

# THE Servant of India

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## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE Imperial Peace Cabinet has concluded its sittings, and a resolution has been adopted affirming equal status of Indians settled in other parts of the Empire with the inhabitants of those parts. The resolution says: "This Conference... recognises that there is incongruity between the position of India as an equal member of the Empire and the existence of disabilities upon British Indians lawfully domiciled in some other parts of the Empire, and this Conference is, therefore, of opinion that in the interests of the solidarity of the Commonwealth it is desirable that the rights of such Indians to citizenship should be recognised." Among the self-governing members of the Empire, it is in South Africa that this recognition will be valued as of immediate practical use, but the delegates of South Africa—the high sounding declarations of equality and brotherhood of General Smuts notwithstanding—have avowed their inability to accept the resolution "in view of the exceptional circumstances of the greater part of the Union." Indian, representatives therefore felt bound "to record their profound concern at the position of Indians in South Africa." The other parts of the Empire where the disabilities are the heaviest are under the direct administration of the British Cabinet. Does the acceptance of the resolution by that Cabinet signify its determination to give effect to the principle of equality of status, say in East Africa or Fiji? If, in regard to South Africa, we are again thrown back on "negotiations" and in it East Africa and other countries no improvement in the standing of Indians is to be looked for, India herself has

gained precious little from the transactions of the conference.

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THE debate that took place in the Bombay Council on the question of prohibition was a full one, and ended in the Minister for Excise, Mr. Chunilal V. Mehta, agreeing to appoint a Committee as desired by the Council. No fault can be found with the council and the Ministers alike desiring to examine the feasibility of the proposals of reform in education and excise before definitely embarking on large schemes in regard to them. It is heartening to see that Mr. Mehta takes a cheery view of the financial aspect of prohibition. If this course really proves successful in abolishing the drink evil, he will not be deterred, he said, by pecuniary considerations from adopting it. It does one's soul good to have such a downright declaration from a responsible minister, and we look to him in confidence to give full effect to it. Nevertheless, prohibition on its financial side will present some hard problems, and those who do not merely desire to throw the machinery of government out of gear, but wish for an early advent of prohibition by practicable means, must bestir themselves to think out the whole question and suggest remedies. It is to be hoped that the Committee which the Government has undertaken to appoint will give some effective assistance in the solution of the difficulties.

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THE Minister has some doubts as to the effectiveness of prohibition, and we must frankly admit that these doubts are shared, to a greater or less degree, by many persons quite as eager to stop drinking as those who are wedded to prohibition. There are two versions almost diametrically opposed to each other as to the immediate practical effects of prohibition in America, as will be evidenced by two remarkable articles appearing in the American number (July 4) of the *Times*. But, amidst this diversity of opinion, it will perhaps be allowed that whatever effect prohibition may have on those who first adopt it, it causes considerable diminution in the drinking propensities of the next generation. This is to put the case for prohibition at its lowest. In India, where the popular and religious sentiment is, and has always been, strongly in favour of prohibition, this measure will naturally meet with far greater success in putting a stop to the curse than in America and other countries where for generations people have been addicted to drinking and regard it as a matter of right. There are

no grounds, therefore, for scepticism so far as this country is concerned; but since doubts are entertained and it is right to resolve them, we would suggest that one or two competent persons should be deputed to the U. S. A. and Australia, to ascertain how prohibition works there in fact. By the time the Committee is inquiring into this problem in India, this deputation should have finished their investigation in foreign countries. The deputation can also advise as to how the administrative difficulties to which Mr. Mehta referred are surmounted there. In the United States the liquor law differed, only a little while ago, from state to state. What arrangements were made there for preventing the importation of liquor by smuggling can also be studied with profit.

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IN this debate the Finance Member, Mr. Lawrence, took part, on the opposite side to that of the Minister. He put in a strong defence of the previous excise policy of Government, epitomised in the formula "maximum revenue for minimum consumption," and attempted to show that it had succeeded in putting an effective check on drinking—which position was challenged by Mr. Mehta. Mr. Lawrence looks very complacently on the present consumption of drink, which is 30 lakhs of gallons and seems to think that to the extent that there is an ostensible decrease in this figure, to that extent it must be accompanied by drinking on the sly and illicit distillation, which is a worse evil than intemperance. But what seems so incredible to Europeans is perfectly natural to Indians, who believe it is quite possible to eradicate altogether the evil of drink, without necessarily giving rise to private stills in any appreciable quantity. While the policy of minimum consumption and maximum revenue has admittedly failed to reduce the consumption of intoxicants to the desired extent, it has only helped to impoverish the ryots, and that the revenue has increased many times without reducing consumption is itself a condemnation of the policy. The Minister for Excise arraigned it on this very count. The controversy, openly conducted between a representative of the bureaucratic Government and a representative of the popular Government, best exemplifies the new order that has come into being, and it also shows that the Committee to be appointed is not meant to shelve but to solve the question of prohibition.

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ON a former occasion we said that an average municipality in the Bombay Presidency could with the same expenditure as heretofore introduce compulsory education in its area if Government made a two-thirds grant, as it has now announced, and the municipality adopted a shift system. We are enabled to test the accuracy of this proposition by taking an individual instance—that of the Nasik municipality. Elsewhere will be found a detailed review of its present financial position, the state of primary education within its limits, the additional expenditure that will be entailed, and so forth. It

will be found on studying the figures given there that Nasik can easily afford to bring, by compulsion, all the children of the school age under instruction. Financial difficulty there is none. Possibly some difficulty may be felt in the matter of applying compulsion to the education of girls. But in a town so advanced as Nasik it would be a perfect scandal if such difficulty is made. We trust none will be made. In such places it is mainly a question of the compulsory education of girls; for boys are already well advanced on the road to universal education. In Nasik 87 per cent. of the boys of the school age are already in school; only some 300 boys have now to be brought into school. The normal annual growth in the number of boys is greater than that; for last year the number of boys in primary schools increased by 400. Compulsion is therefore needed in such municipalities, primarily, for the education of girls, which is a fact well worthy of the attention of all public workers.

