down. Turkey was then dominating European politics with the help of her magnificent armies. As long as the Moghul Emperors were talented and powerful, the European merchants in India thought of nothing except their commercial profits and losses. The Dutch, the Portuguese, and the English were as well received in China and Japan as in other Eastern countries. But they marred their good fortune there, by not properly minding the business for which they had come there. The times changed: and Europe became powerful as Asia began to decline. You then made a hundred treaties with Eastern Governments, and broke them whenever it suited you. We began to hear of 'extra-territorial jurisdictions,' 'spheres of influence', and 'protection' in Asia. You had always the noblest of reasons for explaining away all your unjustifiable and unpardonable actions in the East. You resorted to violent methods, when the Chinese refused to buy your Indian opium. In one of your wars against them, you burnt the Summer Palace, which contained some of the most precious treasures in the world. I wonder whether you ever regret, as an Englishman, the

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acts of vandalism, which your ignorant and in-artistic countrymen have committed in Eastern countries! And then by what human or divine right did Commodore Perry bombard our shores? We were living peacefully in our own country, and nobody, according to our ideas of morality, had a right to destroy our conception of life and happiness,—either for commercial or political reasons! After the Peace of Shimonoseki, the Western Powers combined in order to deprive us of what we had gained by our war with China,—although they had nothing to do with either of the belligerents! But ah! what has justice to do where half a dozen well-armed races are resolved to partition a great country among themselves? It does them good to talk about 'morality' with fervid eloquence, when they have not the remotest intention of putting their vaunted principles into practice in their own lives!

A word about Korea, whose annexation by Japan is still making a great many Western moralists very indignant. In order to understand our motive in taking that step, you should try to see the dangerous rapidity with which 'The White Peril' was spreading in Asia in the nineteenth century from our point of view. Before the Meiji Era, Russia was exercising considerable influence over the Sakhalin and Kurile

Islands. She strengthened herself in the Celestial Empire at our expense in 1895. But we could not allow her to occupy Southern Manchuria, and Korea, in 1903. Would you, Englishmen, ever like to see France or Germany occupy the Channel Islands? When, after our Manchurian War, we saw that the Koreans were still as unreliable friends as ever, we were obliged to annex their country for our own safety. These sudden annexations ought not to come as a surprise to Western nations at any rate, who are all past masters in the art of transforming independent into dependent countries. Before sorrowing over the 'fate' of Korea, you should remember, that it has been treated by us in the past as our 'possession'. From the third to the eighteenth century, she was part of the Japanese Empire. Our great Hideyoshi then conquered her again in the sixteenth century, and from that time till 1867, the Koreans sent ambassadors to pay homage to our Tokugawa Shoguns. True,—the Wars of 1894 and 1904 were waged by us with the intention of keeping the little Kingdom independent. But when we found after 1905, that the Koreans were unreliable, and that Christian Missionaries were doing their best to make them more hostile towards us, what else could we do but take the step for which we have been condemned so much by foreign moralists?

Yours Sincerely,

J. OKAKURA.

Reminiscences of Sir Rabindranath

BY

THE HON. MR. JUSTICE T. V. SESHAGIRI AIYAR.

THE reminiscences of Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore have more than a local interest. While we find in its pages the gradual making up of one of the greatest of India's sons, we see glimpses of the life and occupation of a by-gone generation which make us lament the days that are no more. "My Reminiscences" contain

* My Reminiscences. By Sir Rabindranath Tagore. MacMillan & Co., London.

sayings and epigrams which are characteristic of the sage. He contrasts the rigid discipline to which the youngsters of his generation were subjected with the freedom of the youths of the present day, and says, "The modern child of a well-to-do family nibbles at only half the things he gets; the great part of his world is 'wasted on him.' There can be no doubt that the school boy of to-day is not given time to digest what is put before

him. He has too much to swallow, and the stuff is not always wholesome. So long as the craze for quantitative cramming continues, there can be no real knowledge. Sir Rabindra was left a great deal to himself, unlike the modern student. If he had been in a Madras school, he would never have passed his School Final Examination in English. Of course, the Intermediate English paper would have been beyond him altogether.

Sir Rabindra's first attempt at writing verses, recalls the story of Valmiki. His intense patriotism, and love of Indian literature turned his attention wholly to the vernacular literature of his country; and the world has benefited immensely by his not having been tempted to stray away into the pursuit of a language and literature not his own. He is against compelling any one to take to subjects with which he is not in sympathy. Of his own upbringing, this is what he says: "My brother Jyotindra unreservedly let me go my own way to self-knowledge, and only since then could my nature prepare to put forth its thorns, it may be, but likewise, its flowers. This experience of mine has led me to dread, not so much evil itself, as tyrannical attempts to create goodness. * * * The state of slavery which is thus brought on is the worst form of cancer to which humanity is subject". The idea expressed in this passage is applicable to all walks of life and to all attempts at producing a hothouse development.

The author's first attempt at publishing his writings seem to have been prompted by the same motive which moved Chatterton to foist his writing upon reputed poets of by-gone days. Sir Rabindra had had greater success in after-life than fell to the lot of Chatterton.

Sir Rabindra refers to the fact that in the house of his father, nobody was permitted to write or to receive letters in English. If the South Indian parent would copy this good example, there need be no forced attempts to encourage the study of our vernaculars.

In politics, Sir Rabindra belongs to what I may call the "*Laissez faire*" school of philosophers. How far, in a country which finds itself buffeted against modes of life and habits of thought foreign to its ideals and traditions, such a theory would be productive of that progress and development which every one desires is a point upon which there can be honest differences of opinion. But very few can take exception to this saying of the author: "What grew chiefly upon me, rather, was the conviction that only those who are trustworthy know how to trust."

I do not propose to take the reader through all the good things that this book abounds in. I have been trying to pick up passages and sayings here and there to show that the book is one which everybody intent on the upbringing of youths, and in the national development should carefully read through. I would conclude by quoting the handsome compliment paid by the author to English wives: "One thing struck me when living in this family—that human nature is everywhere the same. We are fond of saying, and I also believed, that the devotion of an Indian wife to her husband is something unique, and not to be found in Europe. But I, at least, was unable to discern any difference between Mrs. Scott and an ideal Indian wife. She was entirely wrapped up in her husband."

Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore is a national asset. The life he lived, the experience he went through and the reflections he makes ought to be understood by those who look up to him with love and reverence. Nothing that he has written is calculated to reveal the man so fully as "My Reminiscences."

Rabindranath Tagore:—A Sketch of his Life and an Appreciation of his Works. Price Rs. 4.
G. A. Natesan & Co., Sunkuram Chetty Street, Madras.

INDIAN AFFAIRS IN ENGLAND

BY "A FRIEND OF INDIA."

SINCE Mr. Montagu's historic pronouncement in the House of Commons on August, 20, followed by the announcement of the release of Mrs. Besant and her two colleagues from internment, there has been quite a sparkling agitation against what has been regarded as the personal action of Mr. Montagu in the matter. Mr. Joynson Hicks and Lord Sydenham, especially, appear to have been disturbed at the manner in which Mr. Montagu had over-ruled all local authorities, in order to create a favourable atmosphere for his inquiry with the object of immediately handing over the reins of Government in India to the extremists. Sir John Jardine, Col. Yate, Lord Middelton and Lord Lamington, too, have been greatly agitated by this truckling to the agitators, and have evidently been much upset because the British interests in India have cabled violent protests against the action taken. The *Madras Mail* and its friends, both there and here, have undoubtedly tried to do all the mischief of which they are capable—all in the best interests, of course, of sober native opinion in India, which, unfortunately is not vocal, unless through the conversion of Mr. Joynson-Hicks, Col. Yate, and Lord Sydenham into convenient gramophones for its expression in the British Parliament. Even Sir John Rees was moved to protest against this pillorying of Mr. Montagu and to ask for fairplay.

Lord Sydenham, having apparently nothing better with which to occupy his time, has become the mouth-piece of the *Madras Mail*. The *Times* and the *Morning Post* have given him hospitality, and he has aired his views, at considerable length. However, in spite of the support of Lords Lansdowne, Lamington and Middelton, he did not emerge very well from his encounter in the House of Lords the other day, when he moved for papers. Lords Islington, Crewe, and Curzon effectively drew his thunder, and when they had finished with him, there was not much more to be said. Far more noteworthy than anything that fell from the lips of Lord Sydenham was Lord Islington's careful survey of the Indian situation and his placing of the correct facts in the proper perspective, and Lord Curzon's statement of his own present position in regard to the demand for reforms in India.

tion in regard to the demand for reforms in India.

The second heading about which a good deal of the controversy has turned has been the pronouncement made by His Majesty's Government in the House of Commons through the lips of the Secretary of State on August 20 last. The Noble Viscount in particular seemed to think that the Government had by that act suddenly, without due premeditation, at an unfortunate moment—unfortunate at any rate for Parliament—decided upon making a pronouncement, not merely grave in character but involving a serious breach in the political truce which is generally believed to prevail. Such was not the history or the character of that pronouncement at all. What were the facts of the case? For months past, we have had telegrams, letters, appeals from the Viceroy and his Council in India, drawing our attention to the increasing gravity of the situation, making suggestions as to the way in which it might be dealt with, and urging us to make some definite declaration of Government policy as regards the future to which India might look after the war.

It is very well to say that you ought not to raise these matters in time of war. My Lords, it is the war that has raised them. You cannot unchain the forces which are now loosed and at work in every part of the world without having a repercussion which extends over every Hemisphere and every Ocean; and, believe me, the events happening in Russia, in Ireland, in almost every country in Europe, the speeches being made about little nations and the spirit of nationality, have their echo in India itself. If the noble Viscount had been at the India Office in the past summer he would have been the first to bring to us those serious representations continually coming from the Government of India and its Head, and to have called upon us to take action and make some pronouncement. That is exactly what happened, and this statement of policy, not at all challenging, couched I think in most moderate and certainly in well-thought-out terms, was the subject of repeated discussion at the Cabinet. It was finally made at the date when it was made because it was at that moment that the discussions had reached the point at which it could be made. The matter had been under discussion while Mr. Chamberlain was Secretary of State, and he himself would have made the statement had he remained in office long enough. He passed out of office—unfortunately, as I entirely agree with the noble Marquess in thinking—and it fell to his successor to bring the matter again before us. The formula was ultimately decided upon. I do not imagine that any formula has ever been the subject of more close and constant discussion by responsible persons both in India and here than was that formula. The Noble Viscount might have been entitled to take the objection he did if there had been in that pronouncement any definite drawing-up of a programme, any sketch of what exactly was to be done. It was nothing of the sort. It was a broad general declaration of principle, and the lines upon which, in the opinion both of the Government at home and of the Government of India, our administration of that country ought to proceed in future.

It would be difficult to find any stronger consequence of the changes wrought by the spirit of the times than the altered standpoint regarding the future of India displayed by this important statement of Lord Curzon's.

Lord Sydenham's pathetic efforts to organise what has been, with unconscious humour, called the Indo-British Association in London, "which would have for its objects the promotion and protection of the true interests of the people of India," have not met with quite the response that was anticipated by the handful of Anglo-Indian ex-officials and merchants who have fathered the scheme. Even the *Times* has damned the new organization with faint praise. Referring to an important and useful letter from the pen of Sir Valentine Chirol, and, whilst refusing to confuse the issue of political reforms in India with the case of Mrs. Besant, it says of the new Association.

We welcome any such movement so long as it keeps clear of the spirit of race antagonism and recognises that British rule in India must be developed on progressive and sympathetic lines. The great fault of the British community in India has been that in the past so many of its members have avoided opportunities of public service. They have too often neglected to organize themselves for the purpose of giving expression to their own special interests and of extending a solid support to the Government. If the London movement has its counterpart in India, and if it is wisely and judiciously conducted, it should have a good effect. India is a land of many communities, and the British have every right to be heard; but their claim to be heard must largely rest upon the share they take in public service.

And Sir Valentine Chirol's important statement of his views is worthy of record, particularly having regard to the admission that he makes at its conclusion. He says:

The war has precipitated such a political ferment in India, partly healthy and partly very unhealthy, that it may pass human wit to devise any scheme which will satisfy all parties; but we may hope at least that whatever scheme emerges from Mr. Montagu's mission will be a genuine and straightforward scheme which, if it fails to gratify extravagant expectations, shall fulfil in practice all that it may promise to the eye. The relative failure of the Morley-Minto reforms is due to the fact that whereas they professed to secure for Indians a larger share in the conduct of public affairs, they actually gave them little more than increased opportunities of criticising and obstructing the Executive without any increase of responsibility. There are great differences of opinion amongst Europeans and also amongst Indians as to the limits within which Indians are ripe for self-government, but within such limits, they must have real responsibility. Their fitness for such responsibility will then be the test for every successive extension of power, until they ultimately reach the appointed goal of full self-Government within the Empire, which to many Englishmen, like myself, seemed beyond the range of possibilities before the war!

Lastly, we have the important words of Mr. Lloyd George in this week's debate on the Resolution thanking the Land and Sea Forces of the Empire. These are the actual words used by the Prime Minister:

And then there is India. How bravely, how loyally she has supported the British arms. The memory of the powerful aid which she willingly accorded in the hour of our trouble (later in the same debate Col. Yate said that the Indian troops that landed in France in the autumn of 1914, about the time of the first battle of Ypres, just three years ago, numbered 70,000) will not be forgotten after the War is over, and when the affairs of India come up for examination and for action.

It is doubtful whether special significance should be laid on the use of the expression "after the War is over" for there is no knowing how long peace may be delayed. It will certainly, however, take some time for Mr. Montagu, after his return to this country, to place before the Cabinet, and later, before Parliament, a scheme of reformed government for India. Meanwhile, the vicissitudes of the War may bring about all kinds of political changes here. At present the political situation is one of unstable equilibrium. A Liberal Prime Minister, who has cut himself adrift from his Liberal colleagues, with the exception of one or two including the present Secretary of State for India, has to carry on with a Government composed mostly of Conservatives or non-party men, with a tendency, most of them, towards Conservatism, and with a War Cabinet containing such formidable personalities as Lords Milner and Curzon. How long will such a Government last in the face of a storm or with the advent of peace, when the party truce will be automatically broken? If a Liberal Government returns to power, which is very unlikely, Mr. Montagu's proposals will have to be pushed forward in the House of Lords, against great opposition, which Lord Curzon, then in Opposition, will have great difficulty in stemming. If a Unionist Ministry comes into power, advantage may be taken of the fact to throw overboard Mr. Montagu's recommendations. It is unlikely that any scheme, as presented to Parliament, will be allowed to pass unchallenged, and I venture to suggest that the utmost caution should be used in India in protesting against such proposals as may eventually be put forward on the part of the Government on the ground of their inadequacy. Mr. Montagu's hands should be strengthened as much as possible, for he will otherwise have the greatest difficulty in overcoming the strong antagonism that is bound to be worked up by the Anglo-Indian representatives and their friends and advisers.

A LESSON FROM THE WEST

BY THE HON. MR. YAKUB HASAN.

THE principle of communal representation as provided in the Joint Scheme of the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League is not new to democracy. It forms an essential feature of the constitution in several countries in Europe, and in order to illustrate its practicability, we will throw a cursory glance over the constitutions of countries where diverse peoples form a nationality under one government. We will confine our review to two governments in Europe—one a republic and another a dual-monarchy. "In the latter," says Mr. A. Lawrence Lowell in his book, *Governments and Parties in Continental Europe*, "the different races which were forced together under a single monarchy have been straining apart, and striving to assert their independence; while the history of the Swiss has been that of separate communities uniting voluntarily for mutual protection and learning to reconcile their discordant elements and draw closer and closer together." This happy state of things in Switzerland is entirely due to the system of communal representation that prevails there. Four distinct races, German, French, Italian and Romance speaking people inhabit that country. Difference of blood is not the only thing that separates the Swiss from each other; they are also sharply divided on religious matters. As for languages there are as many as the races, none of which is recognized as official language. Debates in the Council are conducted in a curious polyglot, and the formal proceedings are read both in German and French. "All this contrasts strongly with the state of things in Austria-Hungary," writes Mr. Lowell, "and one rejoices to find that men of different races can live together without making the confusion of tongues a source of oppression."

The four races are geographically divided into twenty-five cantons, the elected representatives of which, two for each canton, form the Council of the States which corresponds to the Senate in the United States of America. The National Legislature called National Council is elected directly by the people; one member is allotted to each canton for every twenty thousand people, and a fraction left over which exceeds ten thousand, every citizen who is twenty years of age being a voter.

The principle of separate representation is carried down to the smallest local bodies and minorities have been allotted proportional seats. "But it is curious to note," says Mr. Lowell, "that as often happens, custom is stronger than law, for the habit of voluntarily conceding places in the Executive Councils to the minority has spread far more rapidly than the legal machinery which is intended to bring about the same result." "From this it will be observed that democracy in Switzerland is not merely a national or cantonal matter but has its roots far down in the local bodies, and this gives it a stability and conservatism which it lacks in most other continental nations."

Switzerland is in many ways an ideal democracy worthy of being copied, by young nations just budding into self-government. For example party warfare there is reduced to a minimum and politics are conducted almost without regard to party. "When one party comprises so large a part of the community and is so firmly established that its supremacy is virtually undisputed, its members are not compelled to stand together and profess the same creed. They are at liberty to differ from one another and follow their personal convictions; and hence the measures of the Government are not carried by party votes, but are the result of a free expression of opinion."*

Contrast this with the practice of officials and nominated members voting with Government in Indian and Provincial Councils.

Unlike the English Cabinet, the executive councils are elected bodies in Switzerland just as it is proposed to have them partially elected in India. The Swiss have a dread of confiding authority to any single person and always prefer a collegiate body. Instead of a President, as in other democratic constitutions, they instituted a Federal Council of seven members who are all elected at the same time by each new Federal Assembly as soon as it meets. The work of administration is divided into seven departments which are allotted to the members of the Council by arrangement among

* This and other quotations in the following pages, unless they are otherwise acknowledged, are from Mr. A. Lowell's book, *Governments and Parties in Continental Europe*.

themselves. One of these members is elected President and another Vice-President by the Federal Assembly for a single year. The constitution provides that the same person shall not be elected President or Vice-President for the ensuing year. The Vice-President is elected President so that the office passes by rotation among the members of the Council. The Council's duty consists in conducting the administration, but it is not expected to control the policy of the State. Its members are not the leaders of a party nor are they collectively pledged to a programme. All classes of opinion are represented among them. "It is indeed surprising that a body so composed should work so smoothly" and yet this marvel exists in Switzerland. This Federal Council would serve as a good model for the Executive Councils in India, which are proposed to be composed half of the nominees of the Governor and half of the members elected by the elected members of the Legislative Council. Mussalmans demand half the elected Executive Members to be Mohammedans, which is not inconsistent with the practice in Switzerland.

If Switzerland serves as a model of self-government to be advantageously copied by India, specially in respect of harmonious communal co-operation, Austria-Hungary gives us a warning as to how in certain conditions the same principle can produce national discord and communal disaffection to the unmaking of the nationality. "Although the boundaries of Hungary have changed very little for the last eight hundred years one is astonished to find how much the various races have preserved their identity, how little they have become fused into a homogeneous people." In this respect that country very closely resembles India. "The Magyars form less than one half of the population of Hungary, but they are more energetic, more aggressive and better organized than the other races, and the restricted suffrage, the oral voting and the arrangement of electoral districts tell so strongly in their favor, that except for the forty members from Croatia they hold all but about a score of the seats in Parliament." It cannot be concealed that there is a dread of similar monopolization of seats by "the more energetic, more aggressive and better organized" section in India, and it is suggested that the suffrage, the form of voting and arrangement of electorate should not be such as to "tell strongly in their favour." This defective system has led "the Magyars to feel that Hungary belongs to them, and although since 1848 they

have admitted men of other blood to a share of political power, they do not intend to let the control slip from their own hands." This object they have attained by a method which is as deceptive in appearance as it is effective in practice. "No line is drawn between the races in the sense of excluding any person from civil or political rights on account of his birth. The test of citizenship, the qualifications for the franchise, are the same for every one." This equality of rights is conceded not from any motives of fair-play and justice but because "the Magyars do not want to keep the other races distinct and in subjection: they propose to absorb them all, and make Hungary a homogeneous nation of Magyars!" More ingenious and deadly indeed than the alleged nation-building method of the much maligned Turks! They have proclaimed Magyar the national and official language; all other languages are being stamped out so much so that a municipal authority refused to extend the license of a German theatre!

The race problem in Hungary was complicated by the exceptional position of two provinces—Transylvania and Croatia. The former possessed peculiar institutions of its own and enjoyed considerable degree of independence till 1848 when it was united with Hungary. By 1876, it was completely incorporated in the Kingdom and deprived of its ancient privileges. The Diet was abolished and the Province was given 75 seats in the Hungarian Parliament to whose authority it was absolutely subjected. The territory was cut up into new districts. It was brought under the Hungarian administrative system and the laws and language of the Magyars were extended to it. In short, the ancient institutions of Transylvania were destroyed, for the Magyars were determined to crush the national spirit of the Germans and of the still more numerous, though far less cultivated, Roumanians.

In the sister Kingdom of Austria also the two great questions that vex the nation are those of religion and race. "It is not too much to say that each of these races is not only anxious to be entirely free from control by the others, but, if strong enough, wants supremacy for itself. It is, therefore, clearly impossible to content them all and the present policy is a sort of make-shift that contents none of them." The most powerful, the richest, the best educated and the most widespread of the races is the German who assumes that Austria is, and ought to be essentially a German territory. Though the most powerful

of the nationalities, it is weakened by a division into Liberals and Clericals, and still more by the tendency of the Liberals to fight among themselves. In consequence of this disunion they cannot either better their own position in Austria or protect their brethren in Transylvania. The Mussalmans of India should take a lesson from this and should not allow their inter-provincial solidarity and union to be broken up by local dissensions or provincial apathy. If they have not already got the inborn cohesive capacity, the delay in the grant of self-government will not produce it in any length of time. Their lot is thrown with the Hindus for the best and for the worst, and the present unnatural system of government is bound to give way some day to a more national system. The best interests of the country therefore require that Hindus and Mussalmans should learn to reconcile their discordant elements and draw closer and closer, and the Hindus should behave towards the Mussalmans as the Germans (who are in proportion of 20·83 against 6·34 French, 1·55 Italians and 38 Romance speaking people) do in Switzerland towards their fellow-countrymen and not as the Germans do in Austria or the Magyars do towards the Germans in Hungary.

