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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE forecast of the line which the Premier will take at the coal conference makes the prospect of a satisfactory solution of the coal imbroglio decidedly cheerful. The nightmare of the coal strike has oppressed the mind of the British public now for two months, and it is quite clear that without substantial concessions proceeding from both sides, the restoration of industrial peace is impossible. It is reported that at the conference over which the Premier will preside, contentions regarding the national pool question will be avoided so as to clear the ground for fruitful discussion. But the proposed remedies regarding a national wage, registering an advance on the 1914 standard, the creation of machinery to deal with inequality of wages, and fixing the ratio of profits to wages by arbitration, go a long way to meet the demands of the miners. It is to be hoped that, under the circumstances, the conference will lead to tangible results.

THE whirligig of time brings strange developments. Two years ago, the soaring prices of silver threw the currencies of the world, and the currency of India in particular, into hopeless confusion, and our exchange system was recast with a view to provide permanently against dear silver. But the white metal has now cheapened to a degree, and its very cheapness is a cause for anxiety to many. At one time the problem was how to increase the supply of silver; now the question is how to reduce the world output. Messrs. Montagu's recent report concludes that "unless the world output shrinks considerably below last year's, the currency disrepute into which silver has fallen may render the maintenance of its sterling value difficult." The appreciation of the currency pound measured in gold is another factor which will help the depreciation of silver. This situation is calculated to furnish the Indian Government with ample food for reflection.

ON the pressure exerted by "friends," the Ali brothers have felt constrained to tender an apology for making speeches calculated to incite to violence. The Moulanas themselves never imagained that any passages in their speeches could possibly be interpreted to contain instigations to violence, but now they recognise the force of their "friends'" interpretaion and see that the speeches, in their natural construction, are inducive to violence. Violence being a polar to non-co-operation which for the moment they have adopted, they have expressed regret for the speeches they have made and have publicly forsworne violence in future. They have given an undertaking that, so long as they are associated with the movement of non-co-operation. they will not " directly or indirectly advocate violence at present or in the future, nor create an atmosphere of preparedness for violence." The high falutin in which the Ali brothers indulge will now be apparent to all; their recent utterances, apart from their being objectionable from the standpoint from which their "friends" look at them, are most mischievous in the sense that they are highly unpatriotic and such that no true Nationalist can tolerate for a single minute. It is very wise of Government to have declared that the Ali brotherswill not be touched so long as they carry out their undertaking.

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ONE of the criticisms levelled against the educational budget of Bombay especially by the representatives of the backward communities was to the effect that a disproportionately heavy expenditure was being incurred on higher education . and that primary education was starved to that extent. Nothing is further from the truth than such a statement, as will be found from a comparison of the following figures (in thousands) of direct expenditure on different classes of public instruction in four leading provinces for the year 1918-19 :-- 91,849

	Higher.	Secondary.	Primary.	Total.
Bengal	3,253	9,627	4,803	19,427
Madras	1,875	5,264	8,040	17,237
U. P.	1 982	4.610	3,466	10,969
Bombay	1.492	4.172	9.152	16,169

36.671

Bo Total for the 11,474 whole of India.

During the current year the expenditure on primary education in the Bombay Presidency is increased to Rs. 120,00,000 cut of a total expenditure of Rs. 1,81,00,000. Besides this, one must also note that the population of the Bombay Presidency is almost half of that of any of these provinces.

35,326

THE Conference of the subjects of Native States recently held in Poona has drawn pointed attention to some of their more serious grievances. The problem with which they are confronted is a little different from that facing the people in British India. The latter are enjoying all the advantages resulting from an ordered and efficient government; but believing as they do that good government can never be a substitute for self-government, they are at present engaged in winning selfgovernment from their rulers. As for Native States subjects they already possess swaraj, what is wanted being an earnest and determined attempt to turn it into popular government. Incidentally it may be noted from our experience of these States that good government does not necessarily follow in the wake of swaraj, as some of the leaders of the Nationalist party seem to imagine. The Conference requested the rulers of Native States to follow the example of British India by declaring as the ultimate goal of their policy towards their subjects the grant of complete responsible government to them. The personal expenses of ruling princes as a rule swallow a disproportionately large share of their revenues; while even the elementary rights of free speech and writing are denied to their subjects. We are glad that these questions also engaged the attention of the Conference, and decisions in conformity with popular feeling arrived at. Advocates of reform in Native States have a situation of unusual delicacy to face and they would do well to bear in mind the President's appeal for moderation and sobriety in word and in deed. Exaggeration generally spoils a good case.

THE temperance campaign in Poona has been going on for the last month or so, and, to judge from the statistics of daily sales of the several liquor shops in the city, seems to have met with a considerable measure of success. It is a matter for satisfaction that the picketing of liquor shops has been for the most part unattended with violence. This is due as much to the peaceful conduct of the volunteers engaged in picketing liquor shops as to the policy of non-interference so far pursued by the local Government; and if the campaign is conducted on its present lines and no difficulties are made on the side of Government, a large reduction in the consumption of liquor may be expected. It will be noted that a similar temperance campaign was started in this city about twelve years ago under the auspices of the Poona Temperance Association of which the late Mr. Gokhale was the president and though it had to come to a premature close owing to the hostile attitude of the Government of the time, it will, we think, not be unfair to the organisers of the present campaign to say that it paved the way for the later attempt which we are witnessing to-day. Similar temperance activity is visible in some moffusil places. We hope that a complete absence of violence will be its characteristic. If we expect Government to remain neutral, special responsibility rests on us to see that all violence is religiously eschewed from our work in the cause of temperance.

MR. GANDHI, who has now read Lala Lajpat Rai's Bombay speech in which he made a most unjust and unworthy attack on the Moderate leaders, finds in it nothing offensive or discourteous. He says that his charges are not unjustified by the conduct of the Moderate ministers! Among other things Mr. Lajpat Rai said: "When they were friendly critics, Nationalists gave them credit for all honesty of purpose, but at the bar of Indian public opinion the Moderates would be guilty of high treason. To deny honesty of purpose to a man or group of men, to say they have sold their country and conscience to a foreign bureaucracy, to accuse them of high treason is neither vulgar, offensive nor discourteous; but decent and good form of western party speech! It is rather suprising that Mr. Gandhi, who is ever denouncing western civilization and is not enamoured of westtern methods, should justify Mr. Lajpat Rai's outburst by attributing it to his assimilation of western political methods. Those who were shocked by Mr. Lajpat Rai's speech thought he had spoken in an angry mood. But we now learn that it was a well-considered and deliberate utterance. Abusive language of this kind is employed by a certain class of Nationalist leaders and cheap patriots against the Moderate leaders and received with cheers by a certain type of audiences. But we never thought Mr. Lajpat Rai could use that language, and, what is worse, that Mr. Gandhi could approve of it.

