

# THE Servant of India

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## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE official *communiqué* recently issued by the Government of India regarding the withdrawal of the Munitions case does not dispel but confirms and verifies the worst suspicions that have found expression in the public press. The prosecution, it is reiterated, had a very strong case, and the only reason for withdrawing the charge was Sir Thomas Holland's anxiety to avoid the appearance of Government desiring, through this case, to ruin Swadeshi industries, mixed, possibly, with the fear that the prosecution will fail before a jury who cannot but be influenced by the accused's public benefactions during the war. The Viceroy has promptly disclaimed any responsibility for this action, of which indeed he has expressed disapproval. The late Chief Justice of England could not be expected, even out of misplaced solicitude for the growth of Indian industries, to give his sanction to what amounts to a tampering with justice. The official statement protests that the prosecution withdrawal has no connection with the withdrawal of civil claims, but as it is, the whole transaction wears a look of sale of justice. If the Government of India has no better reason to advance than it has done, it is a grave scandal, and the Viceroy must take prompt action to restore public confidence.

THE manner in which Mr. Montagu has spoken to the deputation of the various sections of Lancashire cotton trade, when it recently waited upon the Lancashire members of the House of commons, should remove all doubts from the minds of those Indians who are inclined to speak in disparag-

ing terms of the convention laid down in the report of the Joint Select Committee regarding India's fiscal freedom. Mr. Montagu frankly declared that to retrace the steps by which India has been given fiscal independence would result in creating ill-will between India and Lancashire and impressed on the minds of the members of the deputation the fact that in fiscal matters India must be approached in the same manner as Australia, Canada or any other self-governing Dominion. It means that in the matter of imposition of tariff duties India will enjoy complete independence without any dictation from Whitehall. This dictation may be taken as an assurance on the part of the present Secretary of State for India to abide by the convention laid down in the Joint Select Committee's Report during his tenure of office. Henceforward the Dominion Governments and the Lancashire merchants will do well to appeal to India directly for the settlement of the policy of Imperial preference and similar other concessions. To appeal to the Secretary of State for India to interfere in such matters in spite of the recommendation of the Joint Select Committee is an insult to India and is not calculated to be beneficial to those who make the appeal.

LAST week Pandit Malaviya delivered two speeches in Bombay in which he exhorted the country, broadly speaking, to return from the negative policy of non-co-operation to the old Nationalist-Liberal position, and we are told his utterances were listened to, not only with patience, but with a certain amount of interest. This is a remarkable fact considering the fate which a similar attempt on the part of Babu Bepin Chandra Pal met some time ago. In Pandit Malaviya's address a breach from the N. C. O. attitude was far more prominently suggested than in that of Babu Bepin Pal, who ventured only to put forward the very obvious thesis that the ultimate settlement will result from a compromise on the part of both the parties to the present struggle, and yet the N. C. O. audience treated Pandit Malaviya far more considerately than they treated Mr. Pal. Personal regard felt by the public for the two leaders no doubt accounts in part for this marked difference, but does it mean that there is a general tendency now to recoil from the extravagances of the doctrine of non-participation? Mr. Pal merely urged the need for the non-co-operationists to be ready to offer a reasonable compromise and hinted

distantly at the possibility of the attainment of Swarajya being delayed beyond the stipulated period of a year. Mr. Gandhi thereupon agreed that a compromise might be necessary but rebuked Mr Pal for attempting to outline its terms before time had become ripe for such a proceeding. Mr. Pal had in fact not attempted to suggest any definite scheme of settlement, as Pandit Malaviya has now done. The Pandit, it would appear, does not consider even a period of fifteen years an unreasonably long interval within which the beginnings of Swaraj might receive a full measure of development. That such a proposition did not immediately excite strenuous opposition may indicate a weakening of N. C. O.; still it is clear that Pandit Malaviya does not speak for the non-co-operators in putting it forward and that fact naturally detracts considerably from the weight which would otherwise attach to his pleading.