It is needless to say that the other races in Austria do not agree to the assumption of the Germans that Austria is or ought to be German; on the contrary they are incessantly striving for greater recognition of their own rights. The most important of them, because the most numerous and the most aggressive, are the Czechs of Bohemia and Moravia. The next most influential race is that of the Poles who have the advantage of forming a compact mass in a single province. "They are ready to assist any Government that treats them kindly, all parties are, therefore, willing to buy their support with concessions." We have to beware of the formation of such a party in India which may be ready to sell its support for a consideration. "The other important races in Austria, the Italians and the Southern Slavs have their hands pretty well filled by the quarrels among themselves and with the Germans" to prove of any constructive use in the Government which is national only in name. As it is, the joint government of Austria and Hungary is composed of a number of hostile groups, and good and efficient Government is almost impossible.

We have cited two extreme examples to show how in one country the racial and religious pro-

blem was satisfactorily solved and the various elements placed in perfect harmony with one another for the good of themselves and for the greater good of the country; whereas, on the contrary, in the other country races continue to quarrel among themselves and each tries to get supremacy over the others, and when possessed of power does not shrink from crushing, if not from exterminating its fellow races. Both of them afford object lessons to India. Here, however, the problem of race and religion is not, in spite of appearances, so acute as in some parts of Europe and is capable of easier and more satisfactory solution. That solution is to be found in the simple scheme of reforms which the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League have jointly formulated.

By admitting the claim of Mussalmans for separate representation on Legislative Councils and by allotting them a number of seats in each Council to be filled by purely Muslim electorates, it is tacitly admitted that Indian nationality is mainly composed of only two peoples—the Hindus and the Mussalmans—whose respective population in British India is 163,600,000 and 57,700,000. The scattered presence throughout India of 2,190,000 Indian Christians, 100,000 Anglo-Indians and of 86,000 Parsis who are confined only to Bombay, do not materially affect the composition or character of the Indian nationality as a whole; in provincial and local matters the latter as well as other important sub-sections of the Hindus must be taken into consideration, so that every local institution should be popular in the sense that all the peoples of that area are properly represented thereon.

I will conclude with an earnest appeal to both my Hindu and Muslim brethren—to the former to regard the Mussalmans as one of the two component parts of Indian nationality and allow and help them to have their adequate share in the self-governing bodies, executive councils and services of the country; and to the latter to use these rights to strengthen their own position in order to make the combined Indian nationality all the more powerful. India is now on the threshold of a great future, and many factors are aiding towards an early realization of its destiny. It, therefore, behoves all patriotic Indians as well as all self-respecting communities and classes so to work out their Heaven-allotted tasks as to promote, rather than retard, the circumstances that lead towards that glory.

Government Aid and Indian Industries.

BY "MERCANTILIST."

THE evidence given by Mr. Karimbhoy Adamjee Peerbhoy before the Indian Industrial Commission in Bombay is, perhaps, the most notable evidence hitherto recorded by the Commission. Mr. Karimbhoy is a partner in the firm of Sir Adamjee Peerbhoy & Sons, who are proprietors of the Adamjee Peerbhoy Tent Factory and the Western India Army Boot and Equipment Factory, besides being leading contractors to the Military Department of the Government of India and big mill-owners. This witness has roundly accused the Government of India of favouritism in Government contracts, of preferential treatment of European firms as against Indian firms in the matter of Government supplies, and of playing into the hands of an influential official clique at Simla in respect of the control and regulation of Military requirements. The charge is a serious one, which he deliberately makes, courting the full glare of publicity and undertaking a full measure of responsibility for his grave accusations. His passage-at-arms with the President of the Commission is virtually a challenge at every turn, to the authorities concerned, to disprove his charges. The case he has formulated cannot certainly rest here. The matter must be thoroughly sifted in the fierce light of public criticism, and it is bound to attract an attention and interest beyond the passing and casual interest of the Holland Commission. One cannot but deplore the attempt on the part of the President of the Commission to cast a veil over the enquiry and the somewhat rough handling he meted out to this witness, but he soon found that in him he had caught a veritable Tartar. Whatever the sensational character of the situation at the time witness gave his evidence, there is nothing unprecedented or novel in the particular form of commercial and industrial nepotism that goes with any real competition between Indian and European interests in this country. Blood is certainly thicker than water, and not once or twice in our woeful commercial and industrial history has this been seen and recorded. In the struggle for existence from the days of the East India Company, many an Indian industry has been ruthlessly killed by British competition. But the East India Company were traders until the Charter of 1833 provided that the Company should thenceforth "discontinue

and abstain from all commercial business." Indian Industries never thrived even after the Company made way for the Crown. Into this painful Indian administrative episode we shall not enter here. The weapon that was used was fiscal and with this weapon important Indian industries were mortally injured in the interests of British Industries and Commerce. Even so early as 1903 in their Despatch to the Secretary of State for India, the Government of Lord Curzon remarked with a candour for which they cannot be too highly admired:—

If Indian industries are in need of, and should now desire, a measure of protection, protective measures would necessarily seriously affect imports from the United Kingdom and would only in a secondary degree affect those from foreign countries. We cannot imagine that the interests of Lancashire or Dundee, to mention two interests alone, would be likely to acquiesce in such a course, even though it were accompanied by still higher duties against the foreigner or that it would be acceptable by the Home Government.

In announcing the decision to appoint the present Indian Industrial Commission in the Imperial Legislative Council on the 21st March 1918, the Hon'ble Sir William Clarke, the then Member for Commerce and Industry in the Government of India, spoke as follows with equal frankness:—

Can we be sure if protection were established in India it would in effect secure the object which we have in mind to-day, namely, the building up of industries where the capital control and management should be in the hands of Indians. . . . It is of immense importance alike to India herself and to the Empire as a whole, that Indians should take larger share in the industrial development of their country. . . . Might it not merely mean that the manufacturer who now competes with you from a distance, would transfer his activities to India and compete with you within your own boundaries?

But it was to the protection of Indian industries, against outside competition British or foreign, that the above mentioned utterances had reference. Against partiality of treatment in our own country, there has been hitherto no need to cry openly, whatever the volume and weight of discontent that could not easily find expression. The smouldering fire of discontent has been kindled by what Mr. Adamjee Peerbhoy has disclosed.

INDIAN POLITICAL LITERATURE.

BY "AN INDIAN PUBLICIST."

HERE has been rather a remarkable crop of political pamphlets and books bearing on Indian Administration and the proposed reforms and reconstitution thereof. The scheme put forward by the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League, and the famous Memorandum of the nineteen Members of the Indian Legislative Council, have furnished the texts for these publications. The two texts undoubtedly required ample elucidation and reasoned exposition. They are terse and concise, and considering the circumstances under which they had to be framed, they could not possibly have been otherwise. But, at the same time they embody in a condensed and crystallised form the best ideas of the sanest and most practical thinkers on Indian politics at the moment. The Congress-League scheme has really solidified all loose political thinking and with the important, though belated, announcement of policy in Parliament on the 20th August last, a feeling of hope has taken the place of one of despair, and honest agitation and open methods have removed secret thinking and dark misgivings. It is no small service, therefore, which the several authors of political publications, bearing on the national scheme of reforms, have rendered by their endeavours, and it is with such pleasure and gratitude that we notice below some of the most recent of those publications.

(I) THE CONGRESS-LEAGUE SCHEME—AN EXPOSITION.

This is the title of the third of the series of political pamphlets issued by the Servants of India Society, Poona. It is a brochure of over 60 pages, crown 16mo. The author, the Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, the present head of the Society and the successor of the late Mr. Gokhale, plunges directly into the subject with a clear and categorical statement of the fundamental ideas of the Congress-League scheme of post-war reforms. Every one of the basic ideas of the scheme is taken up and explained in the following pages, with great lucidity and convincing logic. After pointing out how the scheme guarantees British suzerainty, and how unfounded

are the fears expressed by some on this score, for reasons of their own, the learned author proceeds to discuss the lines on which the Government of India is sought to be liberalised by the scheme by means of the elective majority, the power of legislation, the power of the purse, and the control over the executive. The scheme yet falls considerably short of real responsible Government, and in emphasising this, the author, calls attention to the recent proposals of responsible Government in compartments. "There is not a single instance in the wide world of a people having acquired autonomy by compartments," says he, and offers some very telling and scathing criticisms against this proposal.

(II) THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDIAN POLITY.

This is a substantial volume of over 500 pages by the Hon'ble Rao Bahadur M. Ramachandara Rao, B.A., B.L., Additional Member of the Madras Legislative Council. The object of the author in writing the book is to show that the Reform proposals of the All-India Muslim League and the Indian National Congress do not urge catastrophic changes, as has been said in certain quarters, but are based on existing foundations and constitute the next natural step in the evolution of Indian Polity. His aim is to show that the suggested reforms are by no means revolutionary. It is an erudite and weighty treatise on Indian polity that Mr. Ramachandra Rao has written. The chapters on Indian Government and the Central Legislature, followed by the chapters on Local Governments and local legislatures, with the connected questions of Financial, Administrative and Legislative autonomy contain masterly expositions of the whole problem of reform and all the proposed schemes for its solution. Not less interesting are the chapters devoted to the District Administration, the Civil Services, the Military Services and the Native States. It is not possible within a short review to call attention to the several excellences of this book and the reader will be amply rewarded by his careful study of the same.

(1) "The Congress-League Scheme—An Exposition," by V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Servants of India Society.—The Aryabhushan Press, Poona, November 1917—Price, As. 6.

(2) "The Development of Indian Polity"—by M. Ramachandara Rao, B.A., B.L., Member, Madras Legislative Council.—The Modern Printing Works, Mount Road, Madras—Price, Rs. 2-8-0.

(III) WHAT INDIA WANTS.

India wants autonomy within the Empire. This is what the book says even on its title page. It is a brief and succinct account of the history of India's demand for Self-Government. This is what the author, Mr. G. A. Natesan, modestly claims for it. An array of distinguished authorities on Indian Politics have written forewords to it, and the contribution of each, while an introduction to the publication, is a pronouncement on political reform. Even more valuable an addition to it, is the admirably prepared index at the end, which helps the reader to place his finger at once on every thing that is contained in it. The book* is well worth reading and valuable also as a compendium of reference.

* "What India Wants"—by G. A. Natesan, B.A., F. M. V., Editor the "Indian Review"—Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.—Price, As. 8.

A BUDDHIST FIND.*

BY MR. C. JINARAJADASA, M.A.

DURING the last few years there has been in Europe a marked interest in things mystic and many works have been published dealing with mysticism. This is largely due not only to the influx of Indian ideas prophesied by Shopenhauer long ago, but also to the investigations into that recondite domain of consciousness termed "the subconscious." There is distinctly a revival of mysticism, and this present work is, therefore, interesting.

Indian mysticism has ever been precise and almost scientific in its method; mysticism in Hinduism and Buddhism has been less a subject of speculation and more one of exposition. In them the fundamental theories of mysticism are taken for granted and the exponent merely lays down a method for mystical experiments, just as the chemist describes how to perform a laboratory experiment. Hitherto there has been no definite work describing the methods of Buddhist mysticism, though Buddhist legends are full of the achievements of the ancient Arhats. Therefore, this "Manual of a Mystic" is distinctly a "find," being so far the only one of its kind.

The work was composed only in the 18th Century, though undoubtedly the mystic methods outlined are very very old. The Yoga practices outlined were introduced into Ceylon from ancient

* *Manual of a Mystic or The Yogavachara's* translated from the Pali by F. L. Woodward. All Text Society, Oxford University Press.

(IV) MR. MONTAGU ON INDIAN QUESTIONS.

The publishers, Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co., have brought out a volume of collections of the speeches of the Right Hon'ble Mr. Montagu. The recent speeches on the Mesopotamian Commission and his election speech at Cambridge-shire are also included. Mr. Montagu is the man of the hour in India. He has been greatly praised for his speeches, and at the same time most vilily abused. He is the hope of the better mind of India and of Indians to-day, and the despair of those who see in him and in his advent here, a stormy petrel. Time alone will show, whether the one or the other will be right; but, in the meantime, those who are anxious to know what he is, by his declared views and opinions on Indian questions, no matter whether his view and opinions prevail or not ultimately, cannot do better than to read these interesting pages.

India by way of Siam, when Buddhism was revived in the 18th Century in Ceylon by Siamese Buddhist Monks. Mr Woodward translates from the Pali and from the Sinhalese commentary, and I doubt if one more fitted for the work could have been found. Mr. Woodward has been resident in Ceylon over twenty-five years as the Principal of the Buddhist Mahinda College, and in addition to this he is a Theosophist, and so he brings to his work a thorough sympathy with oriental mysticism.

As to the contents of the work itself, each reader must judge for himself of the value of the meditations therein described. They are perfectly plain and precise, and psychologically they are of great interest. In these Buddhist Yoga practices, there is no attempt at the unification of man's consciousness which any higher consciousness of Brahman or Absolute; their aim is to raise the consciousness of man so that he gains deep insight into the true nature of existence. From the description of the meditations, one gathers that this effect would not be dissimilar to what Plato had in mind, that is, the vision of the world not as thing but as idea. Whether the definite practices outlined will, indeed, produce this result or not is a question no reviewer can solve. But this much he can say, that we have in Mr. Woodward's translation a keenly appreciative rendering of a treatise on Yoga, and the book is a distinct contribution to the mysterious of man.

The German Empire After the War

BY

PROF. S. G. PANANDIKAR, M.A.

SINCE the beginning of this colossal struggle, which has now entered into its fourth year, the Allies have been unstintingly pouring out continuous and profuse streams of the purest and richest blood and material in order to secure a lasting peace, and it is recognised by all the Allied peoples with the exception of a few pacifists of the type of MacDonald, Jowett and Snowden to be counted on one's fingers' ends that an inconclusive peace, really worth no more than a hollow truce, would be the most despicable crime against those heroes who are so nobly fighting and suffering, and thousands of whom have cheerfully made the last and the greatest of all sacrifices. But on the other hand, there is a remarkable divergence of opinion among the Allied nations as to the fundamental and governing conditions of a real peace, the maintenance of which would essentially hinge upon the status and power of the German Empire after the War. Although it is fully realised that this unprecedented struggle will have been fought in vain, and that the tremendous sacrifices will have been utterly wasted, unless the German Empire is so transformed as to become incapable of plunging the world into another great war for a couple of generations at least, there is a striking difference of views among the Allied nations as to what would achieve this consummation so devoutly and fervently to be wished and prayed for. A number of schemes have been recently formulated by some of the Allied political thinkers, and it is the purpose of the following few pages to examine the feasibility of the most important of them.

Firstly, it is argued that the one effective safeguard for the establishment and continuance of a real peace is to secure the dissolution of the German Empire, and the restoration of the *status quo* before the creation of the North German Confederation in 1867, and of the Empire in 1871,

when Germany was divided into a few large and many small States, nominally bound together by a loose tie, but practically independent for all essential purposes. This view appears to derive strength to a certain extent from the recent rumour of a strong and secret movement centred in Southern Germany favouring a separate Prussia and the re-establishment of the status existing before 1871, but to a greater extent from the appearance of three disruptive forces on the surface of German politics.

Firstly, the Empire has never evoked enthusiasm or even won popularity in Prussia itself. The Junkers or the landed aristocracy, the governing class in Prussia have always believed that the creation of the Empire was to some extent at the expense of the true welfare of Prussia, and it was from this class that the leaders of the counter-movement which crushed the premature and abortive revolution of 1848, were drawn. Secondly, the Prussians abhor the comparatively liberal tendencies of the Empire, whose constitution, although restricted in comparison with those of the western democracies, is far more advanced than that of Prussia. To take only one instance, while the Reichstag or the popular assembly of the Empire is based on direct universal suffrage, the Prussian Landtag is based on the most narrow and restricted franchise. Thirdly, the feeling of the minor nationalities is hardly less powerful in Germany to-day than it was before 1871. Loyalty to his particular State is stronger in the German's mind than loyalty to the Empire, and the most effective appeal to the Germans is that which is made to them as Prussians, Bavarians, Saxons, Wurttembergers, etc., and although they are firmly resolved to maintain the Empire at all hazard, they in most cases place the welfare of their State before that of the Empire. However, even if we

give the fullest consideration to these fissiparous and centrifugal forces, it must be admitted that they are far weaker than, and must be swamped by, the binding and centripetal forces, which are operating for the continued existence and progress of the Empire, and the strength of which we shall weigh later on. Even the independence and prosperity of each State, 'the narrow Fatherland' is entirely dependent upon the full preservation of the Empire, 'the greater Fatherland.'

The proposals of the second group of political thinkers are less bold. They realise that the break-up of the German Empire is a task beyond the range of the capacity of the Allied nations, even if they are crowned with complete victory, and that the political and economic unification of Germany which has been consummated cannot be undone. They, therefore, maintain that the only way to prevent a recrudescence of hostilities on the part of Germany is to destroy the domination of Prussia in the Empire. That domination is so complete that there would be no departure from the strictest truth to assert that it has prussianised the whole of Germany. The King of Prussia must be the Emperor of Germany; he appoints and controls the Imperial Chancellor, who is also the head of the Prussian Ministry; Prussia has practically its own way in all the important Imperial affairs coming before the Bundesrath, which is the council of the representatives of the different State Governments, and which wields far more power than the Reichstag; Prussia practically controls the whole of the army and navy. Thus the Kaiser possessing absolute control over foreign and military affairs, and exercising through the Imperial Chancellor such an authority over most of the Imperial affairs as to make the other States bow to his will, finds it easy to pursue the path of aggressive ambition, and may at any moment in the future plunge Germany and the world into another terrible struggle. Hence it is argued that there can be no

peace insurance without the complete break-up of Prussian hegemony. As this predominance of Prussia is due to her large territory and population, it can only be ended by depriving her of her later conquests such as Silesia, part of Poland, Schleswig and Holstein. If this is accomplished, Prussia would lose more than half of her territory and population, which instead of representing 65 and 61 p.c. respectively of those of the German Empire, would represent only 30 and 28 p.c. and thus Prussia would fall to the level of other States such as Bavaria, Saxony, Baden and Wurtemberg. It is maintained that this destruction of Prussian domination in Germany, ending Prussian militarism and leading to a lasting peace, would benefit the German people also, since it would lighten the heavy burden of military charges and service, would cause war pre-occupations to disappear, leaving only productive pre-occupations, and thus would enable them to pursue the path of peaceful progress instead of being forced to subordinate all healthy and progressive activities to the single consideration of military efficiency.

These proposals regarding the dissolution of the German Empire or the destruction of Prussian domination are no doubt very attractive, and the arguments supporting them appear at first sight to be very plausible. But students of modern German history who have grasped the real significance of the forces operating in Germany since the advent of Napoleon, would detect the flaws in the above arguments, and realise the impracticability of the above proposals. Who is the real unifier of Germany? Neither Bismarck nor the Emperor William, because they only regulated and exploited the forces already created by others. The true unifier of Germany is Napoleon. Only those who have closely studied modern German history can realise adequately how deeply the iron of Napoleonic aggression and despotism wounded the German soul. The crushing and humiliating system which he forced upon

Germany and Prussia especially, after his victories of Auerstadt and Jena over them, his oppressive exactions, and the deliberate declaration of his firm intention of wiping out Prussia from the map of Europe as soon as he was free from the Russian campaign—these were the real forces making for the unification of Germany. Seven years of humiliation and suffering proved wonderfully effective in rousing the national spirit of the Germans, who up to this time had betrayed a despicable want of that courage and that tenacity so heroically displayed by the other nations of Europe in continuously resisting the aggressive ambition of Napoleon in spite of defeat after defeat. Napoleon perpetrated no greater error in his life-time than to drive to the verge of desperation Prussia, the one German State capable of serving as the rallying point for the national resistance of the German people. The old apathy and weakness of all classes vanished like thin air under the overwhelming burden of a keen sense of wrong; in the depths of wretchedness and humiliation the idea of a common Fatherland was born; and the German people under the leadership of Prussia caught up that flame of national regeneration which had burst out in Portugal, Spain, Tyrol and Russia at the aggressions of Napoleon. It was the leadership of Prussia that made the national German rising possible; all the German people were inspired and roused to action by the fiery Prussian patriots and poets, who spoke and sang of the ancient glories of the Fatherland; the cause of Prussia and that of the rest of Germany were identified and the dominant force of the indispensability of unity to national existence was born.

Although the heroic resistance of the German nation in the memorable War of Liberation was one of the chief causes of Napoleon's downfall, there came a reaction against the idea of nationality when the Napoleonic danger had disappeared, and the autocratic monarchs of Europe assembled

in the Congress of Vienna, ruthlessly smothered the national aspirations of the Germans, and kept Germany divided as before. But the national aspirations could not be extinguished, the flame continued to glow brighter steadily in Germany, the wounds which Napoleonic humiliations had created remained unhealed, and it was the conviction of the vital necessity of unity to national existence that gave birth to the first and abortive movement in 1848 towards the creation of a German Empire, and to the successful movement in 1871, when the union was floated on the flood-tide of the surprising victories of the Franco-Prussian War. In that German Empire, the domination of Prussia was accepted, because German unity could be achieved and maintained only under the leadership of Prussia. The larger idea of national union triumphed over the narrow idea of state particularism because this alone safeguarded national existence.

Moreover, it cannot be denied that the German people have gained immensely from the creation of the Empire and the hegemony of Prussia, and their pre-War prosperity must be mainly attributed to these two factors. The Empire has been wonderfully successful on its material side, and it will be generally admitted that Prussia deserves the chief credit for this result. The remarkable organising power and efficiency, which are the main characteristics of the German nation to-day, were first initiated by Frederick William I of Prussia, and were steadily and assiduously developed by his successors with the co-operation of Prussian public leaders. Even the discipline and militarism of Prussia have not obstructed, on the contrary, they have promoted the economic development of Germany. Before the beginning of this War Germany was foremost in most of the material sciences, she had become the mother of scientific inventions, she had built up a powerful fleet, and with its aid carried on an immense foreign trade so remarkable that most other countries had become

entirely dependent on Germany for some of the commodities essential to national life. Further, the Empire was no less successful in the collective assertion of Germanism in international affairs, so successful in fact that the Allied nations have been compelled to enter into this colossal struggle, in order to crush the aggressive ambition of the German nation.