THE letter which Mr. Montagu sent to the Khilafat deputation in England ought to convince, as we trust did convince the deputation, that, so far as Mr. Montagu is concerned, he did his level best to obtain the most favourable terms for the Turks. Indeed, it must be recognized that the revised terms of the Sèvres Treaty constitute a very great improvement on the original terms which were extremely harsh. They do not come up to the level of the Indian Moslems' demand, it is true, but no one can support this demand in full. For instance, the restoration of Palestine to Turkey cannot be justified on any moral grounds and will not appeal to any rational being. It is time that the Moslem leaders expressed their real sentiments in the matter.

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BOMBAY DEVELOPMENT SCHEME.

IT was in August last that His Excellency the Governor of Bombay publicly announced an early formation of the Bombay Development Department, and it formally came into existence on the 18th November, 1920. Since then the public have heard but little about the various schemes that it has undertaken, their nature and the progress they have made so far. This suspense of the public has now been greatly relieved by the publication of the report of the Bombay Development Department for the last quarter. It is an interesting document giving some very detailed information about the huge schemes of building Greater Bombay that the Department has launched. But when one puts away the report after closely studying it, one is almost tempted to ask oneself in a somewhat doubtful frame of mind :--- "Will the report be able to convince the public that the scheme, as chalked out, will solve in the shortest possible time the immediate and the most urgent problem of Bombay, viz., sufficient housing accommodation for the working and lower middle classes?" We are afraid the answer will be 'no'.

Briefly put, the Department has under its charge two reclamation schemes, two industrial housing schemes for immediate execution, the Worly scheme for the same purpose to be taken in hand after some time, another scheme for the expansion of industries outside Bombay, and about five schemes and various minor schemes for the suburban development in Salsette and Trombay. The Department has also undertaken the survey of land for the proposed Salsette-Trombay railway and its connection with the existing lines. The necessary water-supply required for these gigantic construction schemes is temporarily solved by cleaning and deepening old wells and by the sinking of new ones. A great part of Salsette and Trombay, consisting of 84 villages, was constituted in November last by the Bombay Suburban Division. To it is now added a further area comprising seven villages between Kalyan and Badlapur stations on the G. I. P. lines in the Kalyan Taluka which is now named the Ambarnath Taluka. Under the new scheme this new taluka is set apart for the expansion of industries outside Bombay, as it has been proved that it would satisfy all immediate industrial requirements. Abundant supplies of water are reported to be easily available from the Uhlas river when the tail water of the Andhra Valley power scheme begins to be discharged into it next cold weather and the conditions are said to be favourable for supply and distribution. The Kurla-Karol scheme, adopted by the Government in 1919 at the instance of Director of Industries for the provision of industrial expansion is now abandoned, for the area has proved to be unsuited from all points of view. However, it is proposed to develop the area in the future to provide sites for the factories and workshops of the smaller or domestic type which require to be within easy distance of the city.

This is no doubt a formidable list with an ambitious programme. If carried out successfully and during the period in which it is proposed to be carried out, it will certainly add more grace to the great city of Bombay and enhance its reputation as a great industrial centre of the East. But when we look at the programme from the workman's or middle class man's point of view, we confess we feel a good deal of disappointment. On perusing both the speech of His Excellency the Governor made on the occasion of the introduction of the Bombay Development Bill in August last and the report, we see that the latter has deviated from the former in some of its important respects. The solution of the housing problem has ever been, and rightly, the burden of his song since His Excellency Sir George Lloyd arrived here about two years ago. After presenting to the Bombay Council a close and clear analysis of this problem, his August speech declared that not less than 50,000 one-room tenements were immediately required to relieve the city of its present congestion. The citizens of Bombay were inspired with high hopes that one of the most intricate questions that had been agitating the Government and the local bodies for a quarter of a century and over, was at last going to be finally solved. With such eagerness we read the report of the Bombay Development Department. But we were sadly disappointed when we read that "two blocks of land" at Naigaum that would provide for the construction of only 3,520 tenements and "a piece of land" at De Lisle Road accommodating about 2,640 tenements, had been so far secured. 'So that before very long, it was hoped, that work on over 6,000 tenements would be in progress." Apart from the fact that the building of only 6,000 out of 50,000 tenements is being definitely undertaken, the words italicised above do not convey the idea that the tenements will be ready for habitation during a short period. " The Worly scheme, " says the "of the Improvement Trust aims at proreport, viding about 13,000 tenements and work will be started on that scheme as soon as the filling of the area to be allotted to chauls is sufficiently advanced." But how long the filling of the area will continue and when the actual contruction will begin, no body knows. It is, however, obvious that the Worly tenements will be ready after the Naigaum and De Lisle Road tenements which the Directorate 'hopes' will be ready 'before very long.' Government have been warned time and again that time is the greatest factor in this matter. If you ignore it, the whole scheme will be nullified. The population of the city is increasing every day. And if the construction of 50,000 tenements which are necessary for the population already living in the city, goes on for a very long period, say for a decade or so, the relief secured by the accommodation of a part of the old population will disappear by the influx of the new population which will be very great indeed. Government were therefore warned to complete their scheme within as short a period as possible, five years at the most. But the pity is

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that the Directorate has not only not given many period during which it is going to complete the scheme, but it has not even undertaken to construct the whole scheme of building 50,000 tenements! Only 19,000 are proposed to be built in the near future! Even a mention is not made as to when the rest of the tenements are going to be taken in hand! A passing reference is made in the report to the fact that "further sites for chawls will be provided by the Improvement Trust at a later date in connection with their Dharavi and Shevari-Wadala schemes." But as the chawls are going to be built in blocks of 80 single-room tenements convertible into two-room tenements, and as the number of such blocks is not given in the report, we need not seriously look at it, on the supposition that that project is a distant one.

It will be thus seen that the Bombay Development Department has now taken in hand only a very small fraction of the industrial housing scheme. It is not yet stated when the bigger one will be taken up. No time-limit for the completion of the first and the beginning of the other is given. The relief that will be given by the work of the Department is, therefore, bound to be miserably inadequate and the progress made in the solution of the housing problem disappointing.

HATE'S LABOUR LOST.

EVER since, a fortnight ago, Mr. Lloyd George made the now famous speech on the Upper Silesian Plebiscite question, the Anglo-Indian newspapers have rung with astonishment and consternation at such an "explosion" on Mr. George's part, who for the nonce seems to abandon the "firm" policy, for which his Government has made itself so conspicuous, whether in connection with Germany on Ireland or Labour or what not.