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AN influentially signed memorial has been submitted to the Governor of Bombay, praying that legislation be undertaken for the suppression of houses of ill-fame. The memorialists urge that keepers of brothels and others who live upon the earnings of prostitution ought to be compelled by the power of the law to abandon their sordid trade, and, further, that house-owners ought to be prevented by law from knowingly letting their properties for the purposes of prostitution. They therefore wish such changes to be effected in the Police Act as will make the following offences punishable as crimes: (1) the keeping or managing of brothel houses as such, (2) the letting of premises for use as brothels, and (3) living on the earnings of women who are prostitutes. They also suggest that solicitation by persons known as procurers should be made an offence more severely punishable than under section 120 of the Police Act which prescribes a maximum penalty for one week's imprisonment. In case of (2) they suggest that the Chief Judge of Small Causes be invested with extraordinary powers of ejection in the case of premises found to be in use as brothels.

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THE *Standard Bearer* which is conducted "under the inspiration of Sri Aurobindo Ghose" has the following to say in regard to the movement of non-co-operation:—

"Educational and legal and council non-co-operation have been a see-saw of successes and failures affecting very materially nothing, to speak the truth. Shall we say there was much of mistaken policy all hereabout that must be held responsible for these doubtful results? At any rate, considered from the standpoint of realistic political calculations, these have indeed gone very little in the way of paralysing the Government machinery, to which end they were originally directed."

The Liberals have discovered the truth much earlier and it was its perception that led them to put their foot down on the non-co-operation movement. They are abused and vilified for daring to give expression to the above truth. Let us hope that the above will meet with a better fate.

## CAPITALISM AND THE U. S. A.

MEXICAN news is scarce and when it does reach the world, it usually has had to pass through the American propaganda process first. One is therefore glad to get somebody of the calibre and independence of Mr. Upton Sinclair (the famous author of "The Jungle," &c.) to comment on the situation. Says he in the *Federated Press Bulletin* of June 25th :

They are preparing now to get us into a new war, this time with Mexico. The situation is a very simple one. American financiers came into Mexico and bought up the Diaz Government, and stole all the oil and mineral wealth of the Mexican people under the disguise of "concessions." Now, the Mexican people want to tax the oil producers—which means, in effect, that they want to get back a small part of the wealth which was stolen from them. The American oil men go to the American Government, which they have elected for that purpose, and demand that it shall compel the Mexican Government not to tax them. The Mexican Government knows that if it grants this demand it will be overthrown. We are preparing to force it to grant the demand; and if the Government is overthrown and a more radical Government comes in we will go in and "clean up" Mexico.

The real trouble is that the present Obregon Government of Mexico came into power, by putting economic reforms into the forefront, and, unlike "promising" bidders of power in other lands, has put these reforms into practice, since it has been in power. These reforms include the national ownership of all natural resources (Article 27), whilst Article 123 constitutes one of the most progressive labour charters written into any constitution. That charter provides, among other things, for the eight-hour day, one day's rest in seven, prohibition of night work to women and children, a minimum wage sufficient "to satisfy the normal needs of the workman, his education and his lawful pleasures," double pay for overtime, the establishment of labour centres, sanitary dwelling places to be furnished by the employer at low rentals, employers' liability for accidents, specific recognition of the right to strike, and many other measures that mark a great advance over conditions obtaining in a country in which peonage was the order of the day. As a further step in its pro-labour policy, Mexico now proposes to buy only goods made in shops fair to organized labour. The International Machinists is virtually made its agent for purchasing quantities of farm machinery and implements, automobiles and tractors.

Needless to say how upsetting all this is to the "Big Business" interests across the American border. One of their organs, *Industry* of Washington, indeed waxes furiously eloquent at this "interference by a foreign Government in the industrial problem of the U. S.": the "problem" apparently being the relative value of a live workman and of his dead product. And a country where such a "problem" still exists, of course looks down on a "wild" country like Mexico, where not only has the problem been eliminated but where the very spirit of such elimination is being lived up to. *Industry* talks wildly of "referring to the

Department of State" for action this discrimination on the part of the Mexican Government between goods made by sweated and those made by organised labour. In the end however our contemporary subsides in passing the significant remark that "Mexico, according to newspaper accounts, is seeking a loan of \$ 100 millions in the United States." What an instrument of Righteousness the capitalistic order of Society is!

And it's so delightfully impartial too. If it will cut off supplies in respect of any foreign Government that smacks of foreign interference with the sacred rights of Money, it will do just the same in regard to any domestic body politic. North Dakota for instance is one of the sovereign States which go to make up the American Union: but its efforts to raise a \$ 3 million loan on gilt-edged security at a rate of interest 1% better for the investor than can be obtained elsewhere are still unavailing. Why? Because the Government of the State of North Dakota is in the hands of the Farmer-Labour Party, and because the loan is intended to provide funds for loans to farms and to house-builders. These objects are clearly laudable—then what is the crime? It is this—that the North Dakota Government has got a State Bank of its own and proposes to make these loans to farmers for long terms, allowing postponement of interest payment in the case of crop failure. These are terms which clearly no private bank would grant, although the public need for such loan may be recognised, since a private bank, any more than any other private enterprise, is not run to meet a public need, but to yield private gain. The crime of the North Dakota Government is that it has nationalised banking, the very heart of capitalism: wherefore the capitalists of course have pulled tight their purse-strings against these audacious intruders into the very citadel of capitalism. After all, public needs and philanthropy and all that sort of thing are right enough—but, Business is Business.

The United States are to-day probably the one country in the world where "Private Enterprise" is least restricted, where in fact it has become a sort of religion and where every dissenter from it is persecuted as a "Red" and as a "Bolshevik." At the same time there has just been published a Report of the Committee on Elimination of Waste in Industry, a Committee of 17 industrial experts, who "by nature, by conviction, and by income are and desire to be conservative," as the *New Republic* of July 6th so caustically put it. They are orthodox believers in "Private Enterprise," but knowing the appalling waste of the system, they urge the necessity of lessening it. Here are some of the facts disclosed: e. g. the state of industrial hygiene in the U. S. A. to-day is still such that 42,000,000 persons are losing about 350,000,000 working days' production per year due to accidents and sickness of which 42 per cent. are preventable; authorities agree that 75 per cent. of deaths and serious accidents in American industry can be prevented by using methods already perfected! Then again take productivity. The report

does not evaluate loss of productivity by comparing what is being done with what can be done, but merely with what actually is accomplished in the best existing establishments. This method makes their findings ultra-conservative, placing waste between thirty per cent. and forty per cent., while actually there is produced much less than one half of what could be. Obviously the losses of this class are also preventable, for this form of waste represents nothing but failure to apply fully the available resources of knowledge, means of production, and materials.