These practical reasons are very strong indeed, but they will become stronger after the termination of this war. Whatever its result may be, the German states will find the necessity of unity far more vital than at any former period in German history, and this pressing need cannot but submerge the disruptive forces described above, which have become prominent only temporarily owing to the heavy losses which the German nation is suffering to-day. The financial loss of Germany in this war has been the heaviest of all the belligerents, her prosperity has been shaken to its very foundation, and Germany will inevitably become bankrupt unless her pre-war foreign trade and the industries dependent upon it, now utterly crushed by the Allies, are restored. But this is the most formidable task, because the termination of this military War is certain to give rise to a long and intense economic war, in which Germany has most to fear from England, her most powerful opponent in economic as well as in military warfare. The German people fully realize that the only chance of success for them lies in the supreme concentration of all their economic and industrial strength, and that for this a united Germany under the leadership of Prussia is essential.

Secondly, even to-day the memories of the humiliation of 1806-13 are dominating German political thought, with this difference only that Napoleon's place in the German mind is now occupied by Russia. Although Russia is in a state of chaos at the present moment, her leaders feel confident of their endeavours to pull her

through the debacle will finally triumph over the forces of anarchy, and it is not inconceivable that a free and democratic Russia will ultimately rise more powerful from the War than the old autocratic Russia was before it. It has been well said that the strongest force making for unity is fear and this fear of Russia whether justified or not, is certain to create a profound impression upon the German nation, and to convince it of the supreme necessity of unity for defensive purposes. A careful consideration of all these forces leads to the inevitable conclusion that the domination of Prussia will remain because it is absolutely essential to the unity of Germany. The unity of Germany will remain, because it is essential to the existence of the German people. Southern Germany especially does not love Prussia but has to respect it for its efficiency, and therefore the predominance of Prussia is accepted and will continue to be accepted as a disagreeable necessity.

The third proposal for insuring a conclusive peace, that the Allies should make the disappearance of the Hohenzollern Dynasty from the imperial throne, one of the primary conditions of peace, stands on the same grounds. The Dynasty must remain because there is no other capable of taking its place. The stars of the Hohenzollerns have almost invariably been in the ascendant, and no other dynasty in the History of Europe, not even the Hapsburgs, has been so fortunate. The rising kingdom of Prussia was in the gravest danger during the Seven Years' War, but just at the critical moment the death of Empress Elizabeth disarmed the enmity of Russia, the situation was saved, and the nascent kingdom narrowly escaped dismemberment. Again, just when Napoleon was seriously contemplating the execution of his avowed intention of eliminating Prussia from the map of Europe, he was tempted by the invasion of Russia, which proved fatal to him. Yet again, when the movement towards

national unity was on the point of being crowned with success, the Habsburg Dynasty of Austria found itself completely eliminated from Germany, so that it was only through union under the Hohenzollerns of Prussia that the national security of the Germans could be achieved and maintained. The natural rival to the Hohenzollerns was the Wittelsbach Dynasty of Bavaria. But the latter was seriously handicapped by a long succession of mad or incapable monarchs, and therefore Bavaria had quietly to submit to Prussia. The claims of the house ruling over Saxony could not be entertained for a single moment, because though possessing high prestige till the 18th century, it had in modern times become completely discredited owing to the conspicuous lack of able rulers. On the other hand, the house of Hohenzollerns has been singularly fortunate in producing a succession of energetic, ambitious and able monarchs, who have made modern Prussia and later modern Germany. Hence it was natural that the Hohenzollerns had no rivals when the German nation had to select an Emperor for the newly-created empire. Since that time the prestige of the Hohenzollerns has increased considerably in Germany, while the Houses of Bavaria and Saxony have become more discredited than ever before. Hence it is clear that any hope of Bavaria or Saxony taking the place of Prussia must be dismissed at once, and since no practicable alternative is forthcoming or is likely to be suggested, the Hohenzollerns must continue to occupy the position which they are doing at present. Thus the fullest weighing of the potency of these forces operating in Germany seems to lead to the conclusion that the continued existence of the German Empire, under the hegemony of Prussia, and with the Hohenzollerns at the head of it, cannot be disturbed in the future so far as we can penetrate into it.

This conclusion naturally gives rise to the question, if these schemes for the assurance of a

real and conclusive peace are impracticable, what should be the direction of the efforts of the Allied nations to secure the end in view? The question is very wide, a full and comprehensive answer is beyond the limit of these pages, and therefore its barest outlines only can be briefly indicated here. A lasting peace can be secured only if the German Empire is so exhausted and straitened both militarily and financially by the overwhelming pressure of this War, as to become incapable even of any thought of plunging the world into another great war for a couple of generations.

To achieve this supreme purpose, in the first place, Germany's formidable military machine, which has been primarily responsible for the growth of her dream of world-dominion, must be effectively broken up. Such losses must be inflicted on Germany that at least for some years to come, she must continue to feel keenly the depletion of her man-power, and find it so insufficient and invaluable as to be incapable of any thought of wasting it away recklessly in another huge conflict. It may appear cruel and blood-thirsty to say so, but it is unavoidable. It is now indisputable that Germany cannot be convinced by any amount of reasoning or arguments, however sound and forcible they may be, and that this is the only way to prevent a far greater bloodshed in the near future. It is therefore satisfactory to find that this object is being steadily pursued by the British and the French on the Western Front, where they have been continuously worrying and harassing the German hordes, and inflicting heavy losses upon them. However the fly in the ointment is the condition of the Eastern Front, where the Russian Debacle is daily assuming graver aspects.

Secondly, it is no less necessary to destroy the power of the German fleet, which though less formidable than the British one, is certainly a grave menace to the peace of the world, being wielded

by aggressive hands, and especially so since the recent development of submarinism.

It is no doubt true that the German fleet has been mostly restricted to its harbours, and has several times especially in the battle of Jutland, received a severe shaking from the might of the British Navy. But much water will have to flow under the bridges, before the German naval power and the high hopes based on it are destroyed. The British Admiralty has on the whole adopted a defensive policy, the German fleet is still fairly intact and formidable, and this has naturally led to a strong outcry in England for a much more vigorous naval policy. In this connection it is worth while referring to the suggestion recently made by Mr. Churchill that a part of the Allied fleet should continue to remain on the defensive to safeguard adequately the Allied interests, and that the remaining portion may be risked on a bold offensive policy against the German fleet.

Lastly, Germany's financial weakness after the war would be even more conducive to the maintenance of a durable peace than her military exhaustion, for in modern warfare the equipment and organisation of an army count far more than its numbers. It is certain that Germany will be compelled to make restitution for her plunder and destruction in the Allied territories which she has

invaded. But it is not so certain, whether the Allies would be able to counteract effectively the efforts, which Germany is sure to embark upon after the War, to re-establish her pre-War trade by recapturing the markets of other countries so as to recover rapidly from her financial exhaustion. For, while the cessation of her foreign trade due to her blockade by the Allied fleet has enabled her to accumulate vast stocks of commodities, which she will endeavour to dump upon other markets as soon as peace is declared, the Allied nations have no such stocks on hand. However, they have fully realised the vital need of protecting themselves against the aggressive militarist commercial policy of Germany, and their representatives met together at the Paris Economic Conference in June 1916, where they discussed the appropriate measures for the formation of a permanent economic alliance among themselves in order to frustrate the efforts of Germany to establish her domination over the production and markets of the world after the War. An economic league of the Allied nations properly furnished with machinery for enforcing the financial, commercial and economic isolation of a nation determined to force its will upon the world by mere violence would be the real safeguard for the peace of the world.

TURKEY AND THE WAR

BY

PROF. FERRAND E. CORLEY, M.A.

THE author of this book,* the military correspondent of a prominent Russian newspaper, has the further qualification for his task that he lived for some years in Constantinople and Salonika. Like all who know the Turks at first hand, he has an evident regard for them, both as individuals and as a type. But he

takes a gloomy view of Turkey's political conditions and prospects, and frankly regards the dismemberment of her Empire as the natural goal of the present war—at once a primary factor in causing the war, and a necessary condition of any permanent settlement.

The first part of the book is devoted to a review of the many factors which have contributed to the war. But the author reasonably insists that

they are secondary. Alsace-Lorraine, for example, is a question which at once springs into prominence when war begins; the victory of the Allies will mean the restitution of her lost provinces to France: but this did not cause the War. In his opinion, no one of these questions, nor the sum of them, would have provoked such a war, if the condition of the Turkish Empire had not favoured Germany's ambition to dominate the world. In this analysis he is in substantial agreement with Prof. Ramsay Muir's contention (in his *Nationalism and Internationalism*) that it is the unstable equilibrium of the non-national Empires of Austria and Turkey that has really brought about the War.

In the second part he examines the recent history of Turkey, and shows that under modern conditions its failure was inevitable. The Turks themselves form no more than a third of the population of an Empire distinguished by an extraordinary diversity of races. Unlike the German minority in Austria, they lag behind the subject races in culture, in industry and commercial enterprise. To maintain their supremacy, they have been irresistibly driven to autocracy. Under the old regime, this was in the main tolerable because of the large liberty allowed to their subjects in other directions. But the young Turks, imbued with doctrinaire notions of nationality and parliamentary government, found their difficulties insuperable. Hence they were forced, by the logic of facts, to methods of autocracy which out-Heroded Herod, and a policy of 'Ottomanising' the non-Turkish races which was bound to provoke disturbance. As the alternative of allowing their own nationality to be swamped by the rest for the sake of keeping the Empire intact is one which no Turk, 'Old' or 'Young,' is likely to accept with complacency,

the disruption of the imperfectly unified fabric is to be regarded as inevitable.

The author then proceeds to discuss the possible lines of partition, in view of historic or ethnic claims or solid commercial interests. The chief points to notice here are—(1) that Russia must, in some way or other, be given Constantinople and the Straits, to enable her to reach the Mediterranean; (2) that Palestine (as distinct from Syria, to which France has claims) must be taken by Britain, to safeguard not Egypt but the Suez Canal; (3) that the Hedjaz and the Holy Places of Islam must be left independent; and (4) that the real Turkey, or Anatolia, may be left to develop on national lines, and that it would be wise to leave its commercial exploitation to the Germans, whose pardonable restlessness will otherwise provoke some new and disastrous contest. All these points he is at pains to exhibit as consonant with the interests of Britain.

Finally, in an appendix, the author advocates a vigorous prosecution of the war against Turkey as alone likely to bring a speedy and decisive conclusion. He is not blind to the superior importance of the western theatre from a strictly military point of view. But the overthrow of Turkey would close the door of hope to German ambition, and so undermine the German power of resistance more swiftly and completely than any defeat of a purely military character.

The book is illuminating, and incisively written. It is a pity that the English lady who contributed to its 'linguistic form' did not do her work more thoroughly. Flaws not only of idiom but of grammar, which jar upon the reader, are distressingly numerous. In spite of them, it remains a readable and suggestive contribution to the discussion of the great problem of the settlement to come.

* *Turkey and the War*. By Vladimir Jabotinsky T. Fisher Unwin, London.

MOGHUL MINTS IN BENGAL

BY

MR. PRAMATHANATH DATTA.

THE Moghul Empire attained its highest splendour during its suzerainty of Muhiuddin Mohammad Aurangzeb Alamgir Ghazi Padsha. Before he came to the throne, a greater portion of Afghanistan became independent with the help of the Safavi family of Persia and was thus cut off from the Moghul Empire; but the annexation of Golconda and Bijapur by Aurangzeb was the crowning glory of the Empire, and thus for what was lost in Afghanistan, much more was gained in the Deccan. The characteristic feature of the reign of Aurangzeb introduced certain administrative reforms the schemes of which were devised by the monarch himself.

Reforms of currency were one of them. In his time, gold, silver and copper coins were minted from the mints established mostly by him. In his reign, there were mints at the following places in the Suba of Bengal, Behar and Orissa: (i) Akbarnagar. When Bengal was subjugated by Akbar, Rajmahal was named after the Emperor as Akbarnagar. The mint was probably established by Akbar, and it came into importance during the reign of Aurangzeb. During the reign of Shah Alam I, son of Aurangzeb, it lost its importance and was closed.

(ii) Islamabad. This was the Mahomedan name of Chittagong. The succinct history of the place under Aurangzeb is this. Aurangzeb's uncle Shayista Khan, who had allowed himself to be surprised by Sivaji in the Deccan, was transferred to Bengal as Subadar in succession to Mir Jumla. He sent an expedition to Arakan, and forced the king to cede the Chittagong territory in order to check the piracy of the Portuguese and other pirates who infested the neighbouring rivers. He changed its name to Islamabad and the mint remained there till the reign of Shah Alam II.

(iii) Cuttack in Orissa. Here the mint was found by Shahjahan and it was there till the time of Ahmad Shah.

(iv) Jahangirnagar, the Moghul name of Dacca. It was a very famous place at that time, and its reputation for the manufacture of muslin, a fine texture of cotton fabric, had spread far and wide. The mint was opened by Jahangir and it closed with the fall of the Moghul Empire. During Akbar's time there was a mint at Gaur, (in the present district of Maldah) the then capital of Bengal. In it the currency of Akbar was coined and this mint was possibly removed to Dacca, when it was made the capital of Bengal by Jahangir.

(v) Azimabad or Patna. The mint existed there since the reign of Akbar down to the transfer of the Diwani of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, to the East India Company by Shah Alam II.

(vi) Mookshahabad or Murshidabad. Murshid Cooli Khan was forced to leave Dacca and to come back to Murshidabad. It is said that there arose a dispute between Diwan Murshid Cooli and Subadar Azimushan, the grand son of Aurangzeb, and as a result of this dispute Murshid Cooli had to leave Dacca for Murshidabad. There the Khan opened a mint with the approval of the Emperor of Delhi. This was probably some time between 1703 and 1705 A. D. Numismatic evidence shows that the coins that were minted by the East India Company at the Calcutta Mint bore the inscription of Murshidabad. This mint of Murshidabad was removed to Calcutta for protection under East India Company and up to 1835 it coined the currency of Shah Alam II.

Mr. R. D. Banerjee, a famous journalist, who has contributed several numismatic researches of

his own, gives a description of a copper coin that bears the name of Aurangzeb and the writings of which are in the Bengali character. There are no other evidences on record about Aurangzeb's coins having inscriptions in a character other than the Persian. That one, according to Mr. Banerjee, was minted from Cooch-Bihar Mint as on it was struck 'Alamgir-nagar,' the name given to Cooch-Bihar by Aurangzeb.

In the 16th century Raja Naronarayan of Cooch-Bihar circulated currency coined from his mint. These coins were known as 'Narayani' coins and they were of gold, silver, brass and copper. Those that have been discovered bear the names of Narnarayan, his son, Lukshmi Narayan, and Raghudebnarayan, another descendant of the family.

In the year 1657 when Shah Shuja marched to Delhi on the reported illness of Shahjahan, the Raja Prem Narayan of Cooch-Bihar dishonoured and banished the Moghul representative of his court and ordered one of his generals to proceed with the army to punish one feudal chief who rebelled and finally took shelter in the Moghul

territory. To this army, joined the Raja of Assam and the combined force caused depredation in the Moghul boundary. When in Delhi, the contest for the Crown was settled down to Aurangzeb, he ordered Mir Jumla to proceed to Cooch-Bihar. Professor Jadu Nath Sarkar in his famous "History of Aurangzeb" gives the following description:

'Mir Jumla made his way to Cooch-Bihar by an obscure and neglected highway. The advance was very slow as the dense bamboo groves had to be cleared to make his way. In six days Mir Jumla's army reached the capital which had been deserted by the Raja and his people in terror. The name of the town was changed to Alamgir-nagar.'

In 1661 Mir Jumla marched against Cooch-Bihar and in 1662 he left it for Dacca. On Mir Jumla's leaving the territory, the Raja of Cooch-Bihar rallied his army and drove out the Moghul soldiers that were left behind. For one year only Cooch-Bihar was subjugated by Aurangzeb and the coin was minted during this period from Alamgir-nagar bearing the inscription in Bengali characters.

THE PRESENT POSITION OF DIETETICS

BY

MR. A. S. BHANDARKAR, A. B. (HARVARD)

THE old dietists used to draw a sharp line between two functions served by food within the body and classify the foods accordingly. These functions were as follows:—

(1) Building up of the worn-out materials of the body and (2) supplying it with energy especially in the form of heat. This was the way they argued in defence of animal protein as food and hence their own classification—"The proteins formed part of the tissues of every living animal and were essential to life, more so to a life of active manual labour. Carbohydrates and fats

did not contain the chief constituent of proteins, namely, nitrogen; therefore they played quite an insignificant part, if at all, in replacing the worn-out tissues of the body." They knew that the heat supplied to the body was mainly due to the oxidation of fats and carbohydrates into carbon-dioxide and water, which further justified in their eyes their assigning function (2) to these latter. "Moreover," they proceeded, "since animal food is rich in proteins akin to those in the human body, it is the most nutritious and wholesome of all the foods." It is rather surprising to find

however, the same attitude more or less modified taken up by not a few dietists of to-day in the face of facts revealed by modern physiological research. Let us examine the above argument in the light of physiological chemistry and common experience. No one denies the truth of the first premise, *e.g.* that animal tissues contain protein matter. The following are the chief debatable points:—

(1) Whether proteins alone are important in building up the worn-out tissues.

(2) Whether animal flesh is the only medium through which we can get the necessary amount of proteins, and whether the amount present there is really an 'indispensable minimum,' as some dietists believe, in the case of a labourer doing very hard work; (3) Are animal proteins the most wholesome of foods?

Many people in India live on vegetable food which contains a small percentage of protein in comparison with meat. Wheat containing about 12 per cent. as against 20 per cent. of meat while rice as little as 8 per cent. But the Indians and even the Japanese labourers possess at least as much hardihood, if not so much brutal force, perhaps, as any English or American labourer. Vegetables like peas and beans may contain protein equal in amount to that in animal flesh, but they do not form the staple food of these labourers, carbohydrates figuring very large in their diet, while the necessary fats they get as vegetable oils or from the dairy products. Where, then, in their case, does the 20 per cent. of protein, regarded as the 'indispensable minimum' for hard manual labour come from? Thus, either the percentage is not an 'indispensable minimum' or proteins have not got the chief monopoly of building up the worn-out tissues of the body. Both these things are true and more than true. It has been found that fats and carbohydrates are both metabolized in the body, being regarded as essential as proteins for this purpose and not merely as 'accessory ingre-

dients.' On the other hand a pure animal protein diet—given a certain amount that can be digested without harm—has been found a failure for supplying the body with the necessary amount of energy. A food may be very nutritive but at the same time equally hard to digest. This digestibility depends on two things:—

(1) The physical nature of the substance and the amount of refuse it contains.

(2) The intrinsic ease with which a compound substance can be split up chemically and synthesized again into the products of metabolism.

As regards (1), it has been found that the more adhesive the physical aggregation of a substance, the harder it is to digest. Thus liquids are easier to assimilate than solids which have to be dissolved for digestion; pulpy matter easier to digest than fibrous one, the fibres of vegetable cellulose being assimilated with difficulty while those of meat are for the most part thrown away by the system as refuse, sometimes to rot in the larger intestine. Now, while there is hardly any refuse in fats like butter and carbohydrates such as cooked wheat, rice and other vegetables, its quantity amounts to sometimes as much as 20 per cent. in animal food, the food value of fats like ghee, butter and olive oil being almost 100 per cent.

As for (2) it is generally true that most nitrogenous foods being very complex in chemical structure are the hardest to digest. Thus the food which the animals like horses eat is richer in protein but it cannot be digested by man. Weight for weight, too, the fats are more nourishing while the carbohydrates are much more digestible than any meat though habits of diet undoubtedly play a large part in modifying our digestive power. Nervous energy wasted in grappling with indigestible food can be more profitably utilised in the exercise of higher faculties of mind and soul. Digestibility of a food is a matter of still greater concern in the case of men engaged mainly

in intellectual work like students, leaving aside its importance for sick people.

Moreover, while the excess of protein matter is invariably voided in the urine, the excess of sugar due to the digestion of carbohydrates is stored up for future use as glycogen by the liver and the excess of fat by fatty cells, there being a special system known as the 'lacteal system' for the digestion of fats. Let us see now what happens to the undigested food in the larger intestine. The amount of undigested fats and carbohydrates is very small in the first place and its oxidation and reduction products due to bacterial putrefaction in the bowels are mainly substances like lactic, butyric and carbonic acids which form the constituents of our food some being even produced in the process of digestion. Thus, they very seldom do any serious harm if at all. While on the other hand, the putrefaction products of proteins are offensive, bodies like indol, skatol, phenol and a host of others are liable to cause serious auto-poisoning of the individual.

All these above facts show conclusively that fats and carbohydrates rather than proteins such as exist in meat are meant to be the food of human beings and are more essential and wholesome to them than the proteins. This is the truth and nothing but the truth, howsoever unpalatable it may be, to the flesh-eater proteiners; and while one can understand the necessity of having to live upon animal diet to get the requisite fats and digested carbohydrates through its means owing to the lack of eatable vegetables in a country, it is hardly excusable on the part of a researcher after truth to distort the facts of Science for the sake of a theory in defence of a personal or a national custom.

When one sees that the animals whose flesh contains proteins and are eaten on that account, are herbivorous and thus live mainly on carbohydrates, and that the amino-acids, the final products of decomposition of these proteins are not

found in the blood, and that the excess of proteins, unlike fats and sugars, is thrown away by the system, one begins to doubt whether the nitrogen necessary for building up human tissues does really come from food.

In the well-organized and economic scheme of Nature it does not seem improbable that the vast amount of nitrogen in the air serves some more purpose than mere dilution of oxygen to make it fit for breathing. A modern English physiologist has shown by means of interesting experiments on his students, that it is not so much breathing fresh air that keeps a working man from fatigue as the general action of fresh air and light on the skin. One at once suspects that the nitrogen in the air must have something to do with it. The skin-action has a close parallel in the chlorophyll action of carbon-dioxide in the plant-world.

It is curious, indeed, that man, who cares so much for the efficiency of his steam-engine and the heat value of the fuel he puts in, should have paid so little attention to his own food in the past. Even now he keeps on eating things which he knows are either waste or difficult to digest. Custom dies hard. But it is no use saying that it would be harmful to change radically the diet to which one is habituated. It would be harmful, perhaps, if the change is sudden; but that does not take away from the merits of certain foods whose nutrition value has been established on a physiological basis.

I have not the least intention in this article to make converts to any pet fad of mine; as for that, I have not yet been able to convert myself. My only purpose is to lay before the reader the present position of dietetics with respect to modern physiological research and to contradict the fallacious arguments put forth by some of the Western dietists in their unpardonable zeal to justify their favourite theories.

AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION IN INDIA*

BY

DR. KUNJAN PILLAI, M.A., B.Sc.

(Director of Agriculture and Fisheries, Travancore.)

THE subject of agricultural education is engaging the prominent attention of the Government of India at present.

Early in 1916, a Conference was held at Pusa under the presidency of Sir Claude Hill to discuss this subject. A number of resolutions were passed at that Conference, but evidently not being satisfied with the conclusions arrived at, the Government of India again called together a Conference consisting of officials and non-officials which met recently at Simla also under the presidency of Sir Claude Hill. The question of agricultural education in its various aspects was thoroughly discussed at this Conference and a number of important resolutions were passed.

The proceedings of the Conference reported in newspapers are naturally short and incomplete, and a comprehensive criticism of the conclusions is only possible after the publication of the official report. From the information already furnished to the public it is, however, possible to make a few general observations.

A question of far-reaching importance was raised in the course of discussion at this Conference, namely, whether demonstration work or agricultural education should be given prominence in the development of Indian agriculture at this stage. Some members were of opinion that demonstration should have precedence and that all the men whom Agricultural Colleges are able to train for the next ten years or so should be absorbed into the Agricultural Department to carry on demonstrations, while some others and particularly one gentleman said that preference should

* Prepared for the Madras Agricultural Students' Conference.

be given to agricultural education. It seems to me a bad policy to stifle demonstration work at present. The vast majority of our ryots are illiterate and the only way of drawing them out of their conservative groove and turning them to the path of scientific agriculture is to carry on demonstrations as extensively as possible under their very nose. Any kind of agricultural education that may be initiated cannot and will not reach the grown-up rural population of the country. Agricultural schools may be started in hundreds; but the ryot will hardly think it worth his while to go to such schools and begin his education. To him practical proofs of the benefits of scientific agriculture will appeal more than the instruction that he may receive from teachers and books and hence the necessity of extending the operations of the Agricultural Department in the field of demonstrations. While recognising the importance and necessity of extending demonstration work one cannot altogether forget the influence of agricultural education on the younger generations and the far-reaching results which the education of the boys in the profession in which they are to be engaged in after-life will bring about. The chief obstacle that stands in the way of the popularisation of scientific methods of cultivation in India is the illiteracy and ignorance of the ryots. If the ryots had in their boyhood received some education, both literary and agricultural, the work of Agricultural Officers would have been much easier. The mistake of not educating the rural population in the past has now been exposed and surely it is the duty of the Government to see that this mistake is not perpetuated. It is high time, therefore, to think

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out and initiate a liberal policy of education for the boys of the Agricultural classes. Apart from the standpoint of the improvement of agriculture, the question of agricultural education has also to be looked at from the standpoint of the problem of the unemployed which is already forcing itself on the attention of the administrators.

How best can agricultural education be spread among the masses is the point to be considered. The resolutions passed at the Simla Conference, in my humble opinion, do not go far enough in this matter. It was decided there that there should be an Agricultural College in each Province for imparting higher education in agricultural science and that one or more agricultural schools should be established in each rural district near Experiment Stations and Demonstration Farms for training the sons of farmers in practical and theoretical agriculture. The number of Experiment Stations and Demonstration Farms in each Province is not very large at present, and if agricultural schools are only to be opened near such stations and farms, the rate of progress in the spread of agricultural education among the masses will neither be appreciable nor satisfactory. Of course, the starting of a larger number of agricultural schools, it may be argued by those who are against such a policy, depends upon money and teaching staff. Both these are difficult to get at present, and hence there should be no grumbling at the inevitable slowness in the spread of agricultural education. One must admit that, without money and men for teaching, agricultural schools cannot be opened. But are these insuperable difficulties? I think not. As far as money is concerned, I think it possible to chalk out a scheme of agricultural education which does not involve such formidable expenditure as is considered necessary by the authorities. Of course, some money has to be spent and the Local Governments can make provision for the same by reserving a special allotment every year even by

curtailing, if necessary, the expenditure to that extent on higher vernacular education of a purely literary kind in rural districts.

The question of finding teachers for the agricultural schools is even more important than that of finances. There are now a number of Agricultural Colleges in India and the Simla Conference resolved that each Province should have one such College. In these Colleges there are two courses, one for two years and the other for four years. At present the men who are trained in the Colleges are mostly absorbed into the Agricultural Department. This policy should be changed. The men undergoing the four years' course may all be taken into the Department, and from those who take the two years' course a good portion should be made available for teaching in the agricultural schools. The number of students admitted to the latter course can be increased to at least 40, without much additional cost on lecturers and appliances. Of these students at least 30 may be expected to pass out every year and of them 10 should be taken into the Department and the remaining 20 should be employed as teachers in agricultural schools. If this course is adopted, it will be possible to open at least 10 agricultural schools every year in each Province 2 teachers being employed in each school.

As already stated, by the adoption of the course suggested above 20 teachers in agriculture can be procured every year in each Province, and with them at least ten agricultural schools can be opened. These schools are solely intended for training men for practical agriculture, men who will go back to the land and engage themselves in cultivation. Appointment-seekers should not be allowed to contaminate the atmosphere of these schools and poison the minds of the innocent boys who wish to develop into practical farmers. No hope of entering Government service should be held out to these boys and very great care should be taken from the start to admit only boys who are

prepared to devote their life to agriculture. Such boys can be had in plenty everywhere and there need be no anxiety on the score of paucity of students for admission to the agricultural schools. I speak from my experience in Travancore and conditions in British India cannot be far different from those obtaining here. Admission to the agricultural schools should be open to boys who have studied up to the fourth standard in vernacular schools and who are not less than 12 years old. The medium of instruction should naturally be the vernaculars, and the boys must have had sufficient general education to be able to read and understand ordinary books in their own vernacular. To each school must be attached a farm of about 5 acres which must be divided into plots and distributed among the students for cultivation. The instruction given in the schools must be as practical as possible. The boys must not be made to cram up books. In fact, it is better to avoid the use of text-books altogether. The teachers must read up books, take notes and instruct the boys in the elementary principles of agricultural science. The instruction thus given must be impressed on the minds of the boys by corroboration with their own practical work on the farm. Every item of work on the farm must be attended to by the boys themselves, and as an encouragement to them they must be given the produce of their own labour. The boys attending each school will be drawn from the neighbourhood of the school itself, and it will not be difficult, therefore, to insist on their attendance in the school early in the morning and remaining there till evening with a couple of hours' interval in the mid-day. Both in the morning and in the evening they must attend to farm-work 2 or 3 hours and in the interval they must be given lessons in the class room for 3 or 4 hours. The course of training must extend over at least 2 years, and the backward boys must be kept on for another year or so the ultimate object being to fit them for practical

agricultural work on improved lines when they leave the school.

The school that I have in contemplation is more or less after the model of the Loni Agricultural School in Bombay Presidency with this difference. In the Loni school the boys permanently reside on the farm itself and are fed at Government cost. With regard to the school that I suggest the boys are not required to live on the farm. But since they will mostly be of the poor classes, it may be necessary to provide them with mid-day meal on the farm and that at Government cost. By supplying one meal a day to the boys and allowing them to stay in their homes in the night, instead of making them live on the farm and feeding them at all times, the expenditure on the school can be greatly reduced from what it is at Loni, without impairing the efficiency of the training. The Loni Agricultural School is, no doubt, an excellent institution, but the cost of maintaining it is so great that no Government, however strong its finances may be, will be in a position to open a sufficient number of such schools so as to bring agricultural education in the near future within the reach of the whole rural population which is naturally the goal to be aimed at. A less costly, but not less efficient, scheme has to be formulated if the goal is to be reached within the next one or two generations. I have given some thought to this question and arrived at the conclusions described above.

THE IMPROVEMENT OF INDIAN AGRICULTURE: Some Lessons from America. By Catharine Singh. Price Rs. 1. To Subscribers of *I. R.*, As. 12.

AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRIES IN INDIA. By Seedick R. Sayani. With an introduction by Sir Vitaldas Damodar Thackersey. Rs. 1. To Subscribers, As. 12.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Sunkurama Chetty Street, Madras.

THE JAINA LAW

BY MR. J. L. JAINI, M.A., BAR-AT-LAW.

(Judge, High Court, Indore.)

THE entire criticism of my little book in your October (1917) Number is based on ignorant prejudice, which the reviewer's liberal scholarship has failed to conquer. The tone of the review is halting on account of this deep prejudice. When our own Hindu brethren so grossly and persistently misunderstand the Jains, what wonder, then, that Western judges should misunderstand us more. This rejoinder will be realised only if read side by side with the review which has called it forth.

It is insinuated that Jainism is not independent of Hinduism in matters of religion. My only reply is that for the last about 3,000 years, every great Hindu scholar who wanted to disprove "heresies," has tried his best to tear Jainism to tatters!

Bhadrabahu was a contemporary of Chandra Gupta Maurya, the king being a disciple of the saint. Doubt is again insinuated against this. My reply is that all scholars, so far as I am aware, Indian and non-Indian, agree as to the migration of Bhadrabahu from Bihar to the Deccan about the time of Alexander's invasion, so there cannot be the least doubt as to the contemporaneity of Bhadrabahu and Chandra Gupta.

As to Ahimsa, Divinity of Man, and denial of God being essentially Jaina principles, I fear the reviewer does not know the Jaina conception of these principles. The Jains are the strictest practisers, as distinct from mere lip-professors of Non-injury. In theory all my Hindu brethren follow Ahimsa also. But a Hindu may kill for food or even sport, and he may still be an orthodox, high-caste Hindu. To a Jaina, meat in all forms is forbidden. Some non-Jains may also be pure vegetarians, but their abstention from killing directly or indirectly may or may not be based upon the profound and delicate principle of

Ahimsa as elaborated in so many Jaina books e.g., the *Purusartha Siddhyupaya*.

As to Divinity of Man, as taught by Rationalistic Jainism, there is a world of difference between the Jaina Siddha, the Vedantist, Brahma and the Sankhya Purusha. This is not the place to go into details. But the Siddha is an individual soul, whose perfection does not mean merging and losing it self into some other soul, or whose personality is a mere illusion, or entirely inactive and irresponsible, being caught up by its indiscrimination in the lovely toils of dancing Prakriti.

As to denial of God, the learned reviewer is perhaps thinking of Jains as atheists or *nastikas*. But he has misquoted me. The Jains are theistic like their Hindu, Mahomedan and Christian brethren. But their God is not a Creator or Manager, or Proprietor-Director of the show of the Universe. Therefore, I purposely at p. ix said: "The former [of the two distinguishing Jaina principles] is the Jaina disbelief in God as a creator of the Universe; the latter is our adherence to the doctrine of Ahimsa (hurt nothing living)". If the reader would read carefully the whole preface and introduction, he will find my position perfectly clear, whether he agrees with it or not. I have made a first attempt to have justice done even at long last, and to have injustice and insult removed from a most ancient and important section of the Indian people.

I am aware many Jaina laws are similar to Hindu laws. But that is nothing surely when Jains and Hindus have lived for untold ages in the same climatic and social environments, there is no wonder that their laws and modes of life are similar. Even the Mahomedans and non-Mahomedans of our Motherland are similar in many and many a point. But similarity, even when

general, does not negative independence and distinct personalities.

From the point of Comparative Jurisprudence, I may point out that such similarities may be due not only to contiguity in Space; but also to that in Time. Many and many a striking parallel comes across between the provisions of Jain Law and Hindu Law on the one hand, and those of the laws of Babylon, Assyria, &c., of about the same old date, on the other; e.g. taking an oath in the temple [cf. Meisner: *Private Law of Babylon*, Leipzig, 1893, p. 43, with *Jaina Law* p. 41, verse 43]; adoption by both the parents [cf. Meisner *loc. cit.*, with *Jaina Law* verses 39, 40,]; also other points, such as the extra share of the eldest born, the widow's right after the death of the husband, when she has children, etc. etc.

The reviewer will be glad to know that *Indra Nandi Samhita* has been translated and will be

published very early by the Central Jaina Publishing House, Arrah.

A personal remark may be excused. As a High Court Judge of His Highness the Maharaja Holkar, in the judgment mentioned by the learned reviewer, I have only followed the lines laid down more than a generation ago by the Allahabad High Court (L. A. 688). Only in the increased light available to me, and not to that tribunal, I have removed the hesitancy of their language in giving to a sonless Jain widow "an absolute interest at least in the self-acquired property of her husband."

My heart delightedly re-echoes the appeal of the learned reviewer to students of Comparative Law and Languages to study Jainism and Jain Law, and then weigh the just and urgent claims advanced by me in the *Jaina Law*.

A MIRACULOUS FISH

BY
MR. MAHOMED ALLY NOORBHOY (ZANZIBAR)

NEVER has in the history of the Modern Age occurred such an eventful incident as that of the recent discovery of a peculiar fish in Zanzibar waters.

On 12th June, 1917 a fish measuring about 6" x 3" appeared in the fish market of Zanzibar. It had on both sides of the tail in Arabic characters, "*La Ilaha Illalla*" and "*Shane Allah*" which means God is one and Almightyness of God (which is interpreted in different ways.) But the whole form of the fish is so magnificently and naturally adorned with black and white stripes that many beliefs have sprung up and men of Arabic learning prophesy great events.

The whole matter goes, that a poor negro came to buy fish in the market. By chance he saw this wonderful fish lying on one of the heaps. He knew to read Arabic characters. He bought the

fish for three pice and went about showing his curious find to everybody. The news soon spread and there became a loud uproar. The same fish was sold then and there for Rs. 5. In the meantime His Highness the Sultan of Zanzibar heard of this and had the fish taken to the palace. Then it was sent to the High Commissioner where investigations were made regarding the originality of the marks. The Zanzibar Government medical authority examined it by washing in various acids but no result was obtained. It is clear that the fish is quite natural and no human hands seem to have worked on it. It was at last sold for Rs. 500 and now the buyer is offered Rs. 1,000. Another fish of the same sort and with same characters, but of smaller size was discovered a few days later. From this it is conjectured that a great number of them are still extant.



THE MIRACULOUS FISH.



J. N. TATA : A CAPTAIN OF INDUSTRY 809



J. N. TATA

JAMSETJEE Nusserwanjee Tata,* whose farsighted patriotism and princely benefactions have made his name so well-known in India, clearly perceived the real needs of the country when he strove for a closer alliance between science and industry in his country, and dedicated to that noble cause the genius of his family and his fortune. Seeing the unlimited resources of India, both in men and material, and realising that real progress was impossible without strenuous efforts on the part of his country to adopt, as far as might be possible and necessary, the methods of the rapidly advancing West, he strove to achieve for his own country what the pioneers of industries in the West had done for their own. He realised that the enthusiasm of the youth of India could be utilised for the country's good, and discovered what was at once a useful channel in which the youth could exhibit their zeal and what turned to be a real saviour of Industrial India. Thus his enterprise marks an important chapter in the history of India. While as a captain of industry he is unequalled in this country; but the lesson of his life and his place in the evolution of Indian polity are no less important.

EARLY LIFE.

Tata was born in 1839 of poor but respectable parents belonging to the priestly caste, at Nausari, in the territory of H. H. the Gaekwar of Baroda, situated a few miles from Surat. Education really worth the name was not available at his birthplace, and he was therefore sent to Bombay in 1852 at the age of thirteen. He received his education in the Elphinstone Institution till 1858, when his academic career came to a close. His father had by now acquired some fortune and was trading in opium with China. For a time Jamsetji worked in his father's firm with a view to acquaint himself with business details. Just then, while an opportunity occurred, he went to Hongkong, where he continued his training in respect of his trade

with China. While he was in China, events of serious importance were happening in the Far West. The civil war in China (1861-62) suddenly arrested the transport of cotton for the Lancashire Mills. The price of raw staple began to rise enormously. And in the great cotton famine in England, India found a splendid opportunity. India, in fact, came to the rescue, and Bombay took a leading part exporting nine-tenths of the supply. Thus a way was opened for the output of Indian cotton which brought the country quite an appreciable profit.

The merchants thus reaped an abundance of wealth which led to unprecedented speculation and to the starting of banking and financial institutions of different kinds. The Tatas were now dealing in cotton and established good business relations with Mr. Premchand Roychand, who shared the benefits that arose from their existing state of affairs. The Asiatic Banking Corporation, with which he had much to do, was established in Bombay, and it was arranged that a bank should be opened in London also. Accordingly Mr. Jamsetji Tata had to return to Bombay in 1863, but the project of the bank having been abandoned, he solely devoted himself to the cotton shipments. In 1865, the American War came to an end, and, as a result, the prices of cotton and shares steadily fell until at last a climax was reached and there was a reversal of the previous condition of the merchants. Mr. Tata had to liquidate the firm in England and return to Bombay. His firm also was badly hit but fortune soon favoured it in the shape of the Abyssinian War. For, in view of their previous experience of commissariat contracts, Messrs. Tata, with a syndicate of other contractors, were entrusted with the supply of provision and other equipments for the troops. This greatly prospered the firm, and Mr. Jamsetji cast about for some other business opening. With two or three partners he purchased an oil pressing factory which had gone into liquidation and converted it into a spinning and weaving mill. This, however, he subsequently sold out at great profit. But he was now determined to have a mill of his own, and resolved to proceed to Manchester and make himself fully acquainted with the industry there and how large a mill may be equipped in India so as to earn handsome profits.

THE EMPRESS MILL.

He now returned from England and, after considerable deliberation, selected Nagpur for the erection of the mill. On the 1st January 1877, the mill was started, and in commemoration of the Proclamation of Victoria as Empress of India, which occurred on that day, it was christened "The Empress Mill," though the business went under the name "The Central Indian Spinning and Weaving Company, Ltd." We are told that unprecedented

* Based considerably from a sketch of J. N. Tata by Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co., for their publication "Biographies of Eminent Indians Series." Price Rs. 4.

success attended the Empress Mill, and this was entirely due to the exceptional "courage and dogged perseverance" of Mr. Tata.

THE SWADESHI MILL.

The success which had attended the working of the Empress Mill, and his practical experience in the field, led him to embark on another kind of enterprise aimed at the spinning and weaving finer yarns. He accordingly started a new company for the purpose, which he styled the Swadeshi Mill.

Having been convinced of the practicability of spinning finer counts with long-stapled cotton, Mr. Tata turned his attention to the methods of cultivation of cotton in India, so as to be able to improve the quality and towards that end compiled a brochure describing the Egyptian method of cotton cultivation. Another branch of cotton trade which attracted his attention was the transportation of the finished products with a view to make it as cheap as possible.

The year 1895 seems to have seen the highest point in his growing prosperity, though certainly there was no decline in the closing period of his life. During the few remaining years of his life he was busy trying to materialise the larger ideals he cherished for his country's good. The two mills, which had become a thorough success already were now entrusted to experienced and intelligent hands. With an easy mind he began to devote his whole attention to the three chief projects he had long contemplated.

ENDOWMENTS FOR I. C. S. STUDENTS.

It was about this time that Tata thought out a scheme to enable Indian students to go to England to compete for the Indian Civil Service when they showed some marked ability but were not able to finance themselves. He also instituted a fund to enable Indian graduates to study in any of the advanced Technical Colleges of Europe. This was surely genuine patriotism.

IRON AND STEEL WORKS.

One very important scheme was that whereby the iron ore in the country could be converted into steel without having to be sent to England and got smelted and finished there.

It was the project for converting the rich ore of the mines of Chanda in the Central Provinces into pig-iron and steel. The project was of a gigantic magnitude and appeared impossible. The belief had for long wrongly got to be entertained that there were no mines in India, but after the institution and development of the Imperial Government's Department of Geological Survey, an idea was possible, of the potentialities of India in this respect. Since 1875, Mr. Tata had constantly endeavoured to get into his possession a mine, which may be so extensive in area and so rich as to turn out to be a commercial venture, profitable alike to himself and to his country. This meant infinitely arduous work but Mr. Tata took to it with his usual, patient zeal, consulted experts and spent money but the fruits of his labours were reserved for his worthy sons. In 1907, his children formed a joint stock company with a strong and influential managing board, inviting the public to subscribe the needed capital of 2.31 crores. It was named "The Tata Iron and Steel Company." The company was formed, "for the purpose of creating in India blast furnaces, open hearths steel furnaces, rolling mills, coke-ovens and others plant necessary for the manufacture of pig iron, steel rails, bars, plates, etc."

The Tata Iron and Steel Works, at Sakchi, are too well-known to the public to need a more detailed mention here. The establishment of this factory marks an epoch in the industrial history of this country and illustrates what business capacity combined with perseverance and enterprising skill backed by capital can achieve. It is by far the largest and most profitable industry thoroughly established in this country.

THE RESEARCH INSTITUTE

The second important scheme was the Institute of Science, Bangalore. It was the firm conviction of Mr. Tata that for India's industrial regeneration, successful scientific development and research were indispensable. He believed that the establishment and promotion of large industries was possible only with the aid of science, soundly studied and skilfully applied, certainly not as taught usually in the ordinary colleges, but science

studied with a view to apply it to practical use in industrial work. This idea which constantly revolved in his mind, he determined to carry into execution. Mr. Tata prepared a scheme which he submitted for consideration to a committee of eminent University men, for careful examination from all points of view "so as to ensure the ultimate successful launching of the Institute for purposes of original research in science and philosophy."

The actual work of teaching was begun in 1910-11, but owing to some new difficulties of internal management in connection with the teaching staff, it was greatly obstructed. It is to be deeply regretted the actual progress which the people of India had anxiously anticipated, has hitherto been nowhere. The committee of management had many anxious months of trouble and complications to overcome. Happily, these have been removed, thanks to the personal sympathy, tact and judgment of Lord Hardinge.

THE HYDRO-ELECTRIC POWER SUPPLY COMPANY

The other large enterprise which engaged Mr. Tata's attention was the utilisation of waterfalls as power for industrial purposes. Though the matter dated back to the days when he was busy selecting a site for the Empress Mills, the idea did not take practical shape till 1897.

As Sir Dorab Tata said at the inauguration ceremony of the Tata Hydro-Electric Power Supply Company, Ltd., on 8th February 1915:

This is primarily an industrial enterprise. To my father the Hydro-Electric project was not merely a dividend-earning scheme; it was a means to an end—the development of the manufacturing power of Bombay. It is in that spirit that we have carried out the fruitful ideas he bequeathed to us, and it is in that spirit that we have received the far-sighted financial support which made possible the construction of the works. As a business proposition pure and simple we could not have asked for, and certainly we should not have received, the financial backing, especially from the progressive Native States, which has now fructified; the great sums of money needed were forthcoming mainly because those who commanded them believed that the scheme would assuredly play an important part in the industrial renaissance of India which is of paramount importance to the whole future of the country.