So notorious however is Mr. George as a politician, as opposed to being a statesman, that when one hears him proclaim lofty principles, such as that a treaty must be carried out, even if for once its provisions are favourable to the enemy : one is apt to ask, whatever he is trying to get at now? That such an attitude of mind should be taken for granted as normal, is a sad comment on the depths of opportunism into which the "Big Four" (or how many were there?) have flung the affairs of Europe, ever since the time when the principles of Mr. Wilson's Fourteen Points were superseded by the election cry of "Hang the Kaiser" and "Make Germany pay."

The Kaiser is still unhung, for all the wild talk and gesticulation that went on at that time. And who recognizes not to-day that contemptuously to let the Kaiser live on in his present Dutch obscurity is far greater punishment for that vain-glorious megalomaniac, than to have turned him into a "Royal Martyr" by cutting short his miserable life.

"Make Germany pay!" That was the twin slogan a short two years ago; the panacea that was going to provide the "reaping" of what had been sown in so much sacrifice and labour. To-day that ory is still being shrilled, almost hysterically, by our French "Allies": but in Britain one hears singularly little of it any more. Why?

When "Peace" was being concluded, Germany first of all was to be made to pay in ships (mainly to England), secondly in coal (mainly to France), and thirdly in any goods that the Allies might be in need of—dye-stuffs for example. Now this was a sort of first instalment; and it is irrelevant now to consider whether and how far Germany has evaded making the further payments stipulated. For our present purposes it is sufficient to consider what the consequences have been of the payments she has actually made.

When Germany had to hand over the whole of her mercantile fleet, her pontoons and floating docks, her cranes and all the harbour material that could be transported: it seemed that the maritime doom of Germany and the final supremacy of Britain were being sealed for ever. British tonnage decimated by the submarine war was scarce at the time and unable to cope with the gigantic demands made upon it. Small wonder that each ship was almost worth its weight in gold; that shipping companies reaped a golden harvest from freight rates which through this scarcity of tonnage had soared to fabulous heights. Enter the German ships. Not one or two, or by the score, even, but by the hundred. What is the immediate result? The value of all ships comes down with a crash, as more and more enemy ships are thrown on the market, until at last there is such a glut, that the price of a ship becomes that of scrap iron. The consequent deflation of the capital value of the British shipping trade however is not the only result of the "gift" ships from Germany. With it went a rapid drop in the freight rates and in the quantity of cargo offering per ship run; but most serious of all was the complete check placed on further orders for building ships in British yards. Germany, on the other hand, naturally had to strain every nerve to replace the ships and other material taken from her; her shipping trade naturally received a great stimulus and the great German ship-building yards have since presented a scene of feverish activity, which contrasts oddly with the half-time work and wholesale dismissals in the yards of victorious Britain. In fact, it is becoming clear, that, at the present rate, it is vanquished, despoiled Germany which will become the leading ship-building nation of the world, whilst Britain's hitherto unrivalled shipbuilding industry is in immiment danger of being killed by her own short-sighted vindictiveness. Was there ever a better illustration of the hard common sense of the gospel that it is more blessed to give than to receive?

And as with the ships, so also, *mutatis mutan*dis, with the other goods that Germany was expected to hand over by way of indemnities. Only that, as soon as German dyes, magentas, toys began to arrive, the British manufacturer, who is not above combining patriotism with business, began to

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raise the cry of "Key industries in danger" and German dumping must be stopped." If these commodities were to be delivered, free gratis and for nothing, by way of indemnity, by a helot race to a victor sitting idly at his ease : what was to become of the British industries which hitherto had supplied these requirements? Hate is one thing, but business is business after all; and British commonsense, after a first sharp lesson, has come to acknowledge that, desirable as it may be by way of poetic justice to "make Germany pay," by way of business it does most decidedly not pay England to accept the payment; for payment can only be made in goods, either dumped on the British market or else sold in foreign markets to the detriment of the British export article. And so, although nobody wants to look so "pro-German" as actually to say it in so many words (in Italy they are not so squeamish !)-yet the fact remains that to-day all well-informed British circles wish to goodness that nothing had ever been heard of these " indemnities "and all Chancellors of the Exchequer proceed with their budgets on the tacit understanding that nothing tangible will ever be got out of them. The English are a practical race; and so they have written off all German indemnities as "bad,

So far nothing has been said about coal, of which Germany has delivered huge and ever-increasing quantities to France. At first the idea was that this indemnity was to make up for the loss of French coal consequent upon the destruction of the Lens mines by the German armies. Its first result was that exports of English coal to France dropped off, whilst at present, when the German mines are obediently carrying out to the letter the task laid upon them by their foreign masters, there is such an accumulation of surplus coal, that the British export trade in coal to the Continent generally has practically ceased altogether, being unable to compete with the "free" German coal, which the French (and Belgian) Governments can offer at prices defying all competition. Hence there is no more profit to be got out of the ccal exported from Britain; but the whole British coal industry, as State-controlled, depended on this profit made out of the foreigner, to provide cheap domestic coal to the consumers, high wages to the miners and high profits to the owners. Without an export trade, the State would have had to find, out of taxation, the money required to meet all these demandsan impossible proposition. Hence the sudden withdrawal of State control on April 1st (ominous date !) five months before due; hence the deadlok in the British mining industry to-day-variously termed a "strike " or a " lockout." Hence the threat of a great upheaval, which at one time was thought to bring England to the verge of civil war-and all, because "Germany is made to pay "!!

Clearly, it was time to retrace our steps down the fateful slope—and Mr. George's speech the other day was the obvious signal for it. And note, that he spoke not only once, but that ten days later he rubbed in the lesson again. For once, he does mean business.

For what does Upper Silesia mean? It means, that if the rich coal mining industry of that district goes (against the plebiscite verdict) to Poland instead of being allowed to remain German, Germany will be deprived of all coal supplies altogether and therefore will never be able to recover. Already she has been deprived of her principal iron mines (in Lorraine) and of the Saar Coalbasin, whilst the coal mines of the Ruhr of course have ceased to be German, except in name. What chance have German industries, if they are to be deprived of their last and only power reservoir, the Upper Silesian Coalbeds?

But if Germany does not recover, and that quickly, England will get further and further into slumps and trade depression; the present all-round stagnation and general unemployment there will get worse and worse, and in the end —? Business men at least remember that before the War Germany used to be Britain's best customer and they realize that, late enemy or no enemy, a prosperous Germany means a prosperous England. They realize that what is needed above all things is that Germany should again be in the market as a buyer, not only as a seller; that taking from her, without giving her in return is going to be not so much the ruin of Germany, as of Great Britain.