That, surely, is the hardest rub of all—that Capitalism, the system of "Private Enterprise," which its adherents never cease to praise as the one and only way of getting things done, is actually convicted of the grossest incompetence to do the things it sets out to do. In fact the report quoted values the waste through idle equipment alone at billions of dollars, whilst preventable disease and death is calculated to equal an annual loss of \$ 3000 millions. Capitalist propaganda is for ever decrying the wastefulness of national enterprises and of bureaucratic management: after reading this report one begins to wonder, whether the wastefulness of "private enterprise" after all is really less. And what, if national services are run, not bureaucratically, but scientifically by a guild of all the workers engaged in an enterprise, no longer private, but public? Besides, all these evaluations in dollars of course are utterly misleading and only show, how the mammon worship has entered into our very marrows. Were it otherwise, we would no longer talk of a waste of \$10 or of ten million dollars, but would evaluate waste in terms of human measurement, as Mr. W. N. Polakov, one of the Consulting Engineers of the City of New York, so illuminatingly puts it in the columns of the *New R-public* already quoted:

"With this measure we can evaluate the significance of our losses. Waste of one ton of coal unproductively burned under a boiler does not mean the loss of 2,000 pounds of carbon and other elements, for they are still present in the air, and ashes may even be usefully employed in road building. Loss of five dollars is not loss either—it is simply money passed from hand to hand. But this ton of coal is one of the thousand which a miner has dug out during a year of his life. He worked two hundred days a year and this one ton represents one hour and thirty-six minutes of his life. If we waste, because of reckless methods of firing, twenty-five per cent. of our coal, it does not mean that we waste \$750,000,000, but that we waste the lives of 150,000 men each year, not only utterly uselessly for the country, but we keep them in a needless tread-mill, in solitary confinement underground! Similarly, if we have built a machine and use it only half the time, what we waste is half of the productive life-time of those who invented, designed and built that machine. Likewise, if we keep materials and ideas idle, we dissipate the life-time of those who worked them out and we imperil, and sometimes actually destroy, the lives of those from whose use these goods and ideas were withheld.

That Capitalism is lacking in morality, we have all long ago come to realise; now that it is being proved to be equally lacking even in mental force, one may begin to hope, that, perhaps, after all the

world is for not so much longer going to be made safe for Plutocracy—even in the U. S. A.

### THE ASIATIC COMMISSION REPORT.—III.\*

I HAVE explained, in my last article, how bitterly afterwards I regretted the day, when I put my hand to paper and advised repatriation from South Africa with forfeiture of domicile. It only shows how terribly complicated all these questions become, and how very dangerous are all schemes of a sweeping character, which attempt to undo recognised evils. I owe it to my friend, Mr. K. Natarajan, of the *Indian Social Reformer*, that the warning as to the result of my action came to me almost immediately and I was able in a certain measure to prevent further mischief. His own very long experience in social questions had put him on his guard, where I myself was ready to run risks. His argument was that of the extreme difficulty of social growth. To put it in my own language, he told me, that poor people who had become already weakened in character by their very poverty could not be transplanted about from place to place and be expected to take root again and again. Their one hope really was, that they should "make good" in the soil in which they had been transplanted. A second and a third transplantation would only lead to greater and greater weakening of stamina. After all, it was not merely the amount of wages to be earned, but the inner character of the wage-earner, which was the vital factor.

I would certainly apply this principle to-day to Fiji, as well as to Natal and elsewhere. If I may venture to say so, the proposal of repatriation, which was unanimously passed without any discussion, at the last Indian National Congress, at Nagpur, was a hasty and an immature proposal. I feel certain, that, if every one of the delegates present had received the training and discipline in these matters, which I have been obliged to receive, there would not have been any such resolution unanimously passed, on a question which literally involves the life and death of numberless poor and helpless people. No! In Fiji itself, as well as in Natal, in spite of all the wretchedness and immorality of the past, the problem still waits its solution there on the spot,—the problem how the Indians, who have gone out, can "make good" in Fiji. Repatriation is no remedy. For a proof of this, we have only to witness the many hundreds in the Calcutta Depot at the present time, who are only clamouring for one single object,—namely, to return to Fiji.

I would go further still. Personally, whatever evils might have existed in the Assam tea gardens, both moral and economical, (and, I would add in a parenthesis, that I have felt the moral evils worst of all, though I have said little about them for want of sufficiently accurate information) it would have been utterly repugnant to me to have allowed anyone, if I could possibly help it, to call

\* Previous articles appeared in the issues of July 7 and August 4.

out the workmen without any care or forethought, urging them to make an exodus to the plains. If such things were actually done by political agents (and facts seem to point that way), I have no hesitation in saying, that they were done unwisely. When I first started for Assam, my intention was not to stop at Chandpur at all, but to go on immediately to Karimganj and to the Chargola Valley, in order to try to stop the exodus, until further enquiry had been made and everything had been attempted to improve conditions on the spot. But I was confronted at Chandpur with a situation calling for immediate remedy. There was no possibility then of retracing steps already taken. Wild horses could never have dragged those famished, cholera-stricken refugees in Chandpur back to the tea gardens. They would have thrown themselves into the river, if such a forced return to Assam had been attempted. The only assault they ever made, was upon Mr. McPherson, of the 'Tea Planters' Association, who tried to turn them back to the tea gardens and prevent them going forward. Personally, after my experience of Fiji returned emigrants, I had no illusions about the labour conditions in the United Provinces, to which they were going. These were bad enough, in all conscience, and I knew it. But nothing could be worse; nothing could be more inhumane, than to allow them to die of cholera and pneumonia at Chandpur. My one serious mistake was, that I did not realise that some four or five hundred refugees were going into the Central Provinces. I made no preparations beforehand for them: and many of these grievously suffered, as Swami Darshananda pointed out. But the great bulk of the refugees, who went to the United Provinces, were prepared for beforehand and on the whole well looked after. In a very strange way, this Chandpur problem was almost exactly parallel to the principal problems of Natal and Fiji. For though repatriation had been tried in this Assam instance also (and nothing could prevent it after the exodus had been actually made as far as Chandpur), nevertheless those who had had these earlier experiences knew that, in itself, it was no solution. Indeed our fears have already in a certain measure begun to come true. For there is news to hand that some of the very same refugees, who could not possibly have been held at Chandpur, are now actually returning to the tea gardens after finding out for themselves the truth, which I have so reluctantly and slowly found out, concerning Fiji and Natal,—that repatriation is no remedy.