FOR his annual Convocation Address as Chancellor of the Bombay University, Sir George Lloyd chose the subject of Liberty as contrasted with Licence and in the course of it quoted the Greek tag that every free man is a slave to the law. He does not seem to have mentioned the word "slave mentality," but it is evident that he had it throughout in mind. The Bishop of Bombay in an address he gave the day before at Poona, not only implicitly, but explicitly, referred to the popular cry about slave mentality, which, somewhat petulantly, he professed he did not understand. Much like His Excellency, the Bishop spoke of the necessity of obedience, instancing that, if a man wanted to learn music, he had to become a slave to his music master, or, as the Chancellor might have put it, to the laws of music. Mr. K. T. Paul, finely if wistfully, in his reply told His Lordship that the whole point was that he did not understand: he did not and could not understand what it was like to be a member of a subject race.

ONE might leave it at that if it was not as well to express the fallacy of the logic, both of His Excellency and of His Lordship. Nobody who talks of "slave mentality" means that obedience is no longer needed to anybody. With a great disregard for consistency, the very same people, who declaim against the refusal to obey on the part of Extremists, also declaim usually against the slavish obedience to Mr. Gandhi. That which distinguishes a slave from a free man is not obedience: but the fact that one yields his obedience freely and the other compulsorily. That being so, it is no use girding at Indians, because they call it "slave mentality" to obey unthinkingly, or even unknowingly. It is slave mentality, however much H. E. the Governor or the Right Reverend the Bishop may demur. And that slave mentality no Indian has any use for, be he Non-Co-operator or Liberal. The only point that distinguishes the two is that the latter considers it best for India to obey the present Government and that the former does not consider it so to be.

It is not a question, primarily whether the Government is good or bad, but whether it is imposed on slaves or whether it is based on the consent of free people. I obey my music master because I have chosen him: and just because of that, I am not his slave, but his pupil. And so we Liberals, though we desire to remain for a little while yet pupils, emphatically refuse to be for that reason considered slaves. Dr. Tagore developed this theme recently in a lecture of his, and showed how it was not only right but necessary to learn from the West.

THE Minister of Education in Bombay has on a recent occasion further amplified his statement at the Deccan Sabha in June last with regard to his intention to give special facilities to pupils of the untouchable classes. He proposes to provide in the next budget for two hundred scholarships of monthly values varying between Rs. 10 and 15 for students in the secondary schools, which means that almost the whole number of such students has been thus provided for. Recognising as he does the value of free hostel accommodation as a means of encouraging a taste for education among these classes, he has decided to start in April next a free lodging and boarding house which will accommodate fifty students. Poona has been selected mainly for the location of the first hostel of its kind, because the bulk of students in secondary schools for whom the boarding is intended belong to the Central Division. If there are any secondary school students in district towns, free boarding and lodging accommodation for them would be found in hostels attached to Government High Schools. The Minister further proposes to make available during the next year two hundred scholarships of from Rs. 8 to Rs. 15 p. m. for students in the upper primary stage, which has the incidental advantage of increasing the supply of teachers by enabling them to pass the Vernacular Final examination. But what is of far greater importance is that he is giving his best attention to the question of compulsory primary education with a view to see if municipalities could not be forced to introduce compulsion in their areas in the near future, in view of their failure to do so on a voluntary basis.

THE Reforms Conference organised by the Bombay branch of the National Home Rule League has been fixed for the 29th and 30th and meets in Bombay under the presidentship of Mrs. Besant. The value of such well organised conferences for purposes of focussing public attention on important problems of the day is always great; but it is more so at the present time when the National Congress has abdicated that very useful function owing to its acceptance of the negative policy of non-co-operation. The premier political organisation has failed, at a critical moment in India's history, to give that definite lead on public questions which the country had every right to expect from it.