The Entente with France? Very nice. But there are limits, even to the friendship of Allies. Business after all is business—and if France mistakenly still thinks that it suits her book to reduce Germany to a howling wilderness and to ruin her industrial life beyond the hope of recovery: it is just about time, France was told plainly that this does emphatically not suit England's book and that England's vital interests demand that above all things Germany must on no account be made to pay any more !—

"It is more blessed to give than to receive." "We are all members one of another." "Love your enemies." How many have looked upon these maxims otherwise than as the unpractical idealism of a Visionary, or at the very least as paradoxes incapable of being taken literally? And now ——

Should after all the Sermon on the Mount deserve to be taken seriously? Should, all the cynics notwithstanding, it provide after all a practical guide, perhaps the only really practical guide to the conduct, not only of individuals, but even of politics???

H. O. E. ZACHARIAS.

THE CIVIL MARRIAGE BILL.

THE Civil Marriage Bill which was introduced in the last session of the Indian Legislative Assembly is being now circulated to the local Governments with a view to enable the Government of India to define its own attitude towards it. May I therefore set out as briefly as I can the reasons which have induced me to introduce the Bill?

....

1. With the exception of ultra-conservative Hindus, all communities now regard marriage as a civil contract. It is so in Europe and America and in all the Buddhist and Mahomedan countries, in fact everywhere, except under orthodox Hinduism. The objection I have to meet is then that of orthodox Hindus.

2. These Hindus have opposed all measures of reform : for example *Sati* suppression legislation, the Removal of Caste Disabilities Act, Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act, even the Hindu Wills Act, and last, but not least, the Special Marriage Act.

3. During the discussions which preceded the passage of these measures, the Government has again and again explained its attitude towards the old established and the reforming creeds. As Mr. James Stephen (afterwards Sir James Stephen) said in supporting the measure of 1872 :--

"Why should we constitute ourselves guardians of Hindu orthodoxy? Why should we determine at all which is not orthodox according to Hindu notions? Why should we interfere with the natural course of events?" (Legistative Council proceedings, 1872, p. 50).

And then again:

"That English education in all its forms leads straight away from all forms of native orthodoxy is a proposition which I have never yet heard disputed. How can we sow the seed and refuse to recognize the crop? How can we encourage men to learn that which, we know with positive certainty, will utterly destroy their religion, except in so far as mere nominal conformity to it is concerned and yet put them under the heaviest of all disabilities for learning the lessons we teach unless they will consent to add hypocrisy to unbelief? When we shut up our schools and the universities, when we put missionaries under a ban, when we repeal the lex loci Act and the Hindu Widows Remarriage Act and the Christian Marriage Acts, and look indulgently at Sutti and wink at infanticide, we may possibly get credit for sincerity in objecting to the spread of unbelief as to the native religions. Till then, I think, people will say that what we really fear is not the spread of unbelief, but the hostility of believers." (ibid, p. 199);

But there were champions of orthodoxy in those days as there are champions of orthodoxy now, and Act III of 1872 was only passed by the majority of 8 against 5 who opposed it.

4. The limitations placed on this Act were soon found to be irksome and unnecessary. The Act excepted Hindus, Mahomedans, Christians, Buddhists, Parsis, Jains and Jews. In 1908 the Privy Council held that both the Brahmos and Sikhs were Hindus and yet the Act of 1872 was expressly intended to provide a secular form of marriage, applicoble to all Hindu dissenters, who, Stephen thought, would be classed as non-Hindus. Since the pronouncement by the Privy Council, Hindu dissenters can no longer conscientiously subscribe to the declaration required by the Act, that they were non-Hindus and yet it was for these very people that the Act III of 1872 was intended and passed.

5. The Government was, therefore, morally bound to alter the language of Act III of 1872 so as to remove the doubt which the Privy Council decision had created. But it failed to act. Meanwhile Indian opinion in favour of a Secular Marriage Bill

was strengthening and the Baroda Durbar enacted a Civil Marriage Act, under which any British subject can contract a marriage without reference to religion. This is the Baroda Civil Marriage Act of 1908.

6. Three years later in 1911 Mr. B. N. Basu sought to introduce a similar measure applicable to British India, but, *mirabile dictu*, the Government with its packed and solid majority opposed it and the measure was thrown out, on a motion to refer it to a select committee. And in opposing it, Sir Reginald Craddock, as Home Member, enunciated a startling doctrine at variance with the deliberate pronouncements of all previous Governments. He said :---

"The general attitude of the Government in the matter of this Bill can be very clearly and concisely stated. In so far as the Bill seeks to leave it open to individuals to replace or supplement religious ceremonies by civil contract, and in so far as it emphasises that marriage is a civil contract and not a status, the proposed measure is in consonance with advanced western ideas. And it is impossible for the Government to withhold their sympathy entirely from earnest reformers, who desire to place this greater liberty within the reach of their fellowcountrymen. But we are asked now to legislate not for Indians as such, but for persons who fall within the category of those several faiths specified in the Act of 1872. And we are asked to pass a measure which will have the effect of declaring that religion is unnecessary to their marriage laws, and that not only as regards these forms and ceremonies, but as regards the people, who are to be permitted to marry one another. It has been an article of faith with the British Government to hold aloof from any interference with religion or from racial customs, which are closely intermixed with religion, and Government in this matter occupy a position of trust to the many millions who profess these various creeds. Such a step as that contemplated by this Bill can be taken under two and only two sets of circumstances. The first of these would be if the existing marriage laws and the restrictions which they place upon the people and upon those who profess a religion constituted an outrage on the fundamental laws of humanity; and the second set of circumstances would be if an overwhelming majority of the persons professing these faiths were to come forward and ask for the reform. But neither of these two

conditions applies to this Bill." (Proceedings, 1912, p. 152.) No, they did not, because they were entirely wide of the mark. And those who supported the Bill should have pointed out that they were merely discharging a duty which it was incumbent upon the Government to discharge by amending the Act so as to remove the obstacle placed in its working by a ruling of the Privy Council. However, the debate, though protracted, missed this essential point and the Bill was thrown out by 11 votes against 43 (ibid, pp. 220 and 221.)

7. But the public opinion was gaining ground in favour of the measure, and in 1916 the Indore Durbar enacted its Civil Marriage Act (Indore Act I of 1916) and I am informed that four marriages have already been registered under its provisions.