There was one further point, that I had partly overlooked in surveying mentally the different problems of the depressed Natal Indians. I did not take sufficient notice of the very important social fact, that the educational facilities which were being given in Natal to Indian children were in reality much greater than could be offered at the present time in India itself. India is a poverty-stricken country, through and through, from top to bottom. Natal is not. Its soil is wonderfully fertile: its rainfall is good: it has large and impor-

tant coal deposits, and it forms one of the main exits for the mineral wealth of the Transvaal. There would, therefore, always be the prospect, in such a financially flourishing country, (provided the administration was liberal in its educational policy,) that opportunities for the education of our Natal-born Indian children would increase instead of diminish. Indeed, if pressure could be put along this line of direction from the Indian side, then all the instincts of modern statesmanship (which had reached a high level under General Smuts) would respond to such a pressure.

But what parallel hope was there for these poor people's children in the congested agricultural districts of India, from whence they originally came? Might it not be said, at least, that the second and third generations of Natal-born Indians would have more educational chance and would make more educational progress in Natal than in India? Even if it were argued that the new national impetus in India would change all that, still this was not a certainty in the immediate future; on the other hand, the Natal prospects appeared to be very nearly certain.

This aspect of education, I had by no means left out of account during my visit to Natal in 1920. Indeed, I had carefully studied its possibilities and had done what I could to press forward Indian claims with regard to it. But, all the same, my own mind works very slowly, and I had not at that time got clearly into my own mental vision the picture of its cumulative beneficial effect upon future generations. Strangely enough, I had not thought of it as the one remedy for the submerged condition of the poorer classes in Natal, instead of repatriation.

The one last factor, that I had not, at that time, taken sufficiently into account, was the question of climate. Like the Fiji climate, the climate of Natal is non-malarial. It is a healthy and bracing climate for the Tamil population, which had originally come from the excessive heat of Madras. Even with those who had been born in Madras and not in Natal, I found that the climatic change to a cooler atmosphere had already had its effect. Those who returned to their homes in India were uneasy and uncomfortable because of the heat. With the Natal-born Indians, acclimatisation in India is far more difficult. Indeed, it is often one continuous physical strain, that is enervating and exhausting. They pine for the cooler climate of Natal and cannot settle down in India itself.

If, therefore, it were possible thoroughly to work out all the educational possibilities for Indian children in Natal; if, on account of the advantages of education in after life, some progress upward from the present submerged state could be attained; if the bright intellects of the little Indian children could be afforded scope for development, then it would surely be better to explore this way of escape from the morass of agricultural destitution in Natal rather than run the risk of repatriation.

It will be easily gathered from this narrative

how slowly and almost painfully my mind has accommodated itself to the full situation and its remedy. If I am now accused, not only with a good deal of blame but also with a good deal of truth, for continually altering my mind and shifting my position, I must plead guilty. Looking back, it is indeed a surprise to me to find out how badly I was mistaken and how obsessed I was by the "short-cut" idea of repatriation. But the problems to be faced were by no means easy of solution, and it was somewhat like a traveller exploring a new country and taking the wrong turning again and again before taking the right one. I feel now that the right turning is for us to concentrate on the children of our Indian emigrants and to offer in that direction every help we can to the Governments of the different countries where they are settled.

In another matter, the mistake I made was less serious and more excusable. For I had strangely misjudged the inevitable bias and trend of the Asiatic Enquiry Commission itself. From all that I had heard concerning the members selected, I had felt assured that they would be able to rise above the racial prejudices around them, and to treat this one question at least, of the submerged and depressed Natal Indians, as a humanitarian question pure and simple. I did not think that they would make this at once a political issue. But the unseemly haste and eagerness, with which they pressed forward in the direction of repatriation, when once an opening was given to them, and the zeal with which they published their Interim Report dealing with this question, disillusioned me. I could see, that the humanitarian aspect had little interest to them, and that these poor Indian people were merely being made a pawn in the great political game. My disillusionment was complete, when Mr. Cole was appointed by the Union Government to take up the question. For he immediately launched out upon a violently abusive anti-Asiatic campaign, explaining to the Europeans how they could get rid, not merely of the poor Indian labourers, but also of the wealthy Indian traders. After that episode, I had very little hope from the Asiatic Commission. But even then, I had no conception that such men as Mr. Hofmeyer and Sir John Lange could recommend the things that they did finally recommend. The summing up of their Report has been a final blow. About this, I shall write in my last articles.

(*To be continued.*)

C. F. ANDREWS.

### CHRISTIANITY IN OPPOSITION.

IT is really becoming quite good to be a Christian. Until not so long ago, the Church and Religion in general seemed to have only the function of helping the Powers-That-Be to remain in their position of power. The Church of England had proverbially become "the Conservative Party at prayers." Christianity was mainly looked upon as a spiritual luxury for the middle and upper classes

whilst the lower orders who were supposed to need particularly the inculcation of submissiveness and docility towards what was so charmingly called their "betters," stubbornly remained outside the churches and refused the soporific teaching of "being good," whilst the industrial revolution turned them—men, women and children—into machines, into dehumanized brutes, without any protest on the part of the leaders of the churches.

Now, of course, there is a double aspect to every relationship. But this subjective and objective aspect of the same human relationship has usually not been distinguished or equally emphasised and the mischief has been that Christianity has throughout the Victorian era appeared as being only applied subjectively. Take the general case of an oppressor and one oppressed. It is ethically right to exhort the oppressed to practise non-violence, meekness, forbearance, patience; to look upon the evil state in which he finds himself as a discipline of the greatest moral value; not to give way to hatred, but to endeavour to understand the oppressor's mentality and to persuade him by love and sacrifice to desist from his evil ways. So far so good: but clearly, this kind of teaching must not stand alone; it must go hand in hand with very clear teaching given to the oppressor, as to the great wickedness of his conduct, which naturally provokes the oppressed to every kind of sin, for which really the oppressor should be held more responsible than his victim; and with further exhortation to recognise the callousness, selfishness and cruelty with which he sacrifices another child of God to the furtherance of his own lust for power, pleasure or possessions.