### THE KENYA QUESTION.

THE Standing Joint Committee's Report on Kenya recognises, in theory, the claim of Indians to equality of citizenship, but in its recommendations as to the specific measures whereby this principle is to be translated into a fact, it is very weak. Indeed, except for its definite pronouncement against the project of racial segregation which the Colonial Office under the headship of Lord Milner favoured, the report contains no precise conclusions on the questions at issue. On every such question the Committee put the Indian case, express a sort of general agreement, but end by saying that they are not competent, without further investigation on the spot, to give their final judgment on the matter. They are thus led, inevitably, to the suggestion for the appointment of a Royal Commission to recommend what the Government's line of action should be. The Commission, they propose, should start from the basic principle which they have enunciated, namely, that "there is no justification in Kenya for assigning to British Indians a status in any way inferior to that of any other class of His Majesty's subjects," and that all their recommendations are to be "subject to the recognition of (this) general principle of status." The questions of franchise and the ownership of land, on which the Committee refrain from expressing any opinion, should be left, the Committee suggest, for the Commission's decision, but even the question of segregation on which they have expressed a definite opinion is to be left to the Commission! The Commission is "to report how far segregation can be avoided." It will thus be seen that the only distinct gain from the examination of this question which, according to Col. Wedgwood, is "the test question" for the British Empire—as to whether the British people are hypocritical or sincere in their solicitude for non-white races—is that Indians have obtained an academical recognition of equality of status, which can be made a basis of their future agitation. This recognition gains greatly in force by its emphatic confirmation at the hands of the Imperial Cabinet. Mr. Churchill shadowed forth in his speech on the Colonial Office Vote on July 14 the resolution which was later adopted by the Cabinet. He said on this occasion: "In the main, we must make a continuous effort to live up to the principle that racial distinctions do not determine the status or position of any man in the British Empire who is otherwise qualified to occupy a position or exercise a function of responsibility." This is vague enough in all conscience, but it must be remembered that Mr. Churchill gave utterance to this sentiment when he was trying to have Kenya excluded from the Cabinet's resolution as South Africa afterwards came to be. But, fortunately, he was foiled in this attempt, and the equal citizenship of Indians in Kenya has been recognised without any qualification. It may therefore be permissible to hope that Mr. Churchill's action will be correspondingly more liberal.

The Joint Committee's remedy of a Royal Commission Mr. Churchill rejects, for he thinks it is the "last remedy" to be applied "if everything else fails," and he is ambitious to solve the problem himself. But we must confess that his references to the Kenya question in his speech on the Colonial Office Vote do not fill one with grave misgivings that he will play off the Indian settlers and the natives against one another. If Indians stood in the way of the progress of the natives, we would cease to advocate the Indian cause. It is the interests of the natives that are primarily to be considered; outsiders have no place in Kenya except when they are helpful to the natives, be the outsiders European or Indian. It is inconceivable that Indians should desire, when they are yet under a foreign domination, to play the tyrant to others. Enlightened Indian opinion will unhesitatingly condemn the exploitation of any foreign country by Indians, at the cost of its rightful inhabitants. But what it insists upon is that, where it is a question between Indian and European immigrants, India will not tolerate the least derogation from her right to equality. Take, for instance, the question of the ownership of land. The racial restrictions now imposed upon Indians in the matter of owning land in the uplands do not originate from the desire of the Europeans to reserve the best lands for the natives, but from the desire to occupy the whole area themselves. Most of the land there is already in the hands of the Europeans, and the only dispute now is about the prohibition, which is sought to be imposed, upon the transfer of land from Europeans to Asiatics. Again, the Indian demand for a common electoral roll is not being resisted, not because the natives would thereby remain unrepresented, but because it is feared that Indian and native votes will far outnumber the European votes. In the Indian scheme for franchise, the natives of the country are not excluded from the vote, but are definitely included. Thus, there is no force whatever in the objections urged on the score of the supposed interests of the natives, and Mr. Churchill need not really make the latter the stalking-horse of the Europeans.

It will be observed that a new fact of the utmost significance has now been disclosed for the first time in the Joint Committee's Report in the matter of the restrictions on the purchase of land. The Committee say that "the Colonial Office regards itself as bound by certain pledges in favour of European settlers." With the utmost tenderness for the latter, the Committee further observes, that "they have naturally no desire to suggest any breach of faith; but they have received evidence which would seem to justify further enquiry into the matter." India is entitled to know what these pledges are; when they were made and how they came to be made. If they are based on no higher principle than that of race favouritism, they will have to go and there is nothing wrong in making such a demand although it may savour of a "breach of faith." It is, however, difficult to believe that any promises that may have been made will militate