THE TATA INDUSTRIAL BANK.

Presently comes an announcement adding one more wing which will reach afar to the

many gigantic undertakings of Messrs. Tata Sons and Company. This is a new bank to be called "The Tata Industrial Bank."

The proposed Bank will do all ordinary and Exchange business as is done by the present banks, but its special business and object will be to finance and assist the development of existing and new industries.

CONCLUSION

Mr. Tata did not live to see the fruits of his work but it comforts one that his sons, following up the father's ideas with singular devotion, brought to completion his three most important projects guided by an instinct for organising, which was like their father's. Judging, from the progress made during the few years the three institutions have been in existence, one is warranted in assuming that the projects will, in course of time, produce very encouraging results which would at once commemorate the great founder's name and advance the country's industries. Mr. Tata died on the 19th May 1904, and a great public meeting was held at Bombay to do honour to his memory and it was resolved to perpetuate it by a statue.

In the course of a speech at the unveiling of the statue on 11th April 1912, H. E. Lord Sydenham, then Governor of Bombay, said: "Mr. Tata's three greatest schemes are beginning to bear fruit. The first production of steel at the magnificently equipped works, at Sakchi, has been effected . . . in other words, the manufacture of steel of the best quality from Indian ore is now assured. . . . The first session of the fine Institute of Science at Bangalore has been commenced. The work of the hydro-electric project is advancing rapidly and smoothly towards completion. We may, therefore, feel that we are commemorating the great achievements of Mr. Tata just at the time when they have passed into a stage of successful accomplishment." Indeed in him, as His Excellency pointed out, the scientific use of the imagination was happily combined with an infinite power of patriotic endeavour. Thus "the application of the spirit of the West to meet the needs of the East has found a stout exponent in Mr. Tata."

CHRISTMAS WITH THE POETS

BY MR. S. JACKSON COLEMAN.

It is not difficult to understand why Christmas, with its associations and hallowed memories, should appeal so powerfully to the poets. They seem to have grasped in full those vivid and picturesque features of the old-time narrative which painters have delighted over to imagine and portray. For as the master-painters of every age have turned quite naturally to the nativity as the supreme subject of their loftiest inspiration, even so have the "glad tidings of great joy" had an equally marked effect upon the world's literature. The splendid eloquence of the prophet Isaiah, the exquisite promises of the Psalmists, and the simple Gospel story are poetry in the highest sense of the word. The song of the herald-angels has echoed down through the generations of the faithful and even those who doubt the divine truths are compelled to admiration by the beauty of the language and the charm of such a simile as "the bright and morning star." Christmas and poetry, indeed, seem as inseparable as Christmas and religion.

Since the time when the first Yuletide carol rang over the fields of Bethlehem some two thousand years ago, the Christmas song has been associated all down the ages with this beautiful festival. There are some, of course, who believe that the carol actually preceded the institution of Christmas. In their view the Christmas song is a new birth, purified and exalted of the hymns of the Roman Saturnalia. Whatever may be the truth in respect to this matter, it goes without saying that the poets, as well as the poetasters, have always made Christmas a favourite theme.

It is quite a natural transition for English people to turn from the Bible to Shakespeare's wonderful poems. In dwelling about Christmas and the poets, however, it must be confessed that a certain disappointment is inevitable. At a time when we suppose it was especially "Merry in the hall when the beards wagged all," Shakespeare only mentions Christmas incidentally. There is just the casual question, "Is not canority a Christmas gambol?" in "The Taming of the Shrew," and the remark in "Love's Labour Lost," which reads strangely. "At Christmas I no more desire a rose than wish a snow in May's new-fangled mirth." There is, of course, the reference in "Hamlet" to the quaint superstition that the cock crows all night on Christmas

Eve: "And then they say no spirit dare stir abroad; the nights are wholesome."

The very soul of Milton speaks to us, communicates the awe with which he approached the mystery of the Incarnation. He was only 21 when he composed his majestic hymn, "On the Morning of Christ's Nativity." How sublime are the words: "That glorious form, that light insufferable, and that far-stretching blaze of Majesty." Then follows the hymn of devout adoration, and indeed:

If such holy song enraps our fancy long,
Time will run back and fetch the age of gold.

Most picturesque is the minute description of the passing of the pagan gods at the Nativity. Mrs. Browning, in the "Death of Pan," thinks that the "Gods of Hellas" perished at the hour of the Crucifixion, but Milton sternly maintains:

Our Babe to show His Godhead true
Can in His awaddling hands control the damned crew.

The "Ode" deserves that close and tender study. Ruskin would have us bestow on "Lycidas," from its first words to that last sweet vision of the "Virgin Blest," watching the sleeping Child whilst

All about the courtly stable
Bright armoured angels sit in order serviceable.

Herrick, however, is the Prince of Christmas Poets. We find that he has a "Christmas Carol" which was "sung to the King at Whitehall":

What sweeter music can we ring
Than a carol for to sing
The birth of our Heavenly King?
Awake the voice! Awake the string!
Heart, ears, and eye and everything,
Awake the while the active finger
Runs division with the singer.

Set forth in the "Hesperides" we find "The Ceremonies for Christmas Eve":

Kindle the Christmas brande, and then
Till sunne-set let it burne;
Which quencht, then lay it up agen
Till Christmas next return.
Part must be kept wherewith to teend
The Christmas log next yeare,
And where 'tis safely kept, the fiend
Can do no mischief there.

Poets who would not claim the Christian name have been fascinated by what seemed to them the Christmas legend. William Morris inserted "Outlanders" in his "Earthly Paradise" and

Mr. Swinburne has published "Christmas Antiphones." The festive, social side of Christmas has attracted other singers. Most of us recollect Scott's lines in the introduction to the Sixth Canto of "Marmion":

England was merry England, when
Old Christmas brought his sports again.

Wordsworth strikes a similar, if deeper, note in his verses which begin: "The minstrels played their Christmas tunes." Mr. John Davidson has a poem, "Christmas Eve," in his "Fleet Street Eclogues," and Mr. Andrew Lang, in his "Rhymes a la Mode," includes a characteristic "Ballade of Christmas Ghosts."

Anne Bronte, in her "Music on Christmas Morning," Wesley when he heard the psalm of the "Herald Angels," John Byron, when he bade "Christians Awake," appealed to those confident in their creed. But Browning had his Christmas counsel of perfection, helpful and manly, ready for the doubters to their perpetual benefit. The world's greatest event has set its permanent seal upon its greatest minds, and each anniversary of his death finds us yearly more in touch with his intensely modern spirit, more grateful for the reasoning optimism of his philosophy.

Methods of School Inspection in England*

BY MR. P. A. SUBRAMANIA IYER, B.A., L.T.

Head Master, Hindu High School, Triplicane.

THE Report on Methods of School Inspection in England is an interesting document containing a historical note on the development of inspectional methods in England and Wales since 1839 followed by a description of the present day methods of inspection and a suggestive discussion of the essential qualifications of an inspector. Special aspects of English inspection, such as the co-ordination of the work of several special inspectors, viz., of music, handwork, health of children and physical training in schools, and the drawing up of reports dealing with special movements in elementary schools are then fully dealt with. There is also a well-written and interesting chapter on the inspection of Secondary Schools in England. What is, however, of greater interest than all these is the practical value of the book to educationists in this country which is treading more or less the same path in education as England.

At present the inspection of Secondary Schools in England is conducted by a company of five or six specialists with the district inspector at its head once in three or five years. Mr. Wyatt is not quite in favour of this system on the ground that such thorough inspection would deteriorate into one of details, that the specialists would interfere overmuch with the work of the teachers instead of merely giving them advice wherever

needed, and that it would dislocate the work of the school and be a hard trial for the masters concerned. But it should not be forgotten that such inspections take place only once in five years or so, and if only the inspectors are 'familiar not only with the subject, but with the methods of its presentation, and with these not only in principle but from 'personal practice' and 'avoid the specialist's tendency to exaggerate the importance of his subject,' such inspections must do good.

Another interesting chapter in the book is that dealing with the promotion of special movements in elementary schools. These movements include the 'restoration to memory of its proper place in school-work and the promotion of manual and out door pursuits.' Inspectors and Headmasters of schools in England have already begun to perceive that the fashionable doctrine of 'interest in studies' and that of the 'Primrose-path' in education have thrown memory into discredit, weakened discipline in schools and tended to make teaching slack and showy instead of strenuous and to the point. Attempts are now being made to remedy this evil. Memory is being reinstated, the faults of looseness and inaccuracy are being remedied and faith in steady hardwork is reviving. We in India too are keenly feeling the need of a like change in educational methods and the sooner the change is brought about, the better will it be for all concerned.

* Occasional Reports No. 7. "Methods of School Inspection in England." By Mr. H. G. Wyatt, Inspector of Schools, Rawalpindi.

SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR INDIA

I. Commander Wedgewood *

Englishmen must make up their minds about India. The days when we could lull our principles to sleep with vague talk about our beneficent rule, about a people unfitted for Government, about protecting the non-military classes from violence and tyranny, are past. The war, the German example, has shaken us up. We are perforce driven to be frank with ourselves. If we are going to rule India in the future as in the past, in the teeth of the wishes of the people, then we are Prussians. Then we must use force and fraud, cajolery, and hate. And then in the long run we shall go down with our good name damned for ever; for nothing can long stand against social, commercial, and political boycott, the passive resistance of a people.

At least Liberal members of Parliament are not content to remain the Prussians of India. The alternative is Colonial Home Rule. Unless Liberalism can do this, and so erase the present feeling towards Englishmen in India, the alternative will be independence. The time is short, and I direct the attention of the readers of this book to Ireland and the *Sinn Féin* movement, then to South Africa and General Smuts.

* * *

Those men in India, who are like ourselves and have our feelings, may be few, but they are spreading the light, and nothing catches like the match of nationalism; nor is there any creed for which the idealists who move a people will so willingly lay down life and fortune. Even Prussians cannot keep 315 millions of people always uneducated; and with education comes criticism, even the desire for self-respect.

* * *

I have fought alongside Indians in Gallipoli and in East Africa, and suffer from no tendency to look down. I know how they carried the trenches at Ctesiphon when 35 per cent. of their whole force fell upon the field, and yet they won the day; but I did not know before that, in India, as in Russia and in England, there are men of one mind, bound together by ties beside which race and nationality sink into insignificance.—*India*.

* From the Introduction to Mr. Lajpat Rai's "Young India."

II. Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe

The one essential principle to be established is Responsibility. The one blunder that would imperil the scheme is the refusal, for any reason or through any fear, of an adequate measure of responsibility to Indian representatives and legislative bodies. Here is, of course, an almost irresistible temptation to an all-powerful Government having behind it an unbroken tradition of authority. There is something to be said for autocracy; there is as the English-speaking world believes, everything to be said, when a certain stage has been reached, for self-government. But the system for which there is nothing at all to be said is a system possessing the appearance of autonomy with none of its reality.

Now the main and governing fact of the problem, as Mr. Asquith used to say, is that in the Imperial Commonwealth of to-morrow there must be room for self-governing and responsible India. This is the place which the greatness of India involves, which the extraordinary loyalty of India has earned. The wheel, as everyone who follows the Indian Press can see, has come full circle. There has been nothing like the consensus with which to-day the organs of Anglo-Indian or semi-official opinion, such as the powerful "Times of India," are declaring that the immediate goal of all parties is a self-governing India in an Empire standing before the world as a great confederation of democratic peoples.

But, needless to say, there survives still a party of irreconcilables, who are now becoming extremely vocal in a section of the Anglo-Indian Press. They are, unhappily, setting out to "crab" the Secretary of State's visit, and they are using the release of Mrs. Besant as the occasion of an attack upon the policy of advance and reconciliation. They will fail, for democratic England is with the Government in its now purposes; but Mr. Montagu and the Viceroy must be fortified to meet them.

The opportunity calls for a splendid decision and a fine gesture; and one is convinced that after the experiences of these years, the authorities of Delhi understand this as fully as it is understood in London and throughout England. —*The Daily News and Leader*.

III. Mr. Lionel Curtis

In the first of his "Letters on Responsible Government" which Mr. Lionel Curtis is writing to the press on behalf of the signatories of the Indo-British Joint Address to H. E. the Viceroy and the Rt. Hon. Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of State for India, Mr. Curtis points out:

The Congress and League had asked the Imperial Government to proclaim "that it is the aim and intention of British Policy to confer *Self-Government* on India at an early date." In the answer made to them on the 20th of August they got something else, and indeed more than they had asked for; and they got it in far more definite terms. The goal is stated as "the progressive realization of Responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire." The words "Responsible Government" here appear for the first time in any official pronouncement on Indian Policy. I have seen it suggested in the public press that they were substituted by the Cabinet for the words "Self-Government" used by the Congress and League, in a fit of absence of mind. As a glance at the first words of the pronouncement will show, its terms were discussed in correspondence between the Imperial Government and the Government of India. The delay which took place, after the despatches of the Government of India were sent to London and before the pronouncement was made, is sufficient evidence that every word was discussed and weighed. A writer who objects to "Responsible Government" as the goal of Indian Policy cannot get rid of it by imputing carelessness and levity to British statesmen. "Responsible Government" must have been used in the place of "Self-Government" with a full knowledge of the meaning it conveyed.

IV. Dr. V. H. Rutherford *

Can India play her proper part, a useful and glorious part, in human evolution, while in bondage to Britain? In refusing India freedom and self-government, is not England a great barrier to freedom and justice in the world? If India were under the iron heel of Prussia or Russia, would not Britons be the first to cry out "intolerable iniquity!" "insufferable crime against liberty!" and in the event of India fighting for her freedom, would not Britons lend their aid as they are now doing to free Belgium or Serbia? British Government of India may be good of its kind but "good government is no substitute for

* From *Commonwealth or Empire*.

self-government," as Campbell Bannerman wisely said. . . . The atmosphere of subjection is poisonous, crushing all that is virile and worthy, and fostering all that is vile and ignoble. I am prepared to please British Imperialists by confessing that I think British over-rule is better than Prussian or Russian over-rule, but at the same time I must remind my countrymen that Britons have stooped to Prussian and Russian methods in the government of India.

Sir John Seeley was constrained also to say:—

"We have our misgivings that perhaps a genuine Asiatic government, and still more, a national government springing out of the Hindoo population itself might not in the long run be more beneficial because more congenial, though perhaps less civilised, than such a foreign unsympathetic government as our own."

These words were written in 1883. Since then the national movement in India has spread and consolidated, and Hindus and Mahomedans are united to-day in demand for that form of self-government which has produced such happy results in Canada, Australia, and South Africa.

V. Mr. Balgangadhar Tilak

Mr. B. G. Tilak, while replying to an address recently presented to him by the people of the Athani Taluk said:—

"On account of the Arms Act and similar measures of repression Indians have become foreigners in their own land. The Congress leaders moved heaven and earth for the last 30 years and at the end of that period they were given a toy of the Morley-Minto reforms to play with the administration. As a result of all this policy of distrust, India has become a deadweight round the neck of England, and if she is allowed to remain in this state any longer, not only she will be ruined, but she will ruin England also along with herself. English statesmen have now begun to realise this, and they have made up their minds to put new life in the Indians by granting them "Self-Government." This war is not the last. If another war becomes necessary and if India is to be able to fight for the Empire with all her might, she must first get Self-Government within the empire to be able to do so. Government have now fully realised the necessity of granting it, and at this juncture India must stand united and well-organised. Communal jealousies and caste rivalries are the weak points in our armour, but we must strengthen our position by sinking all differences amongst ourselves and make a united and firm

demand. If every caste and community were to ask for separate electorate and separate representation, then the administration would be a chaos. Religion has no place in modern polity. In His Highness the Gaekwar's State, village communities have been established, but there separate representation has not been resorted to. A representative must be judged by his merits and not by his caste or creed. Legislative Council is not an exhibition of the different castes and creeds in India. Communal representation would rake up old jealousies, and would sap up the very foundations of unity in India. We would be divided by it, and divided we will fall. This quarrel has not raised its head in other provinces, and it is rather a misfortune that Maharashtra should find a fertile soil for it."

VI. Mr. Eardley Norton

The following is the purport of Mr. Norton's speech at the Non-Brahmin Conference, Tinnevely, under the presidency of the Zamindar of Telaprole in December, 1917:—

Political conditions in a great measure depended on education. To that extent education and politics are synonymous. He did not think there was much truth in the incessant complaint about the influence of Brahmins in all public departments. The true remedy lay not in complaining but in grasping the situation in their own hands. Looking the facts fairly and squarely in the face, it would be impossible to deny the Brahmins monopolised a larger portion of the important posts, but it was equally true that it was by ability, and industry, they have absorbed education, while other communities were indifferent to the demands of education. That India was progressing greatly under British rule was undeniable and it was likely it will be progressing still faster in the immediate future, if the people were united. India's people should turn their best attention to the educational uplift of her sons and daughters. Driving through the streets of Tinnevely, he found mottoes put up "union is strength." He asked if they worked on that principle. Were they united? Did they not fight their own and other communities? Much political intelligence, insight and commonsense were not necessary to understand the situation. A broader view should be taken setting aside personal and communal animosities. As Indians, stand shoulder to shoulder as the Britishers in Flanders, France and Mesopotamia. He said that he agreed it would be impossible as it would be unwise to give India a complete system of Home Rule.

Speaking as one of them he asked for their own advancement and for the recognition of their own political fitness and not oppose reforms. He asked the audience not to imperil the reputation of India for fairplay. He recognised a gradual, none the less important, advance in India was necessary. Within his short stay in India, he saw an absolute system of nomination swept away, he saw reforms introduced in the Legislative Council by general consent. Government conceded that the system worked well. Indian members of Council contributed largely to the enlightenment of the rulers. Who dreamt a few years ago that Indians would be introduced into Executive Councils? Yet reform carried out without convulsion, without throwing India into anarchy and ruin. Look across the Native States, Indians there are displaying a greater capacity to responsible governments. What was possible in Native States was not impossible in British India. It followed that political progress should advance in India as elsewhere. There was no half-way between progress and decay. It was impossible for the human power to stay the hand of progress. So, wisely providing prudent restrictions on the pace of responsible government, he would urge as a frank friend and well-wisher not to oppose the march and make themselves the laughing-stocks of others that they are content to keep things as they were.

THE RECRUIT

BY

REGINALD WRIGHT KAUFFMAN.

Give me to die when life is high :
The sudden thrust, the quick release,
Full in the front, in harness, not
A slow decay in timorous peace.
There is not any way but this !
I would not shirk the joy of strife,
Nor lose one flash of perfect death
For sluggard years of coward life.
My breath which is God's gift to me,
Exulting waits His high behest ;
My heart, which moves at his command,
At His command will gladly rest.
For who would tarry when He calls,
To haggle at the heavy toll,
And render to ungrudging God
The insult of a niggard soul ?

The New Educational Foundations.

TOPICS FROM PERIODICALS

India and the National Idea

Civilis writing in the *Asiatic Review* for October makes some interesting remarks on the nature of the national problem as it presents itself in India. He says that it is but a half-truth to declare that India is only a geographical expression, and that there are very many marks which distinguish Indians collectively from neighbouring peoples. The races of India are self-contained and do not look for affinities outside the country. In a certain limited sense, India has already obtained political nationality, which has, however, been the work entirely of England and the English system. The revocation of the Partition of Bengal marks an epoch in the development of the Indian national spirit, when an Indian race succeeded in making its voice heard, not merely in respect of this or that reform, but in defence of a fundamental principle of nationality ; and the Partition brought protests from other parts of India also which thereby claimed a sort of kinship with the Bengalis.

The writer then proceeds to observe that racial, linguistic and religious diversity, though formidable, are not insuperable obstacles, since all races and men become merged in the general population and conform to the type of that part of the country which they inhabit and where their paramount interests lie. He then urges that political development might possibly lead to federation, but not to fusion into a single organic whole ; " Perhaps it is the only way to realise the dream of national unity for a country situated as India is . . . " He proceeds that even supposing that such a federation is possible, there remains to be solved the thorny question of hegemony. The strange dictum is trotted out that where there is not a predominant partner in a federated State, there is generally a tendency to disruption ; and that in India the predominance of a single partner, e.g., Bengal or Madras, might lead to discontent or even to revolution. Moreover, a federation is regarded by the writer as tending to alienate the Native States and to make them fall away from any scheme of United India and the general conclusion is that for a long time India will not be able to take over her own government. The following extract is worth studying, as the chief apologia from the writer's narrow point of view :

The National Congress is said to contain the germs of nationality, and this is true in so far as it has enabled thoughtful men of all parts of India to meet together and discuss matters of public interest, and to press their

views on the Government of India. But the National Congress cannot claim to be truly representative of the popular voice ; an atmosphere more or less academic surrounds its proceedings, and its very unanimity discounts the idea that it is the expression of all shades of opinion. The three landmarks of the growth of the national idea are the Partition of Bengal, the case of Immigration into South Africa, and the European War. The Partition of Bengal marked a great advance upon the time when popular interest was entirely provincial, not to say parochial. The grievance of Bengal aroused much sympathy in other Provinces, though it was felt that the matter was one primarily for Bengal, and did not seriously affect India as a whole. The South African controversy was based on a broader and, therefore, more national principle. India was being degraded ; a stigma was put upon her because of her race and colour. Far from realizing her aspirations of equality with a white colony, she was sharply reminded of her inferiority, and the humiliation roused indignant protest throughout the country—from Madras and Bombay, as well as from Bengal and the Punjab. But there remained still a wider aspect. The South African controversy, was a quarrel within the Empire, to be adjusted by the Mother Country. The feeling was, indeed, national, but the expression of it was restricted in its scope. It remained for the war to prove that India was taking her place in the Empire as a national unit. The significance lay, not in the mere fact that Indian soldiers were fighting side by side with England and the Colonies, but in the consciousness that England had called upon her to bear her share of the Imperial effort, and that she had responded joyfully and proudly to that call. The honour of the army became the national honour, the soldiers were the soldiers of India, no matter from what Province they came, and their cause was the national cause.