Now, as I said above, Victorian Christianity has only too often failed to address itself to the oppressor, and, worse still, when addressing itself to the oppressed, has almost exclusively done so, taking the point of view and bias of the oppressor himself. This phenomenon was universal in the period under review and applied equally to England, America and the Continent of Europe, with the result that, for instance, the workers on realising class-consciousness ranged themselves solid against the Church, as being a bourgeois institution; and that Nationalist aspirations for emancipation from a foreign yoke were equally anti-clerical, not to say anti-religious, seeing that in most cases the clergy were but the paid agents of the foreign oppressor. Of this generalisation there are many exceptions. The Church of Rome in Ireland had for the nonce to take sides with the Nationalists against their oppressors, since the latter were Protestants, who indulged in a bitter war of religions as well as of political persecution. In England, the Labour Party has to a large extent remained proof against the drift to secularism, mainly because their religion was not monopolized by a State Church, but had free course in the chapels of the Free Churches, who, although bourgeois, yet were politically so constantly in opposition to the squirearchy of Tory England, that they formed a religious rallying-point for many hearts which rebelled against the



iniquities of an existing order. In the Church of England, moreover, there have been since the days of Maurice not lacking men who have contended that the existing social order was anti-Christian and needed complete remodelling.

Yet it remains true to say that until the other day such views were generally held to be pure theory or else the eccentricity of a few religious cranks, who could not be taken seriously and who certainly were anything but representative of their class. The Church, notwithstanding her Scott Hollands and Bishop Gores, was in the mind of the man-in-the-street a Church of all the Respectable People, run by Respectable People for Respectable People; a bulwark against all undesirables and their ideas—socialists, anarchists, seditionists, Bolsheviks.

The story is told of a raid made early in the War on the house of a conscientious objector by a posse of detectives, who however found only a pamphlet or two worth confiscating and were leaving the place, when they saw the occupant of the house running after them with a book in his hands. "You have forgotten this, the most revolutionary of all the books in my library," he said, as he presented them with—a New Testament. The story puts well the dynamic of a religion whose first apostles were called "the men who have come to turn the world upside down," and if such a religion has since been turned into a State department for the safeguarding of reaction, it is clearly nothing short of rank apostasy.

But this is not the place for going any further into this question; what, however, is of the greatest importance for the general public, Christian or non-Christian alike, is to realize the great change that is going on at this very time in the relation of the Church to the ruling classes. No doubt the complete reversal of the Victorian attitude has been prepared for a long time, but anyhow it is only since the end of the Great War and the beginning of the Great Disillusionment, that the Church in her official leaders has remembered to put the spiritual values first and personal safety a long way second. After the patriotic antics of the ecclesiastics of all countries during the War, it came as a first surprise, how seriously the Churches seemed to take the League of Nations. Still more welcome and surprising, were the official Church appeals for dropping the war spirit against former enemy nations. But the complete change was surely signalled by nothing so much as by the persistent stand made, at first by a few, later on by practically the whole bench of Anglican bishops, against the Irish policy of the Government. For, remember, the English bishops are appointed in practice (whatever the theory may be) by the Prime Minister of the day—so that for such men to stand up against the Prime Minister and to denounce his policy as morally indefensible, requires not a little courage and nobility of spirit. No wonder Mr. George was stung to the quick and replied by telling the bishops to mind their own business. But for once, Mr. George

was behind the times—for if the British public until quite recently would have agreed with him that it was the business of the Church to make England safe for the ruling classes, it to-day most certainly has come to realise that the business of spiritual leaders is not, to shirk the problems of the day, but to lead by indicating the moral issues at stake and by inviting an adherence to principles rather than to expedients. It is to the everlasting honour of the Archbishop of Canterbury to have for the last year fearlessly stood up for the rights of Ireland, and to him and to his brother bishops is due in no small measure the awakening of the English conscience, which has resulted in making a continuance of the Greenwood regime impossible and which has forced Mr. George to do the very thing which the "impertinent" bishops asked him to do all these months.

Whilst this incident is of signal importance, it does not exhaust the great change that has come over organized Christianity. The most dramatic expression of this is surely to be found in the official attitude towards the industrial revolution which is, quietly and mostly unperceived, going on throughout the West. Hitherto the Churches have behaved as any big corporation with large vested interests would, i.e. they have unfailingly taken the part of the haves against the have-nots. But lately indications have not been lacking that the Churches were officially coming round to the point of view that to base a Society on the principle of competition instead of on service was an anti-Christian attitude and that the call for a complete change in the economic ordering of society was not a matter on which a truly Christian man could hold two opinions. This came out strikingly during the English Coal Strike, where again the Anglican bishops distinguished themselves by asking the great body of consumers to look sympathetically on the miners' struggle, seeing that the latter were striving for principles of no mean moral value. This episcopal "interference" (which roused Mr. George's spleen as much as the "interference" on the Irish question) no doubt queered the pitch for the coal magnates and helped no little to make possible an end of the strike which is so eminently promising for the future status of labour in Society.

But it is not in England only that the Christian Church is taking definite sides against Capitalism as inherently evil and anti-Christian. Indications are not lacking that the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland is preparing a way of retreat from the papal attitude (which used to anathematize the very idea of Socialism) and thus forestalling an otherwise certain loss of allegiance on the part of the masses of the Irish people, once the national struggle for political freedom is ended.

Most striking of all in this respect are reports from the United States, the great home of plutocracy. Thus one reads that the American "National Founders Association" warned its members, in calling attention to the Methodist Episcopal drive for funds, that "the man who has been selected to

handle the fund has always . . . been identified with socialistic propaganda." In reference to the Y. W. C. A.'s financial campaign the Commercial Federation of California sent out a letter saying that the Y. W. C. A. could scarcely hope for support "when it jams through a programme which has all the earmarks of radical unionism,"—said programme offending particularly by its endorsement of collective bargaining and the eight-hour day. On May 5th the Manufacturers' Record of Baltimore printed an article entitled: "How Socialistic and Anarchistic Doctrines are Being Advanced through some Religious Organizations." Recently *Industry*—published in Washington—alarmed at the activity of "radical" leaders in the churches, asked, "Does it mean that Socialism, or practical anarchism, or at least so-called liberalism has so permeated the ranks of the Church that fairness and justice are threatened?" Fairness and justice, forsooth!