8. We are then confronted with the following position. After four years of strenuous struggle, the Government had in 1872 passed a Civil Marriage Bill in the belief (now declared erroneous) that all Hindu reformers could avail themselves of it. This Bill has been reduced to a dead letter by reason of a decision of the Privy Council. The Government was bound to amend its provisions so as to remove the difficulties created by the Privy Council and which could only be removed by the omission of the word 'Hindu' from the proviso to the Bill. It has not only failed to do so, but opposed its omission when moved by a private member.

9. Meanwhile at least two Hindu States have adopted the measure.

10. Can the Government conscientiously still oppose the Bill? And yet it seems in a mood to do so.

11. But whether it does so or not, let reformers combine to make one supreme effort to save it from yet another defeat. It is the sure sign-post to nationalism, and all true Nationalists must rally to its support.

H. S. Gour.

GOVERNMENT FACTORIES.

A QUESTION that is very closely intermixed with the Government's store purchase policy is the one relating to the different factories maintained by them at public expense. Unlike commercial firms, they are under no necessity to make out a profit and loss statement at the end of the year and have no shareholders who would grumble if they were not to get a proper dividend on their investments. Their position is thus a privileged one. While under no obligation to make a good return for the investments made therein, they never suffer for want of work, as all Government departments are bound ordinarily to order their requirements from them. By depriving local commercial firms of a large amount of business which ought certainly to go to them in the absence of these factories, they give rise to trade jealousies and heart-burnings in the minds of men engaged in identical businesses; and their existence is naturally regarded as resulting in a discouragement of private enterprise. Their champions rest their case mainly on grounds of economy. But a closer examination of their accounts by the Stores Purchase Committee with a view to find out if their working left any margin to the State does not bear out that claim. Besides it is a well-known phenomenon that State-managed concerns are more uneconomical than privately owned ones. But even supposing that the claim of economy rested on the sure ground of fact, it is open to doubt if economic considerations alone are to be the deciding factor in such matters. Is no attention to be paid to the benefits that would accrue to the general community from a revival of old, and the starting of new, industries? Should the problem not be approached from the national point of view of what is demanded in the interests of the industrial progress of the country ? Looked at from this standpoint, all wellwishers of the country would desire to see in the fulness of time a total elimination of these factories. It is true that this goal is unattainable in the immediate future; but what is required is a conscious effort on the part of the Government to reach it within the shortest possible time.

The factories maintained by Government at public expense may be roughly classified under three heads. Railway, P. W. D. and similar workshops come under the category of those that are maintained as a mere matter of convenience; while ordnance and army clothing factories and R. I. M. dockyards represent a class required in the interests of national insurance. We are concerned more with these two kinds of factories than with that represented by the Government Turpentine factories, which are conducted not so much to satisfy Government requirements as to do some pioneering work in the field of Indian industries.

Under present conditions railway workshops engage themselves in manufacture and repair work to meet their own requirements. It will hardly be doubted that the maintenance of such shops in the early days of the introduction of railways into India was more or less a necessity, when facilities to get that work done in the country itself were conspicuous by their absence. But the growth of big iron and steel factories like that of the Tatas has completely altered that position and the time is not far distant when "practically the whole of the equipment necessary for railways may be available from indigenous sources of supply." Under these circumstances it would be delaying the industrial development of the country if advantage were not to be taken of these commercial firms to place large orders with them for such railway material as they can conveniently manufacture. Moreover it may be noted that the work of manufacture and repairs is clearly outside the legitimate sphere of railway activity, which consists in the transportation of passengers and goods. It is therefore necessary, as is indeed recommended by the Stores Purchase Committee, that "Government should encourage the development of industries in India by placing with industrial firms as far as possible the manufacture of its requirements for all State-worked railways, and that railway workshops should be maintained mainly for purposes of repair and experimental work" The importance of this course of action should be impressed on other than State-worked railways as well. With regard to P. W. D. workshops, the Committee have endorsed the recommendation of the P. W. D. Reorganisation Committee for their abolition, which will generally be regarded as satisfactory.

To turn to the second class of factories, vizthose maintained in the interests of national insurance, the proper course to suggest is that only the manufacture of lethal weapons should be left in their charge, stores of ordinary manufacture being ordered from private firms without loss of efficiency. This is necessary in view of the experience of the last war. These factories were found unable to cope single-handed with the demand for warlike material, while private firms being unused to the work of manufacturing even the ordinary items of munitions could not be trusted to help appreciably in the work of the production of munitions. If private manufacturers could be asked to satisfy a portion of the Government's peace requirements, it would familiarise them with the work, besides acting as an encouragement in the development of their business. The balance of advantages to our mind lies in the direction of sharing this work with 'private firms—a step in consonance with the policy followed in England in similar matters.

As regards the army clothing factories, it is no exaggeration to say that their presence in the face of the Government's admitted desire to encourage the spread of Indian industries by the local purchase of their requirements is an anachronism. It cannot be contended with any show of reason that all the work that they turn out is outside the capacity of the average workman in India. Some of it may, and perhaps does, require a little training on the part of the Indian workman before he is able to give complete satisfaction. Whatever that be, the advantages of having a class of workmen in the country which could be relied upon in any emergency to meet all army requirements in the matter of its clothing can hardly be overestimated.

It is therefore a source of genuine pleasure to note that the policy recommended by the Stores Purchase Committee for adoption by the Government is one of placing greater reliance on private firms in regard to the satisfaction of their requirements. The present policy of maintaining large workhops to cater to the needs of Government departments is out-of-date and deserves to be modified in the light of the Indian demand for the encouragement of indigenous industries Experience has shown that by discouraging private enterprise, it has worked as a formidable obstacle in the path of India's industrial development. This has continued far too long and must be stopped by the adoption of a more liberal policy in regard to private firms. It should be emphasised that the firms to be selected for sharing with the existing workshops some of the work now turned out by them should be of indigenous origin as being in great need of such encouragement. Otherwise only a repetition of the scandal of the contracts for Government stores invariably finding their way to Europeanowned firms, which was so effectively exposed by Mr. Adamjee Peerbhoy in his almost sensational evidence before the Indian Industries Commission, may be expected. Every possible precaution must be observed against such a contingency and any possible chance of disappointment on this score guarded against.

AN INDUSTRIALIST.

CORRESPONDENCE.