even against the modest request of the Government of India that there should be no prohibition of transfer of upland farms which were already in occupation. With regard to the Indian demand for a common electoral roll, it is objected that it would throw the majority of the votes into the lap of Indians, leaving the Europeans in a minority. One wonders what is there wrong in it, if Indians are in a majority. When the demand was first made, Lord Milner cleverly put it aside, remarking that since there was to be a standing official majority in the Council, it does not much matter how many Europeans and how many Indians there are, provided that they are enough to represent their several cases adequately. The same reasoning may be adopted by Indians now in answering the objections raised by critics. If the non-officials are to be in a permanent minority, it is quite immaterial how this minority is divided as between Indians and Europeans, provided that the Europeans return a sufficiently strong minority to compel attention to their views. Why it should be always assumed that Europeans must be in a predominant position it is impossible to understand. If equality of citizenship which is now guaranteed has any meaning, such an assumption and all its implications must be swept off and the Europeans must be prepared to take a back seat if their relative numbers and standing measured in education and property do not justify any better.

#### ABOLITION OF LAND RECORDS OFFICE.

THE Bombay Government has so silently given effect to the public demand for all possible avenues of economy in public expenditure being carefully explored by means of a Committee that very few people yet know that such a committee has been already set up for this presidency. All the same it is a fact that this Retrenchment Committee has already started on its arduous task and has held one or two preliminary meetings. It is not yet known how it is going to carry on its investigations; whether it will sit in a central place like Bombay or Poona, or whether it proposes to undertake an extensive tour of the whole province for the purpose of collecting the necessary evidence. It also appears to be still a matter for decision if it will sit behind closed doors or with its doors wide open. But whatever the method of its enquiry, there can be no doubt that it will be in a position to suggest substantial reductions in public expenditure. Its constitution with a majority of the non-official element gives one the hope that its recommendations will be of a satisfactory nature. In order, however, that they may be sufficiently far-reaching, it is necessary that the Committee should be helped with considered suggestions as to how the different departments of the Government could be run with less cost, without causing any loss of efficiency. It is proposed in this article to briefly indicate how this could be done with regard to the office of the Director of Land Records.

This office belongs to the category of costly superfluities exemplified by the Revenue Commissionerships, whose abolition will not be attended with any serious inconvenience to anybody. It is of recent origin, being only about fifteen years old. The circumstances in which it came into existence may be conveniently noticed here. About twenty years ago, the Survey department was abolished and its functions transferred to the Director of Agriculture, who was also the Inspector-General of Registration, Births and Deaths. This arrangement continued uninterruptedly till 1905, when Mr. Lawrence, now Finance Member, was the incumbent of the post. About this time Mr. (afterwards Sir George) Curtis, who is known throughout this province for his dynamic energy and for his restless personality was appointed Joint Director. While in this post, he is believed to have submitted to Government a report containing proposals for the bifurcation of the two distinct types of functions till then combined in one officer. The result was the creation of a new post known as the Director of Land Records, Settlement Commissioner and Inspector-General of Registration, Births and Deaths, the activities of the Director of Agriculture being thereafter confined to his own department.

The duties attaching to the new office then created are defined as follows in the Standing Orders of the Department:—

"The functions of the Director in connection with Land Records may be classed under the heads of (i) organisation and (ii) inspection. Under the first head it is his duty to bring before the superior Revenue authorities proposals for the maintenance of maps and records in the most efficient and economical manner. . . . It is the duty of the Director both to advise superior Revenue authorities under what arrangements these objects can be attained or in what manner the Land Records establishment should be organized, trained and tested so as to ensure the required results, and to point out from time to time any defects in the system which may have already been adopted."

Speaking broadly, the Director's duties mainly relate to the maintenance of land records in proper condition and the arrangements necessitated by revisions of survey settlement, whenever they become due.