Again, the Pittsburgh Employers' Association recently issued a number of letters to its members intended to dissuade them from contributing to certain religious organizations on the ground that the Pittsburgh ministers had trespassed beyond the "zone of agreement" between capital and labour to which, these employers felt, the Church should "confine its activities." "The radical and Bolshevik elements in the Churches," they wrote, "seem to be co-operating through the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. . . . Religious bodies can hardly expect us to give them money for the purpose of manufacturing weapons with which to destroy industry." The Pittsburgh ministers strongly resented this interference and accordingly unanimously passed a resolution condemning it and insisting upon the Church's absolute right to "proclaim the full Gospel of Jesus Christ without dictation from any external authority."

And now, to cap all, one reads that the Commander-in-Chief is thoroughly disapproving of certain sermons preached by an English Chaplain in India!

Is it not really becoming quite good, to be a Christian?

H. C. E. ZACHARIAS.

### THE CODIFICATION OF HINDU LAW.

THE subject of codification of Hindu Law has evoked a good deal of discussion in the country; and naturally the proposal has many opponents as well as advocates. I would however discuss the subject from the practical point of view. I am neither a sentimentalist who thinks reform of Hindu Law a sacrilege, nor a radical who wants to make a clean sweep of the past. My idea is that if the proposed codification is likely to be more advantageous than the present system of case law, let us have it by all means; but if it serves no other purpose than that of substitution of Mayne's book on Hindu Law, then let us not tax our rate-payers for the eccentricities of some authors on Hindu Law.

In the discussions which I had with my friends,

only one reason was advanced in favour of codification, namely, that there are some defects in the present law which needs improvements. For instance, in the Mitakshara provinces, a sister is no heir; in my provinces an agnate who is never heard of till the death of a rich propositus, springs up into existence and succeeds in preference to his sisters. I admit there are many such defects in the Hindu Law which ought to be removed by legislation; but this is mixing up two different questions, Improvement or amendment, as it is technically called, is necessary; but for that purpose the whole of Hindu Law need not be cast into a rigid code. The purpose of amending Hindu Law can be served best by taking up piecemeal legislation; such a method has been already followed in the enactments of Hindu Widow Remarriage Act, and the Caste Disabilities Act. Such piecemeal legislation will be more advantageous than the codification of the entire system of Hindu Law. In Bombay and the Berars, sisters do not require legislation; it would be improper to move the Indian Legislative Assembly to pass enactments where only provincial questions are concerned. Let every province legislate for its own needs. The Madras Council has done it in the case of Hindu wills by enacting the Seshagiri Ayyar's Act. This method is successfully followed in England also in improving the common law.

Let us see whether codification of Hindu Law is necessary and whether, even after codification, litigation will decrease. As a learned author puts it, judges increase litigation by being unable to pick up law from a huge mass of cases. When they get a dry code, they will have a rule of thumb to follow and appeals and second appeals would be rare. This view involves a misconception of human nature, and also of the duties of a treatise-writer who writes books for sale. However, as a matter of fact, many good books on Hindu Law are available and judges always get the right law from these books. Some authors, no doubt, make blunders in their books; but that does not condemn the whole race of authors. Will the new code be more facile than the present books on Hindu Law? Let me take a concrete case. Every book on Hindu Law states: "The manager of a joint Hindu family cannot alienate the joint family property without the consent of the coparceners, except in the case of legal necessity, or for indispensable religious purposes (आवश्यकेषु धर्मकृत्येषु)." Now the learned legislator will put this very sentence in a code and will call it a section. That is the only effect of codification. He will not be able to give a definition of legal necessity or indispensable religious purpose in his code. If he does it, he and his code are doomed; because then the courts will have to discuss whether the list given is exhaustive or illustrative. If he does not give such a list, the courts will still have to refer to Smritis and other Hindu Shastric books to know what are the indispensable religious duties. Then, where is the advantage? Why waste the precious time of the legislative



bodies and the money of the poor overtaxed ryots only to tickle the fancy of a few ambitious souls?

One who is in touch with the administration of justice knows that Hindu Law is still in the process of development. The appointment of Hindu judges on the High Court Benches have resulted in the restoration of correct notions of Hindu Law on many points. The whole law relating to Hindu deities and idols has developed on right lines in the recent few years on account of Hindu judges taking the correct view of law; wholesale codification, which I think is extremely tedious and will involve waste of many years and much money; is sure to arrest the growth of this development. The better remedy is the appointment of lawyers who have studied Hindu Smritis and Texts on the Bench and giving them chances of correcting many errors that have crept in. Let not the remedy be worse than the disease.

D. T. MANGALMOORTI

## REFORMED COUNCILS.

### THE BOMBAY COUNCIL. (FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

POONA, AUGUST 7.

THE last session of the Bombay Legislative Council was the first held in Poona since the introduction of the Reforms and much interest was naturally evinced in its proceedings. It lasted only for ten days, though, if the Government had used up all the time allotted to it, it would have gone on for a couple of days more. The original apportionment of the time of the House was five days for Government and six for private business. The period allowed for the latter was subsequently extended by a day; but it will be generally admitted that seven days was insufficient, in view of the large volume of non-official business before the Council. Besides about nine hundred interpellations, the non-official business consisted of a small piece of legislation sponsored by Rao Bahadur Kale and as many as over a hundred resolutions on matters of general public interest. Even after making allowance for duplications, their number could not be less than eighty. The election of the Finance Committee as also of a member on the Public Accounts Committee was also expected to take up some time of the Council. Besides one day the Council adjourned three hours earlier than usual; and the subsequent addition of a day for private business in reality meant the addition of not more than a couple of hours for unofficial business over and above the time allotted to it. All things considered, it must be said that while time enough and to spare was set apart for Government business, sufficient consideration was not shown in regard to private business. The result was that out of over a hundred resolutions of which notice had been given, the Council could dispose of only half a dozen during the limited time at its disposal!

The right of interpellating the Government did not seem to be exercised to the extent one would wish it to be. But apart from that, some of the questions were clearly unnecessary, as could be seen from the answers in which the questioners were referred to a publication or report already published. Another noticeable feature is that interim replies to the effect that enquiries were being made or that information was being called for were given to a large number of questions. Most of the blame for this state of things will have to be laid at the door of the non-official members, many of whom do not send in their queries till the last minute of the eleventh hour. The mild rebuke administered by the President in this connection was, in our opinion, not undeserved; and it is to be hoped that his appeal for longer notice than is insisted on in the Rules

will evoke the response that it deserves. But what struck even a casual observer in regard to this matter was that very few supplementary questions were asked. It can hardly be said that the answers were so satisfactory as to make a supplementary question unnecessary. What is at the bottom is perhaps the want of close acquaintance of members with the subjects they handle. This difficulty can, however, be easily got over. If, as the amended standing orders of the C. P. Legislative Council provide, copies of answers are supplied to members one clear day before they are answered in Council, there is every reason to hope that the privilege will be extensively availed of. We hope that the Committee appointed in the last session for a similar purpose will recommend the adoption of the above procedure in regard to questions. Otherwise the practice of asking and answering questions will continue to be lifeless as hitherto.