RAILWAY HARDSHIPS,

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,-If I were asked to point out where the British administration causes the greatest discontent I should lay my

finger on the management of railways. What must be the feelings of men whose status in society is high enough to give them the privilege of shaking hands with the Governor on a footing of equality and whose daily experience on ,a railway station is to be humbled by the meanest railway servant? It has been dinned into our ears, till we have been disgusted, that one of the greatest benefits of British rule has been the introduction of railways. Undoubtedly the railways have annihilated space and therefore time, but they have alsoannihilated the self-respect of travellers. There has never been a greater curse laid upon a nation than the railways in India dominated by foreign capitalists who have an eye only to the feeling of their pockets or by Government so callous to the sufferings of passengers. The railways have positively poisoned Indian life, and if we are not helped by our rulers to get rid of the poison, we shall lose the power of our limbs and be fit for nothing.

Anybody who analyses the railway rules and studies in detail reports submitted through the ordinary channels will find that rules are tolerably human but our main quarrel is not with them. The trouble is that hardly one rule regarding the convenience of passengers is enforced in practice. The railway servants far from being civil, as the rules require them to be, are there to vex the passengers to death in a variety of ways which only their ingenious brains can invent. They have all the insolence that a man oan possess, and their delight is in heaping humiliations on the passengers. The tickets are issued just a few minutes before a train starts in wayside places when an intimation is received that the train. has left the last station. The crowd of men, women and children with the heavy luggage on their heads or shoulders promiscuously bumping against each other turn, after being. smothered at the booking clerk's counter to the ticket collector's aperture which is large enough actually to allow one. man with his body compressed as much as possible just to get through. When they at last reach the long-looked-for land of promise viz., the railway carriage, they find no blissful heaven but a hell of slow torture. There is a perpetual dearth of carriages owing to some reason or other, and thecompartments are packed with men and things to the utmost in the present stage of discoveries and inventions. We are looking forward with dread to the advent of the day when people will have to give a circus exhibition, some sitting or standing on the shoulders of others and lifting a number of small folk in the air. Even then "still they come" would remain the cry as it is to-day. When a few sufficiently military passengers are added for the purposes of a sauce, the relish is beyond description. They solve the problem of occupying the largest possible space while the other passengers are working in the opposite direction. They make a point of indulging in vulgarities and obscenities. before women passengers, making no secret that they rely in the last resort on their physical strength or Kukris. Som. times the dearth of carriages for men is made good by the poetic device of substituting goods-waggons, which, once they are heated to the requisite temperature, can roast the live flesh which prefers being thus hustled to its destination to rotting in the superb third-class waiting rooms for a few days. Thepassengers travel for dozens of miles together without coming. to a station where water can be hai. In the most magnificently provided stations there is generally a single pipe of which the impossible task is expected of pouring out, within the space of five or ten minutes, gallons of water to quench the thirst of a c thousand passengers.

If to avoid the suffering of a third class railway journey, respectable people with limited means determine to starve themselves for a few days to make up the sum necessary for the luxury of a second class journey, they impinge against a harder wall. The aristocratic accommodation is limited, and there things go by preference. Tussles of very respectable Indians and very respectable Englishmen are daily reported in the press. When even the veteran champion of Englishdom, Sir Valentine Chirol, in his book published in pre-war days has condemned out of hand the manners of English passengers, a raw recruit like myself need add nothing more.

What is the remedy? You make a complaint to the guard, and if you are extraordinarily fortunate you escape a physical blow though wordy blows are in abundance. You go to the next higher authority the Station Master, and he is all insolence or indifference, sees no reason to interfere. You send a representation to the traffic manager, and there is the look and action of injured innocence. It is a long time before you get a reply which tells you either that the matter is not worth consideration or is under consideration, both meaning the same thing. Not many can have the leisure or the means to go to a court of law, but in case some persistent spirits go there, the quibblings of lawyers and judges can interpret away any rule to the disadvantage of the passengers and the advantage of the companies. If an honourable member asks questions in the Council, he gets replies revolting in their indecency (vide the reply that Indian passengers feel themselves more comfortable on the floors of waggons than on the benches of third class carriages). And there is an end of it.

This is the bitter truth told with all possible restraint and on the authority of my own experiences. There are two ways open to His Excellency the Governor if he wants to remedy these grievances. The one is to search about for reasons and ways for hushing up all grievances. The other is to keep eyes open when His Excellency has an occasion to travel incognito or to arrange a few surprise visits, say, to the Poona Station in order to get convinced that what is laid down here errs on the side of understatement. Then if it is true that the ; head can set the tone of the whole administration. His Excellency can be expected to do something to root out the evil. Let any noble passion- I do not mind if it is respect for human dignity, chivalry for helpless women, kindness for children, honour for the tradition of a free country or the enlightened selfishness of endearing the foreign rule to the subject racestir His Excellency to some action. If "prestige" blocks His Excellency's way and disables him for doing anything, let his observations find a place in the ear of his successor as he takes over charge or in His Excellency's "Recollections" if they may ever be published. If Sir George Lloyd is unable to move in the matter, all hope of an amicable settlement is at an end. The Indians have infinite patience, but it would be neither wise nor charitable to try that patience to its exhaustion .--- Yours etc.

Poona, May 25.

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THE FREE LIBRARY MOVEMENT. TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

R. P. SARNIR

SIR,—The cause of free reading rooms and libraries in Maharashtra will no doubt be furthered by the Maharashtra Libraries Conference which comes off in the third week of June. But the Conference will not be a complete success unless some sort of Association of the free reading rooms and libraries emerges out of the deliberations of the Conference. Already there are about three hundred free reading rooms and libraries in the whole of Maharashtra. Some of them are well organized and give promise of further development in many ways. Many however suffer from insufficiency of funds which are necessary to run such institutions. Viewed in this light an Association which will bring together all such institutions is very necessary.

Now as regards the objects which such an Association should place before it, it may be said that every town and village in Maharashtra should have at least one free reading room. In these days of political and educational activities, it is small institutions like these which will diffuse the correct and needful information about our country. If sincere efforts be made in this direction, it is within the reach of the Association to spread a net-work of free reading rooms in every town and village within the naxt year. Besides cultivating a taste for reading, these institutions can do much work in the social as well as the educational sphere. Instructive lecture series, conducting free schools, etc. may form some out of the many activities which these small village institutions can well undertake.

On behalf of the free reading rooms, the Association can justly appeal to the public for funds. If properly approached the monied and benevolent people can be made to respond te our appeal for funds which can be usefully spent. Again, work of this type does come in the purview of the Municipal Act, and hence the Municipalities may be made to help this cause, which is purely educational. The District Congress Committees also may be expected to undertake this item of work of spreading the Library movement. It is estimated that some thousands of rupees will be required for the present. If funds permit, the Association can hope to have a model free library and reading room in a central place like Poons.

Poona, May 31.

REVIEWS.

SHORT NOTICES.

Civil Government for Indias Students. By Sir William Marris and Dr. J. W. Garner published by Messers. S. C. Sanial & Co., College Street Market, Caloutta.