Let us first take the question of records. These relate to (1) Registration and (2) Land. The former are kept in the office of the Collector and in the several registry offices subordinate to him. So far as these are concerned, the responsibility for their safe custody rests with the Collector, and not with the Director. As regards Land Records, they are located in one central office at divisional headquarters in the Northern Division; while in the Central and Southern Divisions they are distributed all over the respective Districts and are looked after by district inspectors, who are subordinate to the Superintendent, Land Records. The real supervision, however, over their upkeep by way of personal visits and inspection is exercised by this officer. It is he who is in fact responsible

for their safe custody. He is therefore required to keep himself in close touch with district and sub-offices; and naturally possesses a first-hand knowledge of the working of the different Land Records offices. His charge being confined to the seven districts of the Central Division, it is easy for him to satisfy himself as to how things are going in the several offices under him. The Director's charge, on the other hand, covers a far wider field than that of the Superintendent. It extends over the whole of the presidency including Sind and is too big for one man to exercise any supervision worth the name; much less can the Director, however capable and painstaking, be expected to acquaint himself with the working of the different offices by personal visits, even if he were touring throughout the year. No wonder that his connection with these offices is more nominal than real. Under these circumstances no serious harm would follow upon the abolition of his office.

The advocates of the retention of the post however advance the argument that the functions referred to above form but an inconsiderable part of his duties, that settlement operations throw very responsible and serious work on him and that such work alone constitutes a sufficient justification for the *status quo* being kept intact. But a little reflection will show that the argument is not worth much. When in any area it is found necessary as a result of the lapse of the period of thirty years to undertake a revision of the existing survey rates, an officer not below the rank of an Assistant or a Deputy Collector is placed on special duty for the purpose. This officer is usually a man who knows the district and has a personal knowledge of local conditions. His proposals are generally based on personal inspection of the whole area and close acquaintance with the economic condition of the area to be resettled, and as such are confirmed in their original form in ninety cases out of a hundred. Whatever he lacks by way of a detached view of the situation is supplied by the Collector and the Commissioner through whose hands his proposals have to pass in addition to those of the Director whose office merely serves as a post office in a great majority of cases. The original proposals are thus subjected to close scrutiny in five different places before they emerge in a final form from the Government Secretariat. It is hardly necessary to add that this protracted procedure involves the loss of much valuable time and entails some unnecessary duplication of labour, which should be avoided by the discontinuance of the office in question.

Nor can it be said that it should be retained for the reason that the nature of the work requires the incumbent to possess a special or technical knowledge of survey and settlement matters. Facts, however, tell quite a different story. The present practice in filling that office is to appoint any senior Collector as Director; but as a rule he does not continue in the office long enough to acquire any exceptional knowledge of the duties attaching

to his office. Nor does he come to the post fully equipped with it. Out of the four officers who have in the past filled that office, viz. Messrs. Lawrence, Curtis, Pratt and MacNeil, it would be no disparagement to their attainments to say that at the beginning of their work as Director, none of them possessed any special knowledge of survey and settlement matters beyond what every collector in his earlier days is required to obtain. The plea of special knowledge thus falls to the ground.

The preparation of vital statistics is, we are told, also a part of the Director's functions. The work, though it is hardly possible to overrate its importance, cannot be said to be so onerous as to necessitate the maintenance of a separate office for the purpose. It can conveniently form an adjunct to one of the many not very over-worked offices, like that, for instance, of the Director of Agriculture. Anyhow the additional responsibility will not put an unbearable strain on his capacity and organising power.

It will be seen from what has been said above that the Director's office is a costly luxury which this presidency can ill afford at the present time, when every pie that could be made available is required in the interests of more pressing needs like education and sanitation. As it is, this office costs nearly half a lakh of rupees annually which is quite out of proportion to its importance and usefulness in the administrative machinery. It can very well be done away with by slight readjustments which will in no way involve an annual expenditure of more than three thousand rupees a year.

### FACTORY LEGISLATION IN INDIA.—III.

ENGLISH agitation over the Indian Factories Act of 1881 was commenced by Mr. Jones, a former Chief Inspector of Factories in Bombay. He appended in 1886-87 to the report of the Chief Inspector of Factories of the United Kingdom a minute in which he vividly described the factory conditions in India and particularly drew attention to four evils—long hours, occasional withholding of wages, incompetency of mill managers, and the ill-ventilated and filthy state of factory rooms. The then Secretary of State for India, always anxious to safeguard the interests of his own countrymen, forwarded in May 1888 to the Government of India the minute of Mr. Jones. About the same time the House of Commons was flooded with questions inquiring whether the hours of work in Indian factories were not too long, whether there was no necessity of providing weekly holidays for the operatives and whether it was not necessary to apply the English Factories Act to India. The Secretary of State again commended these questions to the best attention of the Government of India. The latter in their reply of November 1888 summarily rejected the idea of applying the English Factories Act to India and rejected as unfounded and untrue the allegations of Mr. Jones about the withholding of