The consideration of Rao Saheb Desai's proposal to confer the legislative franchise on women occupied the Council a little over three days. In other words one half of the time allowed for private business was taken up by this question alone. In his anxiety to see the motion, which in some quarters was regarded in the nature of a revolutionary change, discussed from all points of view, Sir Narayan was unwilling to place any restrictions on the discussion and the Government also allowed the official members the freedom to speak and vote as they pleased. Mr. Rothfeld who is not much noted for his progressive tendencies passionately pleaded for the maintenance of the *status quo*, drawing an imaginary picture of the evils and the dangers the innovation was fraught with. The Registrar of Co-operative Societies was evidently blind to what is a matter of recent history in his own country while he was summoning the absence of woman's franchise in France to his aid. In England, confirmed opponents of this reform like Mr. Asquith have seen the unwisdom of their position and have now been turned into staunch friends of the woman's cause. The Education Minister, whose watchword has always been equality of opportunity for all, irrespective of sex, caste, colour or creed, naturally resented the reactionary advice of Mr. Rothfeld and said in effect:—"More of Rothfelds and the downfall of British rule in India was not far distant." This remonstrance induced narrow-minded civilians like Mr. Cadell to run to the rescue of their brother, in which task they were ably helped by some of the non-Brahman members; and at the conclusion of the first day's debate it appeared as if the odds were against the motion. But Mr. Lawrence's speech breathing a spirit of liberalism the next day altered this state of things. Thereafter there were more speeches in support than in opposition and the motion was eventually carried by 52 to 25 votes.

A debate was raised in the last session by the representative of the depressed classes on the subject of primary education. He favoured the introduction of free and compulsory education with a view to bring it within the reach of the depressed classes. This motion was objected to on account of certain defects in the resolution. Dr. Bhatwala of Bombay therefore proposed an amendment which committed the Government to the goal of free and compulsory primary education to be reached as early as possible. The Education Minister had already been moving in that direction, as evidenced by the wide terms of reference given to the Committee appointed by him to examine the problem of compulsory primary education in all its aspects and he had no difficulty in accepting the amendment. He also availed himself of the opportunity to dispel some misunderstandings which are being sedulously fostered by a certain section of the non-Brahmans. He has latterly been the subject of much unfair and illiberal criticism both in their press and on their platform. An impression is sought to be created that in this case the appointment of the Committee is the usual bureaucratic device to shelve an inconvenient problem. Starting with the baseless presumption that Mr. Paranjpye is against compulsory primary education, they go the length of charging him with having packed the Committee with anti-compulsion members. Neither his antecedents nor his assur-

ances will protect him against such critics who are out to run him down at all costs. But far from shelving the problem, the Education Minister wants to bring its solution as near as possible. To this end he expects the Committee which will have the benefit of his well thought-out scheme of taxation to submit its proposals in time to enable him to make the necessary provision in the next budget for making a beginning in that direction. That he seriously means what he says is evident from the way in which he has been pressing the Visvesvaraya Committee for its report.

Rao Bahadur Kale in one of his motions urged that the two newly created district judgements should be filled by direct appointments from the bar. The demand made in the resolution is not a novel one, nor was the case in support of it by any means weak. The fate that ultimately overtook it is sure to have caused keen disappointment. That it was rejected by the casting vote of the President will only serve to heighten the public dissatisfaction. The number of votes for and against the proposal being equal, Sir Narayan, following the practice in the House of Commons on similar occasions, voted for the *status quo*. But it is doubtful if, when he did so, he knew that all the three Ministers and one Executive Councillor had refrained from voting, which meant that they could not see their way to side with the Government. Thus there was, to our mind, a clear majority in favour of the proposal.

## COMPULSORY EDUCATION.

### CONDITIONS IN NASIK.

THE total population of Nasik, according to the recent census, is 38,211 (19,542 men and 18,669 women); but there is always some floating population in the town, which may be omitted from our calculation. Again, at the time the census was taken, there were certain factors in operation which added abnormally to the population. Allowing for these accidental causes of temporary addition, we may put the permanent population at 35,000. We may calculate children of the school age at 12½ per cent. of the total population, which means that there should be in Nasik 4,375 children between the ages of 6 and 11. At present there are 3,535 children in primary schools—2,575 in municipal schools and 960 in private, aided schools; but a certain proportion of them must be below 6 years and above 11. In the upper primary classes of the municipal schools there are 308 children (only 20 of them being girls), and all of these may be taken to be above the compulsory limit. At that ratio there would be about 100 children above the age of 11 in private schools. To arrive at the number of children of the school age who are already receiving primary education, we must deduct these from 3,535. We have similarly to deduct those in lower primary classes who are below and above the compulsory limits. Making a liberal allowance for these, we may suppose that there are 2,800 children between 6 and 11 years, who are at present undergoing primary instruction. That is to say, of 4,400 children who ought to be at school under the law of compulsion, there are 2,800, or 63 per cent., in school at present; of the total 3,535 children in primary schools 2,662 are boys and 873 girls. We may therefore assume that out of the 2,800 children of the school age now under instruction, 2,000 are boys and 800 girls, and the figure of 4,400 may be divided between boys and girls as 2,300 and 2,100. That is, out of 2,300 boys who ought to be under instruction 2,100 are attending school and out of 2,100 girls 800 are in school, and the percentages work out at 87 for boys and 38 for girls.