The Co-operative Store

Dr. S. Venkoba Row, B.A., contributes an informing article on the Co-operative Store to the November number of the *Mysore Social Review*. The Co-operative Store is organised from the standpoint of the consumer, while all the other kinds of co-operation, such as the Co-operative Bank, Co-operative Workers' Society, Co-operative Agricultural Society, etc., are founded primarily from the standpoint of the producer. Stores exist nowadays in many countries, and their constitution is the same in essentials everywhere. Their evolution has always the same significance. Great Britain, however, has the unchallenged reputation of being the place of origin and of the greatest development of the co-operative movement, and one society of that country has given to the store system the name by which it is well known throughout the civilized world. It is that of the famous Rochdale Pioneers. The English model may be considered as the standard by and to which the stores constituted in other countries may be measured and compared as to their perfection or otherwise.

The Indian Poetry of Devotion

Dr. Nicol Maenicol, of Poona, writes in the current issue of the *Hilbert Journal* about the poetical effusions of the religion of *bhakti* which came to have a discernible outline and an audible voice of its own from about the 12th century. *Bhakti* is a personal religion rendered to a personal God, using the language of the people, addressing directly to the heart, being strongly emotional and expressing itself in poetry and singing. At times the gusts of its emotion have swept its followers away in an orgy of sensualism; and there are always behind it admixtures of superstitions or idolatrous elements. The variations in type of the different *bhakti* schools are due partly to the character and legendary associations of the particular God who is worshipped, partly to the characteristics of the people among whom the particular cult arose; and partly to the character of the founder of the particular school, and the influences under which he may himself have come. The various *bhakti* saints and poets arose in the period from the 13th to the 17th century, Ramananda, Kabir, and Tulsi Das in the North, Chaitanya in Bengal, Jnanesvar, Namdev and Tukaram in the West, and earliest of all, Manikkavachakar among the Tamils. All of them agree in the confession of Tulsi Das, "The worship of the impersonal laid no hold of my heart." Among the Vallabhas, *bhakti* assumed extravagant forms, while in Chaitanya emotional violence of an extreme type was displayed.

The Mahratta saints are representatives of the best elements in this *bhakti* school; they do not betray its extravagances; and at the same time display those qualities of earnestness and sincerity which give the movement so much value as testifying to the depth of India's religious desire. Mr. Justice Ranade says, "Jnanesvar appeals to the pantheistic tendencies of our peoples' intellect, while the charm of Tukaram, of Namdev, and others lies in their appeal to the heart, and in the subjective truth of the experiences felt by them in common with all who are religious by nature." Namdev and Tukaram are little troubled by ultimate problems and are occupied mainly with the hearts' needs. They insist in the case of all, on the need of a spiritual preceptor, who is a kind of mediator between them and God. They believe that man's need summons God with a compulsion that His compassion cannot resist and declare that man's sin even is a *felix culpa* for it constrains God to save. Their most frequent mood is desire rather than of satisfaction.

They long for experience rather than peace, and seem to dwell for the most part in what the mystics call 'the dark night of the Soul,' the experience of desolation and bereavement. The sense of the world's need of saving did not lie heavy on their hearts, their end was individual and their ideal of sainthood is a life of equanimity, a passive contemplation that looks upon all alike, unmoved in every circumstance. The goal of their attainment is what is called in the language of the mystics 'the unitive way'—a condition of absorption, and of perfect fellowship and of the harmony of love. The writer concludes with the complaint that their devotion ends in vague raptures and does not lead to action and service.

Co-operative Homes

Mrs. Alec Tweedie, writing in the November number of the *English Review*, says that co-operative homes are primarily for towns, and particularly streets or squares or blocks of buildings. She sums up the advantages of this kind of living in these beautiful words:—

The domestic servant has a better home, better food, better clothes, with less work and more wages in money and kind, than the factory girl. In most cases the domestic's home is luxurious indeed, as compared with the lodging or poor cottage inhabited by her industrial sister. If an upper servant, moreover, she not only lives in a comfortable milieu of her own, but is in daily contact with that of her mistress, sees the papers, and hears intellectual conversation. She breathes a refining atmosphere, has the handling of beautiful things; so that her work, if she takes any pride in it, has a reactive value of its own. To touch beauty in any shape is to receive subtly beneficial impressions. Look at the ordinary smart domestic servant, and look at her again five years after marriage, when she has become a regular drudge to her husband, her children, and her daily life.

"Being thoroughly house-proud myself, loving chairs and tables and glass and china, silver descended from ancestors, and embroideries bought in far-away lands or gifts from dear friends, I feel that one's household gods are oneself. They exhale sentiment, and sentiment goes far to keep us straight in the world. We have got to live up to ideals. Home life is an idyll; everything should be done to make it beautiful and its surroundings worthy. Our home is our pivot. Look into a house and you will gauge the character of its occupant. The home speaks.

"Co-operation is now the password of the sexes, not antagonism, and co-operation in the homes in these days of complexity is inevitable. The plans must be arranged now, the fulfilment must be attained as soon as the dogs of war are chained. Life is changed for all of us."

Religious Aspects of the Hindu Polity

Mr. Narendra Nath Law, the talented research scholar of Calcutta, writes in the December number of the *Modern Review* about the points of contact between religion and political life in ancient India, and the extent to which religious ideas influenced polity and political thought. Religious ideas coloured the whole political system from the state-ideal to the innermost strata; and the State received its religious colour and semblance through the medium of many factors like the caste system.

The ideal of the State as set forth in the epic and later Sanskrit literature is that it is the machinery for the collective attainment of salvation (*moksha*) by the people under its care, through the fulfilment of their legitimate desires (*kama*) in a legitimate way (*dharma*) through *artha* acquired also in a legitimate way. This conception of the ideal of the State cannot be earlier than the development of the doctrine of emancipation on the earliest Upanishads; and on the other, it appears full-fledged in the epics. The conception of the Sovereign was likewise religionised, which emerges fully in the epics. In the early Vedic literature the monarch appears as human and not divine. The divinity of the king and of the Brahman as well is also echoed in the law-codes and later Sanskrit literature. But the king has his limitations, and loses his claim to allegiance and reverence and may be even dethroned, should he prove an enemy of virtue and morality. His divinity does not place him above the observance of obligations attached to his office and it positively requires that he should have a really godly nature.

The various differential treatments pinned into substantive law and its administration and proportioned to the grades of the castes had also their roots in religious conceptions. The condonation of some offences is also dictated by religious considerations. "The caste system which was imbued with religion and had perhaps originated in religious exigencies supplied the frame-work of Hindu society not excluding its polity; the rights and privileges of the king and the people detailed above could not have had their origin, except in that socio-religious institution and subsequent politico-religious conceptions."

Workers under the Industrial Revolution

The *Positivist Review* for November contains a luminous article on the effect of the Industrial revolution on the lives of the workers. Following Professor Unwin's suggestion that "the handicraft or guild system is associated with the town economy, the domestic or commission system with the national economy, and the factory system with the world economy," the authors have little difficulty in showing how inter-national trade lends itself to instability, how a miscalculation as to a market, distant both in place and time, may bring ruin on numbers of innocent work-people.

When by our (British) alliance with Spain in 1808, the South American trade was thrown open to us, more Manchester goods were sent out in the course of a few weeks than had been consumed there in the twenty years preceding; as a result there was in 1811 "an epidemic of bankruptcies" in Lancashire, and "the wages of Bolton weavers fell to five shillings a week. Again, owing to the rapid growth of the industry, and its location away from old corporate towns, as well as to the absence of all control of private enterprise, or indeed any control by the central government in matters of local administration other than police, the new towns grew up ugly, squalid, unhealthy, and ill-governed. And with the divorce of the workers in the new industry from the land, they had to depend entirely on their wages, a part of which they often—in the absence of a disregard of Truck Acts—had to spend in their employers' shop, or in a shop designated by him—so that money wages became no measure of real wages. The hours were long. In the mills of Tyldesley the working day was fourteen hours, and even at Manchester in 1825, it was twelve and a half as a minimum. No doubt the home worker, before the factory system arose, had "worked long hours, but they were his own hours; his wife and children worked, but they worked beside him, and there was no alien power over their lives.

In short, what the new order did in all these respects was to turn the discomforts of the life of the poor into a rigid system. Hours were not shortened, the atmosphere in which they worked was not made fresher or cleaner, child labour was not abolished. In none of these respects was the early factory better than the home, in some it was worse. But to all the evils from which the domestic worker had suffered, the Industrial Revolution added discipline, and the discipline of a power driven by a competition that seemed as inhuman as the machines that thundered in factory and shed.

Maitri Bodhisat

Metteya (Maitreya) the Blessed One to come, the Lord of Love, who, according to orthodox Buddhists will come forth in his last incarnation and attain to Buddhahood, only after long ages, is supposed to rest in the Tavatimsa Heaven till the final coming. This Maitri Bodhisat occurs as a great Rishi in three books of orthodox Hinduism—The *Vishnu Purana*, the *Srimad Bhagavata* and the *Mahabharata* (Vanaparva). Mr. F. L. Woodward explains the nature and the probable epoch of the appearance of Maitreya in a recent number of the *Buddhist Review* and quotes from Pali books the few existing references to him. Such references are put in the mouth of the Buddha who alone could speak with authority of his successor. In the Long Section of *Tripitakas* the Buddha definitely foretells the coming of Maitreya who will teach this world and the world of gods, just as the Buddha taught this world. There is also one other reference to Maitreya in a late non-canonical Pali book in which the Buddha says that "Maitreya yet shall come." In this book is given the history of the coming Lord during his former births. In this connection it should be remembered that there are very many Buddhas, that not all Buddhas are fully enlightened ones, some are *Pacceka* Buddhas who do not teach the world, and there are also *period* or *kāpas*, aeons, eras, when no Buddhas are at all in the world. Finally there is an account when 5,000 years have passed since the final passing away of *Gotama* i.e., about A. D. 4460, the Buddha relics will disappear and that Maitreya will be born.

Schools and Public Libraries

Writing in the November issue of the *School World*, Mr. John Swim, B.Sc., points out the need for more self-reliant activity than is usually displayed by the pupils in English elementary schools. He says that the need has long been felt by those interested in primary education, and for some time teachers, organisers, and officials have been seeking suggestions likely to bring about an improvement in this respect. One of the most obvious methods suggested is the extension of individual reading, whereby the pupil is encouraged to extract from standard books suitable information and afterwards to arrange the facts. Without careful supervision, the plan is likely to lead to desultory reading, with all the evils that such a habit engenders. Not merely must a definite aim be insisted upon, but a prescribed plan should be drawn up and only a limited deviation from it allowed.

Gokhale's Testament & the Indian Church

Dr. Fyffe, the Bishop of Rangoon, writes to the current number of the *East and the West* (a quarterly missionary review) as to how the proposals of Mr. Gokhale when carried into effect would affect the Church and missionary work in the Indian Empire. One of the outstanding features of Mr. Gokhale's scheme is that the Local Governments are to be invested with much larger powers than heretofore; and since many services like the Medical, Police, etc., will be provincialised, the ecclesiastical establishment is sure to be provincialised also. This would very likely mean that the whole system of the appointment of chaplains would be altered, but the Church would probably be none the worse for such a system of recruitment, or from a larger measure of devolution of power to the Local Governments. Another effect of the scheme of Mr. Gokhale would be a diminution of European influence generally, and of the missionary's among the rest. "Perhaps there might be some hardship for native Christians too, the hardship that arises from being, in a small minority, regarded with disdain, because they are held to be under foreign influence." The duty of the Church is, therefore, to show that it is not an exotic and an intruder, but that it has become indigenous, self-supporting and self-propagating, and that the Christians are loyal members of the nation to which they belong. The Church's duty is therefore to show that Christianity is an inspiration and not a suspicious enemy of the growing nationalism.

Dr. Fyffe concludes with a peculiarly missionary statement that the elective nature of the provincial councils recommended by Mr. Gokhale could best be attained by giving the masses the benefits of an education not merely literary, but one of conscience also—and that the missionary alone is best fitted to give this sort of education.

Nothing has ever availed to awaken the human conscience like the Story of the Cross. And the greatest service that the missionary is rendering to the future of India, we believe, is the education of India's conscience by that means. He is lifting the conscience of India to the standard of the Cross. That is the only standard that is adequate for the new powers, if they are to be given in their fulness.

The Importance of Scientific Investigation

There is an article in the *Mysore Economic Journal* from the pen of Sir Oliver Lodge, urging the nation to spend a great deal more in the direction of scientific discovery than now and declaring that to keep genius down by hampering conditions is about the greatest extravagance of which it can be guilty; and that scientific workers can be entrusted with the expenditure of funds without the supervision of government officials. The need of the nation for help from scientific men is great as much in the more rational and altogether worthier pursuits of peace, as in war. The food question is not a war time difficulty alone; the neglect of scientific agriculture and the consequent insufficient produce of the soil are a handicap on the whole output of the nation. The satisfactory promotion of scientific discovery is an affair of millions. The nation can afford to be lavish in productive expenditure of this kind; the young energy and the brains are ready, but the means and equipment are lacking. It is a matter to grieve over that corporate poverty and private self-sacrifice are writ large on the portals of every scientific and educational establishment. About the need for scientific agriculture, Sir Oliver Lodge emphasises the following point and urges that scientific discovery can best serve manufacturing enterprise too.

All food must come out of the ground—and be the direct descendant of sun and air. The only question is how to bring about the result in the most abundant and efficient way. Let scientific men be encouraged, not stingily but lavishly, to attack the problems connected with fertility of soil and the best means of utilising solar energy in the production of the right kind of vegetation, and good results are bound to follow. What the nation chiefly lacks in this matter is faith. And the same thing is true in every branch of manufacturing enterprise. Nearly every kind of industry can make use of the discoveries of science, and new branches of industry may thus also unexpectedly spring up—new inventions which when perfected are seized and utilised by the community without appreciable gratitude. Surely something should be done to encourage them and make them possible beforehand.

Characteristics of Japanese Law

Dr. Shigema Oba, formerly a member of the Imperial Japanese Diet, writing in a recent issue of the *Japan Magazine*, points out the defects of Japan's present penal code which was drawn up with the assistance of a French jurist and based on the *Code Napoleon* and fails to include some of the superior points of the laws of old Japan. Subsequently a careful study was made of British and American law; and still later a preference was given to German Codes. Japan was

saddled with the criminal code of a European republic where manners and customs were entirely different and nationalism was on a different basis; the result being a good deal of irrational action and much inconvenience. The Law Courts of Japan are modelled almost wholly after German Courts, most of the examination of cases is documentary. In the application of Criminal Law there is a wide margin of discretion allowed to the Judge; and here it is for the most part bureaucratic in tendency with little place for democracy. The old laws of Japan had a close relationship to her moral principles which are fundamentally loyalty and filial piety, both of national growth and importance. According to it all punishments were State punishments, and the penalty was imposed for the violation of the moral principles of the State and there was no idea of a duel between the State and the criminal as in Europe. The main evils of the present system brought about by too sudden a revision at the beginning of the Meiji Restoration are now very apparent and need instant revision.

Our jurists have at last come to see this, and a revision of Japan's legal code is inevitable. The criminal codes of Europe and America have a tendency to conflict with moral principles. The revision most needed in Japanese law is one in the direction of the rights of democracy as against the present bureaucratic tendency. We must return to the spirit of the old laws of Japan based on our ancient moral principles; and we must adopt the jury system, which is the strong point of western judicial systems, omitting, if possible, the attendant evils. If Japan's legal code could be amended in this direction it would be the most ideal in the world.

War and the Religious Conscience

Mr. Bittman, writing in the November issue of the *Christian College Magazine*, summarises with his own additions and views the conclusions reached in a Danish book entitled "War and the Belligerent Christians" on the question of the influence of the present War on the religious conscience of the peoples at War.

Military leaders have always recognised that religion is a mighty factor in keeping up the morale of the troops; and yet the feeling of tension, rapture and solemnity is often much less than what we could expect in the life of soldiers in actual War. In Germany the influence of War is one which has weaned away the nation from true religion, as may be seen in the following:

There is no doubt that at the beginning of the War a deep religious feeling took hold of the people of Germany,—although we may not be able to understand the nature of this feeling. It was a kind of spiritual mobilisation.

ation that took place simultaneously with the military mobilisation. On the day when War broke out, the Kaiser told the people who had gathered round the palace: go to the Churches and pray to God that He will vouchsafe victory to the German army and to the German cause. The Churches were here as in other lands thronged with people, and the pastors and the army chaplains could not cope with their work. But all came with the assurance that their cause was just and took it, as a matter of course, that God would grant to them the victory.

*Yet a relapse soon set in. Professor Hauch in Leipzig says: "I do not believe that the War has brought about a real change in the religious conditions to our people. The cause was the same as mentioned before: the national religious feeling gained ascendancy over true religion. A German pastor wrote to one of our Danish Bishops: I pity you Neutrals, that you are outside the great and mighty experience of God's glory here in Germany! You know nothing of all the great things that God during the War has granted to us!"

This spiritual mobilisation had also as its object to convince the neutral world of the clear right of Germany in this War, and they were astonished and scandalised when they found that this their object was not being achieved;—but that many of us answered like the Dutch man who said: "Your guns are good, but your cause is bad."

In France, the War has stopped the feud between Church and State and has not only created religiousness but showed that there was more of it even before than was generally thought.

What religiously has happened in the French Army during the War is this, that the Roman Catholic Church has been reaping the fruits of a zealous work in the Churches and in the schools.

And what happened among the soldiers also happened among the great masses of the people. They turned in their calamity to God. France had in a very real and deep sense to think of the significance of suffering, especially in the parts of France occupied by the enemy, and the people came in great crowds to the houses of God to seek solace and comfort.

The British attitude as influenced by the War:

Among the English people at Home, the change is not so great; in the beginning of the War there was here also a kind of "war religiousness" which, however, did not last here either. It is among those who really were religious before the War that the deepening of the religious life has taken place. But it is also felt that the spiritual revival during the War among the people is not so great as one might have expected.

Bhakthi Schools in India

The current number of the *Theosophist* contains an interesting article on "the Significance of the Bhakthi Schools of Mediæval India" by Sri Prakasa, B.A., LL.B. The writer begins by referring to the utter blank, found in the orthodox text-books on Indian history, with regard to the great spiritual and intellectual movements that have risen and spread in India down to very modern times. He then proceeds to describe the various schools of reform and religious thought that arose in the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries. He says:—

Throughout the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries, we have a continued succession of master-poets singing their songs of love and devotion in all parts of India. We have Ramanand in the 15th century; Kabir and Tulasi Das in the 16th; Chaitanya, Sur Das, Beharilal, Mira Bai, Tukaram in the 16th and 17th centuries—to mention only a few prominent names. There is but little to differentiate them from each other; all are fired with the fervour of passionate devotion to a personal God: and many of them—Tulasi Das and Sur Das especially—have expressed themselves in such exquisite language that they have long passed for standard authorities in the prosody of the tongues they wrote in. They invariably write in their mother-tongues—the language spoken by the masses—and their constant theme is to inspire devotion for God and wean away the aspirants from the lures of worldly life and take them to heavens of spiritual peace. Above everything, they extend their preaching and their welcome to one and all, taking no thought of caste or creed. Thus it seems to me that these great poets and devotees stood for many principles and fulfilled many functions; in short, they were the harbingers of the spirit of reform in every department of our national life.

Speaking of the various works of these reformers and saints, the writer first deals with the new religion they preached. The new religion consisted in a deep and emotional realisation of a Personal God as opposed to the severe intellectualism of Sankara's Advaita.

Secondly, these devotees were great social reformers:—

They were great supporters of universal brotherhood—great opponents of the evil effects of caste, at a time when caste was losing all its beauty; when it is no more stood for the determination of the individual's position in society; when it was no more a factor in the elimination of strife and competition from human life; but, on the other hand, was coming to have all its worst features and great unctiousness of one caste for another thus, instead of serving its natural and useful purpose, devotees served the purpose of reform in two ways: (1) by themselves taking the bodies of Shudras and even lower castes; and (2) by abolishing—if some of them happened to be born as Brahmanas—the restrictions imposed upon them by convention. We read

that Kabir was a weaver; Namadeva, a tailor; Tukaram, a Shudra; Tiruvalluvar, a Pariah; and so on. Unlike the great Sanskrit poets of the past who were Brahmanas and worked under royal patronage, these were wandering, unknown men, drawn from among the lowest of the low. Those among them that did happen to be Brahmanas paid no heed to the restrictions of their caste. It is related of Tulasi Das that when a low caste beggar asked for alms from him in the name of God, he invited him to sit down in a line with himself, and the host and the guest partook of their meal together, heedless of the protests of the scandalised onlookers. Devotion knows no caste, and God recognises no difference between one child of His and another.

Thirdly, they worked for union and tolerance between the different sects prevailing in India.

Lastly, these great poets and reformers sang in the language of the people:—

Their purpose was not to win the applause of smart literary sects, their appeal was direct to the hearts of the men and women of every degree. Speaking in the tongues of their brethren, they influenced them in a manner and with an intensity that could be equalled or surpassed by nothing else. They were the great educational reformers; education was no more to be confined to those who study classical or foreign languages, education must be diffused broadcast. They too, like Dante and others of the Renaissance period of European history, loved their mother-tongues and preached for the understanding of all.

Female Education in Japan

The November number of the *Mysore Social Review* contains an informing article on the subject of female education in Japan. The object of the educational system there may be learnt from the Imperial Instructions issued in 1872. They laid down:—

Education was essential for all persons, and that whereas in the past, learning had often been looked upon as a means of securing official position, henceforward of the whole population of the country regardless of classes, must be educated so that no village should contain a household devoid of learning nor any house contain an illiterate inmate.

The following remarks from the pen of Baron Kikuchi, the former Minister of Education, who now holds the presidential chair of the Kyoto Imperial University, about the general woman movement in Japan are full of interest and instruction. They contain the potentialities of a great movement:—

For a Japanese woman to bestow filial love upon her father and mother, or her father-in-law and mother-in-law, to be chaste and true towards her husband, to be obedient to her elders, to be zealous in the discharge of her domestic duties, to bring up her children with tender love, never sparing any pains for their sake—to be and to do all this—was to display the characteristics of a Japanese woman.