Dr. Garner is Professor of Political Science in the University of Illinois, U. S. A., and has had very long experience in teaching, while it would be difficult to find a better exponent of Indian Reforms than Sir William Marris. The publishers should therefore be warmly congratulated on being able to get two such persons to write a book intended for the future citizens of India. It is an admirable handbook explaining is simple language the main functions and activities of government and the duties of citizenship. Short and useful chapter. are devoted to the Governments of the British Empire, the British Colonies and the United States of America, while the Government of India is dealt with at greater length. The essential parts of the Government of India Act of 1919, the Bengal Electoral Rules and the Joint Committee's Report are given as an appendix. Though primarily intended for school boys and girls, it will be found exceedingly useful by all who take their political responsibilities seriously, particularly the members of our new Legislatures who will want to know British and American constitutional practice. It is a book that should be taught in all schools and colleges in the country and kept in all public libraries. The rights of reproduction and translation are reserved.

Labour in Madras. By B. P. Wadia, with a foreword by Colonel Josiah C. Wedgwood, M. P.

This is mainly a collection of Mr. Wadia's speeches addressed to the Perambur and Tramwaymen's Labour Unions of Madras. In his valuable foreword Colonel Wedgwood advises Labour to eschew party politics generally and not to introduce politics into the Unions. He points out that at present it is inevitable that they should be organized and conducted by educated men from outside the trade. The demand of employers that they should be led by workers proceeds from a desire to render them tame and incompetent, "Soon men of the trade will be leaders; but then they must be whole-time officials paid by the Union and not the masters' servants liable to victimisation and, worse still, to corruption by promotion." He also points out that Trades Unions must at once be legalised. The student of labour will find the appendices more valuable and interesting than the speeches themselves, as they contain Mr. Wadia's considered opinions expressed before responsible bodies. The get up of the book is very good and reflects much credit on the enterprise of the publishers. Messra. Ganesan & Co., Triplicane, Madras.

"The object of writing the book," says the author " is to provide a suitable compendium for the University students" Judged from this standpoint, we are glad to say that Prof. Ball has successfully and creditably achieved his object. In several of our Universities "Ancient India " nowadays forms an optional subject for the degree course. The texts recommended on this subject are often many and owing to prohibitive prices not accessible to many an average student. Again those who have studied this subject for their degree have felt for a long time a great need of a short but a comprehensive and accurate treatise on the subject for the purpose of revision. We are very glad to recommend this little volume for the use of such students. Within a short compass of two hundred and thirty-six pages the writer has attempted to give everything which is valuable from the examinee's point of view. A good index and a bibliography is wanting in the book and we therefore suggest that while re-editing this volume, the author will add these to enhance its value.

Journal of the Indian Economic Society, March, 1921. Mr. Decie presents an intelligible analysis of the Indian Budget and makes it a ground of complaint against budgetary procedure that it makes no provision for the organization of the House for purposes of study. He takes strong exception to the growing military expenditure and shows with the help of statistics how the late Mr. Gokhale's prophesy about military expenditure casting "its blighting shadow over the whole field of Indian administration " promises to come true. In his article on the Economic Reconstruction in Germany, the Hon. Prof. Kale draws attention to the constitution of industrial councils in Germany. As a means of reducing friction between the employers and the employed by securing to the iatter the right to participate in the management and supervision of factories, these councils are, in his opinion, pregnant with great possibilities for the industrial regeneration of Germany. Prof. Kaji emphasises the importance of geography in the teaching of economics. Geography is a neglected subject now-a-days, and the sooner its importance is realised, the better it will be for all concerned.

SELECTION.

AUSTRIAN DOMESTIC SERVICE LAW.

THE following is extracted from the Labor Review of Washington:-

Die Gewerkschaft (Vienna), the official organ of the Austrian trade-unions for Maroh 2, 1920, reports that after long discussions the Austrian National Assembly has passed a protective law for domestic servants. The enactment of the bill was greatly retarded by the contention of the bourgeois parties that the subject dealt with came within the competence of the provincial diets and not within that of the State. The real reason why these circles opposed the bill was that they disliked its basic idea of granting to domestie servants the same legal protection as that already enjoyed by industrial and agricultural workers. The regulation of the hours of labor of domestic servants aroused their strongest opposition.

Consequent to this opposition the bill underwent numerous amendments which weakened it considerably. The terms of the law as finally enacted are the following.

The law is applicable only to persons employed exclusively in domestic service and not to those simultaneously active in an agricultural establishment of their employer. Immediately on entering employment each domestic servant must, on his request, be issued a labor contract showing his rights and duties.

The wages of domestic servants are to be fixed according to local usage. Wages must be paid not later than on the first of each month. Servants not receiving board must be paid the board allowance agreed upon, semi-monthly and in advance. If they are furnished board, it must be wholesome and sufficient and as a rule be the same as that furnished to adult healthy members of the family. Servants' quarters must be so constituted that they do not endanger their health and morals. Their sleeping rooms must have doors that can be locked from the inside, and they are to be furnished a safelockable receptacle for their personal belongings.

The Law provides a daily uninterrupted rest of at least 9 • hours, which, as a ru'e, shall fall within the period between 9 p. m.; and 6 a. m. In addition, servants must be allowed a total of; two hours' rest for the partaking of the principal meals. Servants under 16 years of age are to be allowed an uninterrupted daily rest of 11 hours and 3 hours' rest during their working time. Any curtailing of rest periods caused by work not permitting of delay must be compensated extra.

Domestic servants must be granted 8 hours' leave every second Sunday, this leave to begin not later than 3 p.m. If leave is to exceed 8 hours it must be previously agreed upon with the employer. In addition, they are to be given 4 hours' leave on one week day of each week, the leave to begin not later than 5 p.m. They must moreover be granted time for attending religious services. During the first year of his service each servant is entitled to one week of annual leave, during the second year to two weeks, and during the fifth year to three weeks. During his annual leave he is to receive full pay and in addition a subsidy in the following amount: In. case of one week's leave, half a month's pay; in case of two weeks' leave, one month's pay; and in case of three weeks' leave, one and one-half month's pay. If a domestic servant is discharged by an employer with the obvious intent of depriving the servant of his leave, the latter may claim compensation in. the amount of the allowance that would have been due him had he been granted leave.

In case of sickness a domestic servant is entitled to free medical treatment and medicines. If taken to a hospital heis, in addition, entitled to full pay. If the employer moves to another locality, the servant is under no obligation to follow him and cannot be discharged for refusing to do so, and, as long as the service contract is not terminated, the servant may in addition to his pay also claim suitable compensation. for the failure of the employer to furnish him board.