Now, on the present scale the expenditure that would be required for bringing all the children of the school age under instruction would be Rs. 66,000 @ Rs. 15 per child, the present rate being Rs. 14 per child. Allowance must be made for the prospective increments in teachers' salaries, but it must be remembered that last year teachers received war allowance to the tune of Rs. 6,584, in addition to their usual salaries. The contemplated increases do not exceed war allowances by a very large figure, and the difference would not be serious. The Government are now prepared to make a two-thirds grant to those municipalities whose finances are in a straitened condition, and if the Nasik Municipality can lay claim to this in-

creased grant, its share of the total cost of compulsory education would be Rs. 22,000, which is only in advance of its present expenditure by Rs. 4,500, for last year it spent Rs. 17,526 out of its own resources. As a matter of fact it spent another Rs. 7,000 for the purchase of a school-house, but not being a recurring charge we have left it out of account. Now, the question for consideration is, whether the municipality is not in a position to increase its expenditure on primary education by four thousand and a half, so that, with a two-thirds grant from Government, it could introduce compulsion. In considering this question, it must be borne in mind that latterly such increases have already taken place in the educational expenditure of the municipality in the ordinary course of things; e. g. in 1918-19 the expenditure was Rs. 26,736; it rose to Rs. 32,324 in 1919-1920; and last year it increased to Rs. 35,400, apart from the 7,000 rupees non-recurrent expenditure referred to above. Thus, the municipality seems to be quite able to afford the additional expenditure out of its ordinary revenue and that no educational cess is necessary for the purpose. This increase will occur only at the time of introducing compulsion and will not accrue every year. The only addition of which this amount is susceptible afterwards on the present basis is what will be occasioned by the normal growth in the population. To a municipality whose annual revenue is two lakhs it should not in fact be very difficult to spend, say, five thousand rupees more, if it is possible thereby to adopt a measure of far reaching importance as that of compulsory primary education.

If the position of the Nasik Municipality is correctly reviewed above, it will not be necessary for that body to adopt the double-shifts system which has been recommended for the use of municipalities which are less favourably situated. It is estimated that with 25% additional expenditure the number of children can be doubled if that system is brought in force. To err on the safe side, let us increase the expenditure by half. If the Nasik Municipality were to spend half as much again and to receive a two-thirds grant, it would spend just the same amount out of its own resources as it is now doing; that is, without incurring any additional expenditure, the municipality would be in a position to provide education for all the children of the school age in its own schools, without the aid of the private schools which are now in existence and which have given considerable relief to the municipality by bearing a large part of the burden which otherwise it would have had to bear. When the double-shifts system is adopted, private schools will have a very useful function to discharge. They will then minister to the needs of those who want their children to be given full five hours' instruction, and they will always command an audience if they are well-equipped as they will increasingly tend to be. From an examination of the financial condition of the Nasik Municipality, however it would appear that there is no necessity for it to go in for the two-shifts system for the purpose of economy. Nasik is thus in a very hopeful position so far as primary education is concerned.

## REVIEW.

### FOREIGN EXCHANGE.

"Foreign Exchange before, during and after the War." By T. E. GREGORY, B. Sc. (Econ.), pp. 116, Oxford University Press, London.

THIS little book is undoubtedly a very valuable addition to the rather scanty literature on that important subject of foreign exchange, a subject so puzzling to the student of economics. The violent fluctuations in the rates of foreign exchange caused by the war in all the trading countries of the world have attracted the attention even of the ordinary layman to this highly technical subject. And the latter may with profit make an acquaintance with this branch of economics through Mr. Gregory's book. But at the same time let him not imagine that it is an elementary primer introducing him to the subject. Though a small book, it is complete in itself

and the author rightly makes no attempt at glossing over difficulties.

The book begins with an explanation of the foreign exchange market, how it works and what economic function it performs. For the benefit of the lay reader, the manner in which newspapers and periodicals give information in their money columns on this subject is then explained. The day-to-day fluctuations in the rates of foreign exchange then come up for consideration and the author shows how little the balance of indebtedness during a particular period has to do with such 'surface' fluctuations and how positively misleading it is to try to account for such fluctuations by the "excess of imports over exports" or *vice versa*. The author then proceeds to explain how in pre-war times, when the movement of gold and securities was free, exchanges were regulated and equalised by devices like 'arbitrage,' dealing in 'forward exchange,' 'finance bills,' etc., so that the actual movement of gold as between gold-using countries was minimised. It is also shown how the same goal of stability could be reached by non-gold-using countries by adopting the gold exchange standard. The conditions under which the gold exchange system functions satisfactorily—*i. e.* from the point of view of securing a stable exchange rate—are elucidated. The author of course is not concerned with the question whether securing stability of exchange is the be-all and end-all of a proper currency system. The problem with which the book is chiefly concerned is to find out the chief reason why during the war and ever since the rates of exchange of the belligerent and neutral nations alike have been so violently divorced from the theoretical fear in spite of all the efforts of the European Governments to prevent the decline of the foreign value of their respective currencies. That chief reason is rightly found by the author to lie in the inflation of these currencies and the stoppage of the export of gold. That being so, the remedy lies, as the author says, in stopping inflation and gradually deflating the currencies so as to reach an effective gold basis as before the war. In the meanwhile, the author suggests, a temporary resort to the gold exchange standard may help the transition. In discussing these matters Mr. Gregory takes note of the latest version of the Quantity Theory of Money, *viz.* the Purchasing Power Parity Theory of the Exchanges advanced by Prof. Gustav Cassel of Stockholm, and he has an original contribution to make in that connection.

Altogether the book gives evidence of a thorough and up-to-date study of the subject of foreign exchanges and is very stimulative of thought on the part of the reader.

When the book goes through the second edition, as there is no doubt it soon will, it will be better if the proofs are more carefully corrected so that many slight inaccuracies and misprints may be eliminated.

R. M. J.

#### TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council has carried a motion for the publication and circulation, as an experimental measure, of the vernacular summaries of its proceedings. The necessity and the desirability of the proposed step as a means of bringing the rural electors in close touch with the doings of their representatives in Council is too obvious to need any proof; and the results of the experiment will be productive of much good. The proposal does not necessitate the employment of an additional staff for the purpose, for most of the work can be conveniently undertaken by the several Publicity Bureaus which, barring an exception or two, have failed to give satisfaction. The only additional cost involved in the step is on account of printing and circulation; but it will not be so considerable as to make its execution impossible.

The only precaution that should be taken is that these summaries should be published immediately after the close of the council sessions to which they refer when public interest in them is still fresh; and that steps should be taken to see that they reach the proper quarters. If this is done on a systematic basis, much of the prevailing misconception as regards the output of the councils will gradually disappear. The experiment might therefore be usefully tried in all the provinces.

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