The Anglo-Indian

Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore in the course of an article in the current issue of the *Modern Review* offers the following study of the "Anglo Indian":

The baser side of human nature is blind. It only attaches importance to the present, and ignores what is yet to come. It thinks it mere weakness or silly sentimentality to talk of Truth and Right. Buoyed by high hopes India is making too light of this enemy of British Rule. The Anglo-Indian, who, whether as government official or merchant, stands for the greed of power or money, is too close to India to see clearly. To his nearsightedness it is his power, his prosperity which towers, and the 300 millions of India with their joys and sorrows are only so many shadows, faint and unsubstantial. This makes me afraid that any boon, such as may have served to give back to India her strength of manhood, will be clipped and curtailed and bloodless when it does come or perhaps will perish on the journey and add to the skeletons of the unfruitful good wishes which strew the desert path of India's fate.

The Anglo-Indian who wields the weapon of obstruction is intoxicated with power, and out of touch with the life of India by layer upon layer of accumulated official tradition. To him India is but a Government or mercantile office. While, on the other hand, he is connected by blood with those Englishmen over the seas who shape our destinies; his hand is in their hands, his lips at their ears; he has a seat in their council chambers, and access to the green room behind the political stage; he is constantly going back home to leaven the country with his ideas and is altering its very psychology. He swears by his grey hairs and the length of his experience and claims special indulgence because of the pinnacle to which he claims to have raised the Empire. Where can our words, our hopes, even our existence be seen behind this towering self-assertion? How can we hope for any Englishman to have such abnormal keenness of insight as to succeed in spying out the humanity in these 300 millions over the encircling walls of officialdom?

The distant Englishman who, by reason of the free atmosphere of Europe is able to escape the illusions of blind self-interest and can see India with a breadth of vision, is cautioned by the Anglo-Indian that it is only through the dust-laden nether sky that a practical view can be obtained, and that the distant view from the pure upper sky is visionary. For the distant Englishman to take an interest in Indian affairs is reckoned by the Anglo-Indian to be a piece of impudent meddlesomeness.

UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

Sir J. C. Bose on Scientific Research

In the course of his speech, in opening the New Research Institute at Calcutta on November, 30, Sir J. C. Bose said that he dedicated the Institute, not merely as a laboratory, but as a temple, erected as a fit memorial for the establishment of that truth for which faith was needed. He continued:—

"Thirty-two years ago, I chose the teaching of Science as a vocation. It was held that, by its very peculiar constitution, Indian mind would always turn away from the study of nature to metaphysical speculations. Even had the capacity for inquiry and accurate observation been assumed, at present, there were no opportunities for their employment. There were no well-equipped laboratories nor skilled mechanics. Twenty-three years ago, some of the most difficult problems connected with electric wave, found their solution in my Laboratory and received high appreciation from Lord Kelvin, Lord Rayleigh and others. The Royal Society honoured me by publishing my discoveries and offering appropriation from special Parilamentary grant for five years. After this, progress was uninterrupted. Then there came a sudden unexpected change in the pursuit of investigations. I was unconsciously led into the broad region of physics and physiology and was amazed to find the boundary line vanishing between the realms of living and non-living. My results greatly exasperated the orthodox physiologist. No condition could have been more desperately hopeless than those which confronted me for the next twelve years. The long persisting gloom was suddenly lifted. My scientific deputation in 1914 from the Government of India gave me an opportunity of giving demonstrations of my discoveries before the leading scientific societies of the world. These led to the acceptance of my theories and results and the recognition of the importance of the Indian contribution to the advancement of the world's science. The work, already carried out in my Laboratory on the response of matter and plant life, has opened out very extended regions of inquiry in physics, physiology, medicine, agriculture and psychology: but high success is not to be obtained without corresponding experimental exactitude. Hence instruments and apparatus, designed here, which stand before you in our entrance hall. The advance of science is the principal object of this Institute and also the diffusion of knowledge. We are here in the lecture room. In adding this feature on a scale, hitherto unprecedented in the Research Institute,

I have sought permanently to associate the advancement of knowledge with the widest possible civic and public diffusion of it and this without any academic limitations henceforth to all races and in all languages to men and women alike. Lecturers will announce to an audience of some fifteen hundred people new discoveries made here which will be demonstrated for the first time before public. Through the transactions of the Institute, these Indian contributions will reach the world. No patents will ever be taken. The spirit of our national culture demands that we should be free from desecration of utilising knowledge for personal gain. Besides the regular staff there will be a selected number of scholars who would devote their whole life to research. It is my further wish that, as far as the limited accommodation permit, the Institute should be available to workers from all countries. In this I am attempting to carry out the traditions of my country which, so far back as 25 centuries ago, welcomed scholars from different parts of the world at Balanda and Taxilla.

In conclusion Dr. Bose said:—

"Many a nation had risen in the past and won the Empire of the world. A few buried fragments are all that remain as memorials of the great dynasties that wielded the temporal power. Not in matter but in thought, not in possessions or even in attainments but ideals, are to be found the seed of immortality. Not through material acquisition but in generous diffusion of ideas and ideals can the true Empire of humanity be established. Thus to Asoka to whom belonged this vast Empire, bounded by the inviolate seas, after he had tried to ransom the world by giving away to the utmost, there came a time when he had nothing more to give, except one half of an "Amlaki" fruit. This was his last possession and his anguished cry was that since he had nothing more to give let the half of the "Amlaki" be accepted as his final gift. Asoka's emblem of the Amlaki will be seen on the cornices of the Institute, and towering above all is the symbol of the thunderbolt. It was the Rishi Dadhichi, the pure and blameless, who offered his life that the divine weapon, the thunderbolt, might be fashioned out of his bones to smite evil and exult righteousness. It is but half of the "Amlaki" that we can offer now. But the past shall be reborn in a yet nobler future. We stand here to-day and resume work to-morrow so that by the efforts of our lives and our unshaken faith in the future we may all help to build the greater India yet to be."

FEUDATORY INDIA

Native States and Post-War Reforms

In the memorial submitted to H. E. the Viceroy and the Rt. Hon. Mr. Montagu on "Native States and Post-War Reforms," Mr. G. R. Abhyankar, B.A., LL. B. suggests,

- i. a reorganisation of the armies of Native States.
- ii. the providing of facilities for enlistment in the regular army.
- iii. the establishment of military colleges.
- iv. and the creation of a Council of Defence to control their armies.

Hon. Mr. Sastri on Native States

In his new book, "Congress League Scheme: An Exposition," the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri observes, touching the question of Native States in any scheme of political re-organization: "Congressmen and Muslim Leaguers are sensible of the great place that Native States occupy in the Indian polity, and some eminent men among these have striven in the past for greater independence of action to their Durbars and better reorganisation of the personal status of their rulers. The opportunities that they give for the administrative capacity of Indians, and the meritorious use to which those opportunities have been put are the theme of universal admiration in India. Every patriotic Indian views with pride the initiative and originality now and then displayed by ruling chiefs and looks to them to give the lead to British India in measures of social amelioration. But beyond watching them with sympathetic interest from outside, the leaders of large movements in British India have abstained from promoting similar movements within their territories, or allowing their subjects to mix in any all-India organization. Differences of allegiance, of constitutional status and of legal systems, are sufficient to account for the separate channels in which have flowed the political lives of people in British India and Native State India, between, whom however there is a community of civilization, tradition, language and material interest. The wisdom of this separateness in matters of citizenship was recognised by the Maharaja of Baroda last year and more recently by the Maharaja of Bikaner, when they declared that no interference on one side or the other was desirable. It is only the Dewan of Mysore who struck a different note the other day and demanded a place for Native States in the Councils of the Government of India, which would settle vast issues in which many interests belonging to Native States were deeply

involved. Salt, customs, post and telegraph, currency are only a few of the great subjects in which common action for the whole of India is essential. Sir M. Visvesvaraya showed the sagacity of a statesman who looks new ground when he suggested that the representatives of Native States should speak and vote in the Imperial Legislature only on the occasions when questions of common concern were under discussion. If this suggestion could be adopted and worked into the All India scheme of reforms, it would give the utmost satisfaction to the leaders of thought in British India, and Sir M. Visvesvaraya would render a great service to the country if he could persuade Native States generally and the final authorities in British India to agree on a workable plan for the purpose.

Maharaja of Kapurthala's Birthday

During the last week of November, Kapurthala was *en fête* for a dual reason. One was the celebration of His Highness the Maharaja's 46th birthday and the other the visit of His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala. To mark the occasion a public reception with full State honours and an arrival at Kapurthala on the 25th November.

The customary religious ceremony connected with the birthday took place on the morning of the 25th November followed by the state banquet in the evening.

Following the toast of His Imperial Majesty the King Emperor which was proposed by His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala and drunk with musical honours, Mr. Halifax, Commissioner, Jullundur Division and Political Agent for the State, proposed the health of the distinguished host in most felicitous terms.

In responding to the toast, His Highness the Maharaja assured him that until complete victory and the blessings of triumphant peace were achieved he would not hesitate to continue to do all that lay in his power to assist the Empire in its struggle against the forces of barbarism. Before bringing his speech to conclusion the Maharaja expressed in the most cordial terms the pleasure he felt at the presence of His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala. His Highness dwelt on the long-standing unity and affection that bound the Houses of Phul and Akluwalia together and emphasised the fact that his distinguished guest was by his visit upholding the tradition the foundation of which was laid more than 150 years ago.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA.

Constitutional Reform in Ceylon

A memorandum suggesting reforms of the constitution has been submitted to the Governor of Ceylon and forwarded to the Secretary of State by the Presidents of the Ceylon Reform League and the Ceylon National Association.

The memorial states that in the Ceylon Legislative Council there are three sources of weakness and dissatisfaction, the official majority, the racial basis of representation and the nomination of the majority of unofficial members by the Governor. Public opinion demands a large increase in the number of the elected members and the abolition of the official majority, of racial representation and of nominated members. Europeans and burghers would retain under the scheme special electorates and members, and Mahomedans would also retain their special representative, but he would be elected and not nominated. These three sections of nominated representatives of communities numbering 314,000 would have, as at present, two representatives for the Europeans one for the burghers and one for the Mahomedans; for the remainder of the population, numbering 380,000, racial representation would be replaced by territorial representation and on the basis of a single electorate. The President of the Legislative Council should be elected by the Council.

An Indian Professor in Oxford

Mr. Kiran Chandra Mukherji, a distinguished student of the Calcutta University, who was Essan Scholar for the year 1908, and stood first in the M.A. examination in English in 1910 and passed, standing second, the Greats (Honours' classic) examination of the Oxford University in 1916, has stood first in the John Locke Scholarship examination in Mental Philosophy of the Oxford University. He has been appointed a Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford, being the first Indian to do so. He came from Vikrampur in the District of Dacca, and is the son of the well-known Pandit Sarada Kansa Vidyaratna, of Birtara.

Indians at Shanghai

H. E. the Viceroy has been informed by a telegram received through the Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China that the Sikh community of Shanghai has contributed Rs. 4,400-2-4 and the Mahomedan community of Shanghai Rs. 419-15-0 to the "Our Day" Red Cross Fund. His Excellency has gratefully acknowledged these donations.

The Sikhs in the Malay States

The following Press *communiqué* is issued by the Punjab Government:—The Sikh community of Kelantan, in the Malay States, has recently taken the opportunity of presenting to the Acting British Adviser an address, expressing its sincere loyalty to the British Crown and its devotion to the cause of the Allies. At the conclusion of the meeting the leader of the deputation handed to the British Adviser a draft equivalent to £270 collected among the Sikhs in the place as a contribution to the Red Cross Fund. As the Sikh community in Kelantan is about 200 men only, most of them being poor workmen, it will be recognised that this was a very handsome subscription. The address was forwarded to H. M. the King-Emperor, who has conveyed his high appreciation of their loyal message.

Lord Curzon's Tribute to Indian Army

Reuter reports that Mr. John Murray has published in London "A History of the Indian Army Corps," in France, by Lieutenant-Colonel J. W. Merewether and Sir F. E. Smith. Lord Curzon, in an introduction, describes the landing of the two Indian Divisions in France in 1914 as a great event, not merely in the annals of the Indian Army, but in the history of mankind. He says the Indian force arrived in the nick of time, and helped to save the cause of the Allies and civilisation.

A Bengal Prisoner of War in Kut.

At the Calcutta High Court on November, 22, Mr. Justice Greaves heard a suit in which the plaintiff, Mr. P. K. Ghose, was a member of the Bengal Ambulance Corps at Kut. He was made a prisoner by the Turks. His counsel said that two letters had been sent to him through neutral countries but no reply had been received from him.

The First Indian Ship Engineer

Mr. Surendranath Majumdar, a Calcutta man, has been appointed a Fourth Engineer on the s. s. *Merchant Prince*, of Prince Line of Newcastle-on-Tyne. He is the first Indian to hold such an appointment in a British line. He came to England before the war broke out to study engineering, and served his apprenticeship in the works of Messrs. Clarke, Chapman and Co., of Gateshead attending lectures in the Armstrong College, University of Durham.

INDUSTRIAL & COMMERCIAL SECTION

Factories in Bombay

The Bombay Government resolution on the administration of factories states that the total number of factories rose from 785 to 835 owing to the opening of a large number of ginning factories during the year. The number of operatives remained stationary. The Government are unable to regard with satisfaction the general conditions under which mill operatives work in Bombay. In the opinion of the Governor-in-Council the time had come for mill-owners to combine together to grapple seriously with the pressing problems of housing, sanitation, ventilation and education upon which the future of industry so largely depends. Only 17 per cent. of mill children were receiving any kind of education. That was a blot upon the face of the mill industry in Bombay, says the resolution, which can only be removed by vigorous action on the part of the employers. The extension of the system of grain-shops is strongly urged by the resolution as it was to some extent an insurance against indebtedness of mill operatives.

The Metal Industry

Mr. Arnold Wright writes in the *Mysoore Economic Journal*:—"From an authoritative source comes the announcement that the Imperial Government have decided to create a new department for the study of all forms of chemistry as applied to the metal and kindred industries. This new official departure will be widely welcomed by all who have been studying the course of modern economic development. It is scarcely open to question that the severe handicaps under which we laboured in the early stages of the War were mainly due to past neglect of the scientific aspects of industry and particularly of the metal industry. 'Never again' is or ought to be our motto. Certainly, we shall only have ourselves to thank if we ever again allow ourselves to fall into the degrading condition of economic bondage in which we existed before the War."

Ship-Building in India

We understand that a Ship-Building Branch of the Indian Munition Board will shortly be inaugurated. A Naval Constructor, from the Admiralty, is on his way to this country to supervise the arrangements. The headquarters are at Calcutta.

The Oil Seeds of India

India's cultivation and trade in oil-yielding seeds and nuts is likely to expand in an extraordinary manner after the War, says the *Indian Industries and Power*. Groundnuts and cotton-seeds take precedence because of increased cultivation during the last few years, but there are many others, including castor-seed, copra, linseed, mowha-seed, sesamum, poppy and the soya bean, which will have a great influence on the industrial activity of India. The great possibilities of cotton-seed are very well-known, but it is surprising to find only one mill working satisfactorily in India, with the adjustment of tariffs, the cheapening of freights, and State encouragement to Indian manufactures after the War, this solitary mill should quickly find itself surrounded with companies. Margarine-making will undoubtedly develop here with the expansion of the cotton-seed industry and be a serious competitor to the butter-making firms of Guzerat. India is realising fully the evil of exporting her oil seeds to Europe when there is so much wealth to be extracted from them, and she too is taking notice of the waste going on in India in the crude consumption of two-thirds of her output for cooking and toilet purposes. It is computed that 65 per cent. of the oil-seeds consumed locally is wasted because of our inability to scientifically extract and separate its wealth producing parts.

The Panama Canal

According to the *Panama Canal Record*, the total number of ships making the transit of the Canal during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1917 in sea-going traffic, was 1,876. In the fiscal year, 1916, the total was 787; in 1915 it was 1,088. The aggregate gross and net tonnages of the 1,876 ships in the year 1917, according to the rules of measurement for the Panama Canal, were 8,530,121 tons and 6,009,358 tons respectively. The cargo carried through the Canal amounted to 7,229,255 tons of 2,240 lbs.

Tata Industrial Bank

For the purposes of the Tata Industrial Bank at Bombay the house belonging to the Jijibhoy Dadabhoy Charities, situated at the corner of Medow Street, facing the Mercantile Bank has been purchased at a cost of Rs. 7,45,000.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- November 20. Maximalist regime in Russia.
A new French War Committee has been appointed.
- November 21. Fight off the Heligoland.
Bonar Law's tribute in the Commons to Field-Marshal Haig.
Mr. Balfour's statement in the Commons on the China and U. S., regarding the Japanese agreement.
- November 22. Mr. Martineau, the Governor of Pondicherry and the French possessions in India, delivered the Convocation Address to the Madras University.
- November 23. British thrust at Cambrai: General Plumer appointed Supreme Commander of the Italian army.
- November 24. Italians repulse the enemy at Sarrano, Monto Portico, and Monto Moulferra.
Peace pourparlers by Russian Maximalists.
- November 25. Leninist decree issued reducing the size of the army.
- November 26. Deputations and addresses of the Congress-League and the Home Rule League to Mr. Montagu and the Viceroy at Delhi.
- November 27. Mr. Balfour's speech in the Commons on the Russian chaos.
Peace demonstrations in Berlin.
- November 28. The annual meeting of the Depressed Classes Mission Society of Madras was held at the Y. M. C. A.
- November 29. Lord Lansdowne on allied policy. The Viceroy and the Secretary of State received addresses from the All-India Hindu Sabha and the Anglo-Indian Empire League.
- November 30. Statement of the All-India Muslim Deputation as to why their Deputation to Mr. Montagu and the Viceroy was dropped. Opening in Calcutta of the Bose's Research Institute.
- December 1. A Conference of representatives from Bengal districts with Mr. C. R. Das in the chair resolved that nothing less than complete provincial autonomy would satisfy the educated Indians.
- December 2. Great protest meeting at the Calcutta Town Hall against the continuance of the internment of the Ali brothers.
- December 3. Sharp fighting near Moscow.
Sir George Buchanan's statement on the betrayal of Russia.

- December 4. Russian formal peace negotiations. America declares war on Austria-Hungary—President Wilson's speech.
- December 5. Hon. Mr. Patel's Bill on compulsory Primary Education in Municipal areas passed to day in Bombay.
- December 6. The Madras Government have issued a revised Order on students and politics.
- December 7. H. E. The Viceroy and Mr. Montagu received addresses at Calcutta from the European Association, the Indo British Association and the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee.
- December 8. First meeting of the Patna University Senate was held to day.
- December 9. Ecuador's break up with Germany. King's message to General Allenby on Jerusalem victory.
- December 10. H. E. Lord Willingdon opened the tenth annual meeting of the Board of Agriculture in Poona.
- December 11. Appointment of a Judicial Committee re Bengal anarchism.
- December 12. "Our Day" celebrations all over the country.
- December 13. Rumanian army concludes armistice with Germany.
Civil War in Russia.
- December 14. Arrival of the Viceroy and Mr. Montagu and party in Madras.
Sir Daniel Hamilton delivered an address to-day on "Responsible Government and Co-operative movement" at Calcutta under the auspices of the Young Men's Zamindary Co-operative Society.
- December 15. An extraordinary meeting of the Madras Provincial Congress Committee and the Mahajana Sabha was held to-day for discussing matters relating to the deputation to Mr. Montagu and the Viceroy.
- December 16. It is understood that the Madras Presidency Association has been permitted to present their Address to the Viceroy and Mr. Montagu.
- December 17. Mr. Montagu and the Viceroy received addresses from the several public bodies to-day at the Government House, Madras.

Literary

INDIA'S SHARE IN THE WAR.

An authoritative statement is issued to the press in London detailing India's assistance in the war in men, money, food and war materials, a special section being devoted to help from Ruling Chiefs. The introduction remarks: "There is danger in dwelling on the defects of Indian administration dealt with in the Mesopotamia Report of overlooking or underestimating the real value of India's help in the prosecution of the war. This account gives some indication of the extent to which India has assisted the Allied cause, but it can give no adequate idea of the patriotic spirit which has inspired the peoples of India throughout the war to pour out their blood and treasure in the service of the Empire. The wave of enthusiastic loyalty which swept over the whole of India at the outbreak of the war was not confined to any one class."

The statement gives as an example among many, of India's loyalty, the action of some Indian subordinates in the Finance Department, who when despite the utmost efforts of the staff accounts respecting the Indian Expeditionary Forces, which the War Office wanted as soon as possible, could not be completed in time to catch the last mail train from Simla to Bombay, hired a special train and met the charges out of their scanty pay without saying a word of it to their superiors, the matter becoming known only by pure chance.

"This incident," says the Introduction, "is typical of the general spirit which has been apparent in all classes and parts of India, whether under British Government or Ruling Chiefs. The value of this spirit and of determination it indicates is incalculable."

THE "NATION"

All lovers of liberty and of Liberalism will learn with sincere pleasure that His Majesty's Government have removed the ban which for six months they had imposed on the export of that great liberal organ, the *Nation*. Referring to this action, the *Nation* has the following in its issue of October 27: "The act is their own. The *Nation* neither courted an edict which it did nothing to enforce, nor sued for its withdrawal. The journal which has now recovered its freedom is the same in policy and expression as that which was suppressed."

MR. FISHER ON "LEARNING BEFORE EARNING."

"Learning should come before earning. All the young people should be regarded as subjects of education primarily, and in a measure before Parliament be hoped to give effect, to some extent, to that aspiration. It was our duty to frame a scheme of education which would give to every human being in this country as good an education as we could afford to give him and as he could afford to receive. That was the principle upon which he was proceeding. He was glad that attention had been called to the fact that there were a large number of children—he believed 600,000, who had had their education curtailed in order that they might assist the country in the war. There were children who had been labouring in the field, in the factory, and in the mine. They had suffered injury to their educational growth which it would be very difficult to repair, but he had not forgotten them. It was not an altogether easy problem to solve satisfactorily, but he would do his best to provide for those children facilities for recovering some part of what they had lost."

THE MAHARANI OF BHAVNAGAR.

The Maharani Sahiba of Bhavnagar has for the last three years been publishing a Gujarati weekly paper giving information about the war. Thousands of copies are distributed free to schools, colleges and libraries and to villages and cheras.

THE "NEW ERA."

The United Provinces Government has forfeited the security of the "New Era" and seized copies containing the following articles:—"Messrs. Mohamad Ali and Shikhat Ali," October, 20; November 3, "Eye-opener;" November 10, "Musallman and Mr. Montagu," December 8. The paper ceases publication for it is understood that a new paper is started to represent Moslem opinion.

THE "BOMBAY CHRONICLE."