wages and the incompetency of the mill managers. They, however, recognised the necessity of amending the Act of 1881 and were prepared to make the following modifications in it. (1) All factories which employ not less than 20 persons should be brought under the authority of the law. (2) The minimum age of children should be raised from 7 to 9. (3) The hours of work in the case of women should be restricted to 11. (4) As regards ventilation and sanitation in the factories, the local Governments should be given power to make rules under the Act. The question of factory inspection had then drawn a good deal of attention and it was contended that the inspections were not as they should be inasmuch as the Magistrates' inspections were not frequent and the Magistrates themselves had little or no technical knowledge required for the inspection. Bombay was the only province that had appointed a special Factory Inspector after the Act was passed in 1881. But after his resignation no new appointment was made; and on the strength of the experience of over three years, the Bombay Government arrived at the conclusion that under the existing factory conditions, the inspection by magistrates was the best. The Government of India concurred in this view. In the matter of providing by statute four monthly holidays for women, they dissented from the recommendation of the Bombay Factory Committee. They held that restriction in their daily hours of work, and the fact that women loiter about during their work period and thus obtain a good deal of rest, made it unnecessary to provide any more rest for them. The Government of India, however, were quite at one with the Committee in the latter's recommendation that the working hours of the male adults should not be regulated. The Secretary of State accepted all the recommendations of the Government of India except one, viz., that of not providing any weekly holidays for women. He insisted that such a provision must be made in the new Act.

While matters were being settled between Whitehall and Simla, the Manchester Chamber of Commerce passed a resolution recommending the application of the English Factories Act to India in so far as the former related to the protected classes. Feeling ran high in India over this resolution. The Madras Chamber of Commerce took the lead in condemning Lancashire's interference and wrote to the Government of India thus:—

"The Chamber does not deprecate legislation on the subject; but it submits that such legislation should be guided, not by the desire to procure uniformity with similar legislation in England, so much as by an enlightened perception of what is conducive to the welfare of this country irrespective of the demands of competing interests."

The Bill to amend the Act was introduced in January 1890. It contained all the modifications that the Government of India had suggested in 1888. In addition it provided for an hour's mid-day rest and four monthly holidays to women. This did not seem to have satisfied the Lancashire ca-

pitalists. The Blackburn and Incorporated Chamber of Commerce, in spite of the rebuke administered by the Madras Chamber of Commerce, thought fit to dabble in a matter which was purely a concern of the Indian people. In February 1890, it came forward as the disinterested friend of Indian labour and in a letter to the Secretary of State, took the trouble of pointing out and impressing upon him, the "grave discrepancies" between the Indian Bill and the English Act. "This Chamber," it declared with an air of great solicitude for the Indian workpeople, "takes the earliest opportunity to express its alarm and disappointment at the proposed measure" because the Bill fell far short of the English Act. Again, in April, it represented to the Secretary of State on the same question. The latter sent this correspondence to the Government of India with a recommendation that as the Bill was still under consideration, the Lancashire proposals should be sympathetically considered. He did not also fail to hint that the Berlin International Labour Conference, on which India was not represented, had agreed upon certain measures that were necessary to be adopted by every country in the matter of factory legislation, and to which India should as far as possible be a party. This hint proved to be a prelude to what followed after the Government of India expressed their opinion on the decisions of the Factory Commission appointed in 1890 at the instance of the Secretary of State for "ascertaining by means of an inquiry conducted in the centres of factory labour, the views and requirements of the Indian operatives themselves as to the restrictions to be imposed upon their labour in factories." The Commission was presided over by Mr. Lethbridge and contained three Indians as its members. Power was also given to co-opt one representative of each province when the Commission visited it. It must be said to the credit of the Commission that it made very exhaustive investigations into the factory conditions and took great pains to arrive at the right conclusions. Its recommendations, which were admirably supported by argument and reason, can be summarised thus:—