The term for giving notice is as a rule fixed at two weeks.: This term may not be reduced to less than one week by agreement and must be of equal length for both parties. If unequal terms have been agreed upon, the longer term shall be valid. After having received notice of his discharge the servant is entitled to four hours' leave on two week days in order that he may have opportunity to find another place of employment. If a servant leaves his employment without valid reason before the expiration of his service contract the employer may either cemand his return into his service or claim damages for breach of contract. If, on the other hand, an employer discharges a servant without valid reason, the latter, without prejudice to his claim for damages, has the right to demand full pay for the period up to the expiration of his service contract, he is moreover entitled to compensation for any amount he could have saved during that time or earned through other service. An entirely new feature of the present law is the provision which stipulates that after 10 years' continuous service with the same employer the servant is on discharge entitled to receipt of a bonus in the amount of three months pay. This bonus increases by 5 per cent. for each additional year of continuous service up to a maximum amount equivalent to one year's pay. If the service relation is, however, terminated through fault of the servant the latter loses his claim to a service bonus.

Whenever a servant leaves his service the employer is obligated to issue him a certificate which shall merely state the duration and nature of the service. Each servant must be provided with a service card issued to him by the proper communal authority.

The law contains special provisions for servants rendering services of a higher order, such as governesses, tutors, etc. They shall be furnished a separate room, whenever possible and be granted a rest period of three hours per day. After one year's service they are entitled to two weeks' leave and after two years' service to four weeks. They must be given f weeks' notice in case of discharge. Disputes between masters and domestic servants are to be settled by the ordinary courts, i.e., by the court of that locality in which the servant was in service at the time he brought the suit. Regulations to be issued for the enforcement of the present law shall, however, provide for the establishment of special conciliation boards for the settlement of disputes between masters and domestic servants.

The law became effective on May 1, 1920.

TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

The Committee appointed by the C. P. Government to inquire into the recent Nagpur firing has -concluded its labours and has submitted its report. It shows that most of the requirements on which the Hon'ble Mr. Sastri insisted in the resolution he moved on the general question of firing in the Council of State were satisfied in this case. The Committee's report is unanimous and upholds the view that the firing could not have been avoided, that due and repeated warnings were given to the mob before it was begun, and that when resorted to, only the minimum amount of force was used. There was some unauthorised firing, but the Committee condone it on the ground of selfdefence. Some confusion is noticeable as to the number of cartridges used. The official register shows that 85 cartridges were used, or at any rate remained unaccounted for; but the Committee believe that more than 30 were not used to disperse the mob. As for the remaining 55, they consider it probable that it represents those that wereknocked out of the hands of the police in the general confusion prevailing at the time. Opinions are likely to differ as regards this explanation of the discrepancy, and there would perhaps be a disposition to suspend final judgment on the events connected with the firing pending publication of the results of the non-official enquiry under the leadership of Mr. Baptista. We cannot, however, help regretting the unfortunate decision of the people to boycott the official Committee by refusing to lead evidence before it.

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SIGNS of the rapid failure of the non-cooperation movement, so far as the Deccan is concerned, are not at all wanting. In spite of the repeated complaints of Mr. Gandhi that the people of Maharashtra are not wholeheartedly supporting this movement, the leaders of the Deccan extremists, like Messra. Kelkar and Bhopatkar, feel no scruples in violating the Congress resolution which they at one time thought was mandatory. The other day Mr. N. C. Kelkar took a prominent part in a conference of the subjects of some Indian States and lent his support to its resolutions which demand the introduction of responsible government in them on the lines of the Montagu Reforms which had been characterized by him as disappointing and unsubstantial. He is also said to have participated in the drafting of a memorandum sent to the Press Act Committee on behalf of the Poona Press' Owners' Association. Such inconsistencies in Mr. Kelkar are not at all surprising, but can he still

continue to maintain that non-co-operation is not a failure? Mr. Bhopatkar has also contributed his mite to expose the hollowness of the very movement which he appeals to the people to join. Not only he has begun his practice at the bar, but he is reported to have condemned the arbitration courts 90 per cent. of which, he said, are bound to fail in achieving their purpose. Again the other day, while speaking at the annual meeting of a local educational institution, he is reported to have congratulated its managers for having saved it from the recent storm of the boycott of schools and having continued to allow its students to appear for the BombayUniversity examinations. Mr. Bhopatkar was also never in love with the charka.

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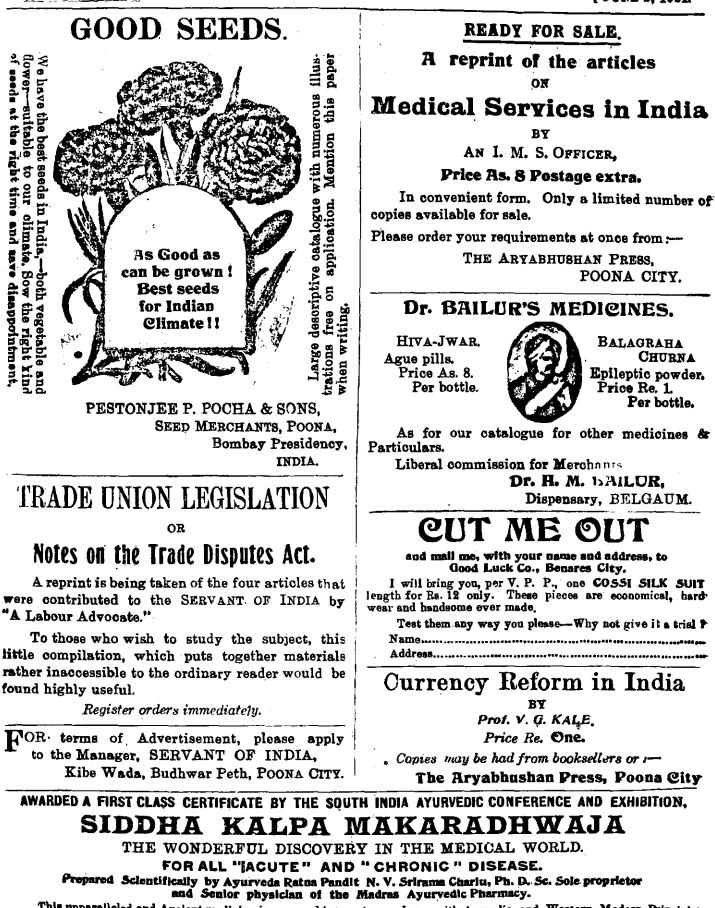
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