A settlement has been arrived at between the Board of India Newspaper Company and Mr. Horniman at the instance of certain friends of the latter who have carried on negotiations on his behalf. Mr. Kama, Managing Director, had resigned management of the paper and retired from the Board. Four new Directors nominated by Mr. Horniman and his friends have been elected to the Board, viz. Messrs. E. E. Dinshaw, M. S. Captain, Ratansi Dharmsey Morarji and Cowasji Jehangir. Mr. Horniman has consequently withdrawn his resignation and resumed Editorship.

Educational

BURMA UNIVERSITY SCHEME.

A lengthy Burma Government Resolution on the fifth quinquennial Report of Public Instruction in the province, from 1913 to 1917, states, in regard to the proposed Burma University: "There is every indication that the time for the establishment of a University in Burma is approaching and the constitution of the University has been the subject of prolonged and careful consideration during the quinquennium. But financial stringency has stood in the way of the immediate adoption of a comprehensive scheme and so far it has only been possible to sanction the acquisition of a site for the University which this scheme contemplates. In the meantime it will be necessary to make a modest beginning with a University comprising the two existing colleges on their present sites, supplemented by a central administrative staff. This initial scheme is now at an advanced stage, and it is hoped it may be brought into effect at an early date."

THE MADRAS UNIVERSITY.

The recent meeting of the Madras University Senate was productive of an interesting discussion on the subject of English teaching in colleges. It was on the proposition to reduce the English minimum in the Intermediate Examination that the debate arose, and the bulk of informed opinion was in favour of altering the present English course so as to suit Indian conditions. The Hon. Mr. Stone pointed out that the idea of reducing the Intermediate minimum in English was much too crude and what was necessary to improve the admittedly unsatisfactory situation, so far as the Intermediate examination was concerned, was to deal with the courses themselves. What at present happened was that intricate questions, involving elaborate studies in criticism, were too often set at Intermediate Examinations and the boys failed. To set great store by what one speaker called "fancy knowledge" was becoming a dominant tendency with examiners and the Senate had arrived at a definite understanding to check this, though the proposition to reduce the English minimum was negatived. The question regarding payment to members of the Syndicate who went out to inspect colleges was later on raised by Mr. G. A. Nathan and was productive of a certain amount of acrimonious discussion. The matter was eventually postponed till next March.

MADRAS HEADMASTERS' CONFERENCE.

A Headmasters' Conference, organised for the first time in Madras, began its sittings on Oct. 20. The Hon. Mr. J. H. Stone, C.I.E., Director of Public Instruction, opened the sessions and in doing so dwelt on the importance of the gathering. He warmly scouted the idea that the Conference had been engineered by Government. The Conference had been organised solely in the interests of headmasters and by the headmasters themselves. At the same time the headmasters had sought and had obtained the co-operation of assistant masters who had warmly approved of the idea of the Conference. The speaker was sure that the deliberations of the Conference would prove helpful to all interested in education.

Several papers were then read on educational subjects.

MAHOMEDAN EDUCATION.

The *Indian Social Reformer* writes:—

The Government of Bombay have for years past laid down that Indian children shall not be educated in English for the first four years of their school life. They now lay down that Mahomedan children shall not be educated in Urdu, and shall be educated in the local vernaculars. We have protested against the first prohibition, we can on no account acquiesce in the second. Our fundamental objection is this: that the parents know much better than any Government—whose personnel and policy are constantly changing—what is good for their children from every point of view. Now, this question of Urdu is a vital one for Mahomedans and more particularly in places, where they form a small minority. It is their salvation, it is their way to the warm water of life from out the frozen mass of Hindu caste by which they are surrounded. They cannot assimilate with the Hindus with whom they are racially and nationally, one because of the caste system. If they are not to die out as a people, their only resource is to put themselves in contact, by means mainly of the Urdu language, with the head waters of the Islamic communion in Upper India.

LADY ODWYER ON EDUCATION.

Lady Odwyer has written a foreword for a pamphlet by Mr. Ghulam Hussain, Barrister-at-Law, of Amritsar, on the education of Indian women in the Punjab, in the course of which she says:—"This, I believe, to be vital to the future progress and well being of the Province in which I take a deep personal interest."

[DECEMBER 1917.]

Legal

THE OUDH COURTS BILL.

At a meeting of the United Provinces Legislative Council on the 10th December the Hon'ble Mr. Chintamani moved for leave to introduce the Oudh Courts (Amendment) Bill the object of which was to provide that not less than half the Judges of the Judicial Commissioners' Court should be members of the legal profession. The Government opposed the measure, which on a division was lost by 22 votes to 12. Mr. Chintamani next moved for leave to introduce the Oudh Civil Courts (Amendment) Bill to provide that the appointment of Judicial Commissioners in Oudh should be reserved for Barristers. The motion was lost by 22 to 12. Among the resolutions moved by Mr. Chintamani was one urging the Government to adopt a vigorous policy to check the ravages of plague. The Hon'ble Colonel Mactaggart said that the Government was doing everything possible. As a matter of fact money set apart for fighting plague was lying idle, because people did not choose to avail themselves of it. If anybody proposed a practical scheme on behalf of the people, the Government would be happy to consider it. The resolution was accepted.

TALPUR SUCCESSION CASE.

The Privy Council has upheld the decision of the Sind Judicial Commissioner's Court in the Talpur succession case, which arose under the following circumstances. When H. H. Mir Humamally Khan Talpur died on the 30th January, 1907, he left a sister and a nephew. H. H. Mir Abdul Hussain Khan Talpur filed a suit against Bibi Soma, sister of the deceased, for and her son, H. H. Mir Nur Mahomed Khan, for possession of the property left by the deceased, which amounted to about Rs. 13 lakhs, on the ground of the custom existing in the family by which females were excluded from inheritance. The suit was heard by Mr. Leggat, then Additional Judicial Commissioner, who held that the custom was proved, and decreed in favour of the plaintiff. The appeal was lodged by Bibi Soma and Mir Nur Mahomed Khan in the Hon'ble Judicial Commissioner's Court, when Messrs. Pratt and Crouch gave judgment, reversing the decision of the lower Court, and dismissing the suit. Mir Abdul Hussain Khan appealed to the Privy Council and the case was heard last session, but judgment was deferred.

INVESTIGATION OF CONSPIRACIES IN INDIA.

The Governor-General in Council has, with the approval of the Secretary of State for India, decided to appoint a Committee, (1) to investigate and report on the nature and extent of the criminal conspiracies connected with the revolutionary movement in India, (2) to examine and consider the difficulties that have arisen in dealing with such conspiracies, and to advise as to the legislation, if any, necessary to enable Government to deal effectively with them. The Government of India consider that for the proper examination of these questions a strong judicial element is essential in the Committee. They have accordingly secured the services of Mr. Justice Rowlatt, of the King's Bench Division of His Majesty's High Court of Justice, as president, and the following gentlemen have agreed to serve as members:—Sir Basil Scott, Kt., Chief Justice of Bombay, Dewan Bahadur C. V. Kanarasawny Sastriar, Judge of the High Court of Madras, Sir Verney Lovett, K. C. S. I., Member of the Board of Revenue, and Mr. Probasw Chandra Mitter, Vakil of the High Court of Calcutta. Mr. J. D. V. Hodge, I. C. S., Bengal, has been appointed Secretary of the Committee. The Committee will assemble in Calcutta early in January, 1918. It will sit in camera, but will be given full access to all documentary evidence in the possession of Government, bearing on the existence and extent of the revolutionary conspiracies in India, and will supplement this with such other evidence as it may consider necessary.

THE LAW'S DELAYS.

The Privy Council has dismissed appeals from the judgment of the High Court of Bengal, in the case of Tarini Charan Sarker vs. Bishun Chand and others relating to mortgage transactions. Lord Buckmaster, giving judgment, pointed out that during the eleven years since the institution of proceedings, Bishun Chand's mortgage had risen from Rs. 5,000 to over Rs. 80,000. He emphasised the danger of this combination of usury and abuse of legal procedure. It was not easy to suppress the former, but the latter ought not to be incapable of remedy. There seemed to be no lack of expedition in Courts in disposing of cases once they had been entered for hearing. Delay was associated with the dilatoriness of procedure and apparent unwillingness of persons controlling the litigation to bring it to a speedy conclusion.

Medical

MEDICAL WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION.

Presiding at the opening ceremony of the All-India Conference of the Association of Medical Women in India on December 7, at Bombay, Her Excellency Lady Willington said that the greatest lesson learnt from the war is the extent to which women can undertake with success the most diverse forms of public duty. The work of the women's branch has profoundly impressed upon her the versatility, ability and self-sacrifice which women can bring to bear upon a task which inspires and appeals to them. She mentioned that military authorities have recently appointed a unit of medical and surgical staff to Freeman Thomas War Hospital, Bombay, composed entirely of women doctors. Dr. Agnes Scott, Vice-President of the Association, described the work during the ten years of the existence of the association. Dr. Anna Kugler gave an address on the problems which the association hopes to solve. These include the difficult conditions of childbirth, infantile mortality training of nurses, etc.

VALUE OF APPLES AS MEDICINE.

Ripe, juicy apples eaten at bedtime every night, observes the "Wealth of India," will cure some of the worst forms of constipation. Sour apples are the best for this purpose. Some cases of sleeplessness have been cured in this manner. People much inclined to biliousness will find this practice very valuable. There are some cases with which sour apples are not agreeable. It sometimes happens in these cases that stewed apples will agree perfectly well while the raw ones are very disagreeable.

THE HOSPITAL SHIP "MADRAS".

The following extract taken from a book "A Message From Mesopotamia by the Hon'ble Sir Arthur Lawley" may be read with interest:—

Of all the work accomplished by voluntary effort for the sick and wounded in this great War none has been more effective or more valuable than that which has been done by the Hospital Ship *Madras*.

Immediately on the outbreak of War she was acquired by the citizens of the Madras Presidency transformed, equipped, and manned with such celerity that so early as November 1914 she was able to set out perfected, so far as human agency may attain perfection in design, construction and

most important of all, control and direction for the convey of five hundred sick or wounded men.

Having rendered services of incalculable value to the troops in East Africa, she was, towards the Autumn of 1915, diverted for service in the Persian Gulf.

She was the first Hospital Ship to cross the bar and make her way to Basrah, and for many months she was the only Hospital Ship in the Tigris waters.

Now over two years and a half she has moved on a constant and unflinching course of mercy, and it is by thousands that the number may now be computed of those who have been helped back to health and hope by an devoted and unselfish body of men and women as ever set out to heal the sick.

During the last week in January 1917, I found myself on board the *Madras* steaming up the Persian Gulf. As a non-combatant and Red Cross Commissioner, I could without impropriety travel in a Hospital Ship, and it was, perhaps not altogether inappropriate that I should be a passenger in a vessel bearing the name of the Presidency with which my family and I have been intimately associated in days gone by.

ALL INDIA MEDICAL CONFERENCE.

A meeting of the Medical Practitioners of Calcutta under the presidency of the Hon'ble Dr. Nilratan Sircar, was held on the 2nd December 1917, at the office of the Bengal Medical Association, 212, Cornwallis Street. It was decided to hold annually an All-India Medical Conference. The first Conference is to be held this year during the ensuing Xmas week in which questions of Sanitation, Medical Ethics, Education and matters pertaining to the responsibilities, rights and privileges of medical practitioners in India will be taken up for consideration. Dr. Raghavendra Rao of Bombay has been elected President of the Conference.

PASTEUR INSTITUTE OF SOUTH INDIA.

The annual meeting of the Pasteur Institute, Southern India, was held in Madras on the 5th December. Colonel Miller, I. M. S., presiding.

Colonel Cornwell, I. M. S., in a report, stated that the number of patients during the year was 1,707, an increase of 217 (Against 167, Europeans 50). Four died during the course of treatment, five died in less than fifteen days from the date of the completion of the treatment and five died 15 or more days after the completion of treatment.

Science

SCIENCE ASSOCIATION.

The Annual Science Convention was opened at Calcutta recently in the lecture hall of the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, by Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee, the General President, and scientific papers of considerable importance were read by several distinguished men of science and illustrated by experiments, some of them also by means of lantern slides. There was a large attendance.

Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee in opening the Convention referred to the great usefulness of this Association which had done much to further the cause of science in India, and he paid a glowing tribute to the memory of the founder, the late Dr. Mohendra Lal Sircar.

Mr. C. V. Raman, the Sir Tarak Nath Palit Professor of Physics in the Calcutta University, then delivered a lengthy address on the progress of Physical Science in Bengal in the course of which he detailed the achievements of some of our well known scientists in various directions and in referring to the College of Science said that the young men there had done remarkably good work in the way of scientific research.

Mr. Raman next read a paper on the subject of vibration, and gave entertaining experiments with a mechanically played violin and cello.

A number of other gentlemen, Research Scholars and Professors of the Association, University Professors and Lecturers in Applied Mathematics, contributed papers on "Resonance Radiation and the Quantum Theory," "The Theory of Foucault's Test and the Radiation from the Edges of Diffracting Apertures," "Sommerfeld's treatment of the Diffraction Problem" and a number of other papers.

The Chemical Section was opened by Dr. P. C. Ray with an inaugural address and the Biological Section by Dr. H. L. Chaudhuri.

TANNING LEATHER.

A new process for the conversion of hides and skins into leather is said to have been perfected by a leather expert in England. After the usual preliminary treatment the hides are tanned by steeping them in a solution of an alkali silicate or a solution containing colloidal aluminum silicate, soluble or colloidal silicic acid or other silicic derivative with or without the addition of sodium chloride. The process may be used in conjunction with other methods of tanning.

GAS FROM WOOD.

Trials on wood as a substitute for coal in gas making have recently been carried out in France. The wood used was the sea pine, in the form of billets cut from the middle of the trunk. The charge of the wood was about half the weight of that of coal and carbonization occupied about half the usual time. When running one retort with wood to every two with coal, no appreciable difference in the calorific power of the gas was noted. Of the two by-products, small coke and tar, the former amounts to 5 to 10 per cent. The tar from the combined distillation of wood and coal is much lighter than common tar, and is more difficult to separate from water in the condenser. Owing to the acid character of certain of the products of the distillation of wood, e.g. acetic acid, trouble may be caused in the condensing plant unless the proportion of coal is sufficient to yield an amount of the quantity necessary to neutralize the acids. The yield of gas from the wood was found to be substantially equal to that from coal.

OIL AND COAL BURNING FURNACES.

Oil burning furnaces require smaller amount of air for complete combustion than coal burning furnaces. This is due to the better condition for combining and thoroughly mixing the fuel and the air. With the burning of coal the air must force its way through the mass of fuel and cannot thus flow freely. In burning oil fuel, the oil is sprayed and the air is admitted in such a manner as to bring a proper combination resulting in more perfect combustion. For every pound of oil fuel burned, it will be found necessary to supply from 13 to 14 lbs. of air.

COPPER.

The world's production of copper in 1916 was 1,396,600 tons, as compared with 1,061,300 tons in 1915, an increase of 335,300 tons. The 1916 output was 925,202 tons, and that of 1915 was 1,066,000 tons. Of the 1916 total 880,880 tons are credited to the United States, the output of which in 1915 was 555,600 tons. The Geological Survey of that country has estimated the production of smaller copper for 1916 at 1,927,850,848 lb., or 860,647 gross tons. Next in importance ranks Japan with 207,000 tons in 1916, followed by Chile with 66,100 tons, and Mexico with 55,000 tons.

themselves. One of these members is elected President and another Vice-President by the Federal Assembly for a single year. The constitution provides that the same person shall not be elected President or Vice-President for the ensuing year. The Vice President is elected President so that the office passes by rotation among the members of the Council. The Council's duty consists in conducting the administration, but it is not expected to control the policy of the State. Its members are not the leaders of a party nor are they collectively pledged to a programme. All classes of opinion are represented among them. "It is indeed surprising that a body so composed should work so smoothly" and yet this marvel exists in Switzerland. This Federal Council would serve as a good model for the Executive Councils in India, which are proposed to be composed half of the nominees of the Governor and half of the members elected by the elected members of the Legislative Council. Mussalmans demand half the elected Executive Members to be Mohamedans, which is not inconsistent with the practice in Switzerland.

If Switzerland serves as a model of self-government to be advantageously copied by India, specially in respect of harmonious communal co-operation, Austria-Hungary gives us a warning as to how in certain conditions the same principle can produce national discord and communal disaffection to the unmaking of the nationality. "Although the boundaries of Hungary have changed very little for the last eight hundred years one is astonished to find how much the various races have preserved their identity, how little they have become fused into a homogeneous people." In this respect that country very closely resembles India. "The Magyars form less than one half of the population of Hungary, but they are more energetic, more aggressive and better organized than the other races, and the restricted suffrage, the oral voting and the arrangement of electoral districts tell so strongly in their favor, that except for the forty members from Croatia they hold all but about a score of the seats in Parliament." It cannot be concealed that there is a dread of similar monopolization of seats by "the more energetic, more aggressive and better organized" section in India, and it is suggested that the suffrage, the form of voting and arrangement of electorate should not be such as to "tell strongly in their favour." This defective system has led "the Magyars to feel that Hungary belongs to them, and although since 1848 they

have admitted men of other blood to a share of political power, they do not intend to let the control slip from their own hands." This object they have attained by a method which is as deceptive in appearance as it is effective in practice. "No line is drawn between the races in the sense of excluding any person from civil or political rights on account of his birth. The test of citizenship, the qualifications for the franchise, are the same for every one." This equality of rights is conceded not from any motives of fair-play and justice but because "the Magyars do not want to keep the other races distinct and in subjection: they propose to absorb them all, and make Hungary a homogeneous nation of Magyars!" More ingenious and deadly indeed than the alleged nation-building method of the much maligned Turks! They have proclaimed Magyar the national and official language; all other languages are being stamped out so much so that a municipal authority refused to extend the license of a German theatre!

The race problem in Hungary was complicated by the exceptional position of two provinces—Transylvania and Croatia. The former possessed peculiar institutions of its own and enjoyed considerable degree of independence till 1848 when it was united with Hungary. By 1876, it was completely incorporated in the Kingdom and deprived of its ancient privileges. The Diet was abolished and the Province was given 75 seats in the Hungarian Parliament to whose authority it was absolutely subjected. The territory was cut up into new districts. It was brought under the Hungarian administrative system and the laws and language of the Magyars were extended to it. In short, the ancient institutions of Transylvania were destroyed, for the Magyars were determined to crush the national spirit of the Germans and of the still more numerous, though far less cultivated, Roumanians.

In the sister Kingdom of Austria also the two great questions that vex the nation are those of religion and race. "It is not too much to say that each of these races is not only anxious to be entirely free from control by the others, but, if strong enough, wants supremacy for itself. It is, therefore, clearly impossible to content them all and the present policy is a sort of make-shift that contents none of them." The most powerful, the richest, the best educated and the most widespread of the races is the German who assumes that Austria is, and ought to be essentially a German territory. Though the most powerful

of the nationalities, it is weakened by a division into Liberals and Clericals, and still more by the tendency of the Liberals to fight among themselves. In consequence of this disunion they cannot either better their own position in Austria or protect their brethren in Transylvania. The Mussalmans of India should take a lesson from this and should not allow their inter-provincial solidarity and union to be broken up by local dissensions or provincial apathy. If they have not already got the inborn cohesive capacity, the delay in the grant of self-government will not produce it in any length of time. Their lot is thrown with the Hindus for the best and for the worst, and the present unnatural system of government is bound to give way some day to a more national system. The best interests of the country therefore require that Hindus and Mussalmans should learn to reconcile their discordant elements and draw closer and closer, and the Hindus should behave towards the Mussalmans as the Germans (who are in proportion of 20.83 against 6.34 French, 1.55 Italians and .38 Romance speaking people) do in Switzerland towards their fellow-countrymen and not as the Germans do in Austria or the Magyars do towards the Germans in Hungary.

It is needless to say that the other races in Austria do not agree to the assumption of the Germans that Austria is or ought to be German; on the contrary they are incessantly striving for greater recognition of their own rights. The most important of them, because the most numerous and the most aggressive, are the Czechs of Bohemia and Moravia. The next most influential race is that of the Poles who have the advantage of forming a compact mass in a single province. "They are ready to assist any Government that treats them kindly, all parties are, therefore, willing to buy their support with concessions." We have to beware of the formation of such a party in India which may be ready to sell its support for a consideration. "The other important races in Austria, the Italians and the Southern Slavs have their hands pretty well filled by the quarrels among themselves and with the Germans" to prove of any constructive use in the Government which is national only in name. As it is, the joint government of Austria and Hungary is composed of a number of hostile groups, and good and efficient Government is almost impossible.

We have cited two extreme examples to show how in one country the racial and religious pro-

blem was satisfactorily solved and the various elements placed in perfect harmony with one another for the good of themselves and for the greater good of the country; whereas, on the contrary, in the other country races continue to quarrel among themselves and each tries to get supremacy over the others, and when possessed of power does not shrink from crushing, if not from exterminating its fellow races. Both of them afford object lessons to India. Here, however, the problem of race and religion is not, in spite of appearances, so acute as in some parts of Europe and is capable of easier and more satisfactory solution. That solution is to be found in the simple scheme of reforms which the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League have jointly formulated.

By admitting the claim of Mussalmans for separate representation on Legislative Councils and by allotting them a number of seats in each Council to be filled by purely Muslim electorates, it is tacitly admitted that Indian nationality is mainly composed of only two peoples—the Hindus and the Mussalmans—whose respective population in British India is 163,600,000 and 57,700,000. The scattered presence throughout India of 2,190,000 Indian Christians, 100,000 Anglo-Indians and of 86,000 Parsis who are confined only to Bombay, do not materially affect the composition or character of the Indian nationality as a whole; in provincial and local matters the latter as well as other important sub-sections of the Hindus must be taken into consideration, so that every local institution should be popular in the sense that all the peoples of that area are properly represented thereon.

I will conclude with an earnest appeal to both my Hindu and Muslim brethren—to the former to regard the Mussalmans as one of the two component parts of Indian nationality and allow and help them to have their adequate share in the self-governing bodies, executive councils and services of the country; and to the latter to use these rights to strengthen their own position in order to make the combined Indian nationality all the more powerful. India is now on the threshold of a great future, and many factors are aiding towards an early realization of its destiny. It, therefore, behoves all patriotic Indians as well as all self-respecting communities and classes so to work out their Heaven-allotted tasks as to promote, rather than retard, the circumstances that lead towards that glory.