(1) The limitation of the hours of work for women to 11 is proper and sufficient. But the Commission thought that an exception was necessary in the case of those women who had to work with moving machinery. Individual women working with moving machinery should be, in the opinion of the Commission, exempted from the operation of this restriction. If this was not done, the Commission were convinced that these women operatives would be replaced by male adult operatives or half-time children, and the law, supposed to be passed for their benefit, would inflict serious permanent injury on these skilled hands and deprive them of the chance of earning a living in these factories." (2) There should be no such separate class as "young persons;" and the maximum age of children should be extended from 12 to 14. (3) The children's present hours of work are too long. They should be  $6\frac{3}{4}$ , or 7 at the most,

with half an hour's interval of rest. The Commission strongly favoured the half-time system for children, and if this be adopted, they did not think it necessary to provide by law for the midday interval of rest. (4) Instead of providing four monthly holidays, the Commission suggested one holiday in seven days, i.e., 52 holidays in the year, and not 48 as provided for in the Bill. (5) Subject to certain exemptions, provision should be made for securing to male adults the same holidays as have been recommended for women and children. (6) The day of rest should be Sunday; and it should be complete day of rest. (7) The hours of work of male adults should not be regulated. (8) There should be a complete stoppage of work for a midday recess for full half an hour. The Commission rather went beyond its terms of reference when it suggested that (a) the employers should sympathetically consider the question of giving financial help to those operatives who might be injured while doing their duty; (b) schools should be started for the education of the factory children, if half-time system were adopted; (c) something should be done to provide medical advice and medicines at the factory.

The Commission's report was soon followed by telegraphic correspondence between Whitehall and Simla. The Secretary of State persistently pressed the Government of India to expedite the matter without any further delay. At last the Government of India informed the Secretary of State that they practically approved of the recommendations of the Commission. But the Secretary of State was not satisfied with the progress made, as it did not come up to the resolutions of the Berlin Conference. So he insisted on reducing the children's hours of work to 6 with half an hour's midday rest, extending the women's midday rest from one hour to one hour and a half, and providing for the prohibition of women's and children's work at night. The Government of India accepted the last two suggestions of the Berlin Conference; but resisted the first. Then the Secretary of State withdrew the 6-hour condition for children but held fast to the provision of their midday rest. The Government of India yielded in this case and allowed half an hour's rest to children on condition that it would not necessitate the stoppage of work.

It will be seen that much water had flowed under the bridge since the Bill was introduced in January 1890. The Government of India therefore thought it desirable to prepare another draft of the Bill according to the final agreements reached between them and the Secretary of State. This draft and the original Bill were placed before the Select Committee. After very hot and protracted discussions the Committee passed it "with great difficulty." It embodied all the recommendations so far made and agreed upon both by the Secretary of State and the Government of India. The Select Committee, however, made three important modifications. Firstly, it raised the limit, prescribed in the original Bill, of the number of

operatives that constituted a factory, from 20 to 50 and gave power to the Local Governments to reduce it to 20 in the case of any factory if they thought it necessary to do so. Secondly, it permitted women to work at night, when the work was arranged in the shift system. And finally, it allowed children, working under the shift system, to work two shifts each not exceeding four hours, with a minimum interval of two hours. The Secretary of State allowed women's working at night provided the condition of 11 hours' actual work and one and one half hour's interval of rest was maintained. But he took strong objection to the children working eight hours by two shifts.

The Bill was finally considered in the Imperial Legislative Council on March 19, 1891. The Council in its final discussion threw out the provision of the children's work of eight hours by two shifts; and the Bill thus amended was at last passed.

R. R. BAKHALE.

### A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, JULY 28.

#### JOINT COMMITTEE'S REPORT ON KENYA.

THE Kenya Delegation has now reached here and has been in conference with the Indians Overseas Association, with whom it is arranging to wait privately upon Mr. Montagu and Mr. Churchill. It is likely that Mr. Sastri will be asked by the former to be with him to receive the deputation, probably some day next week, as he is somewhat indisposed at the moment. Meanwhile, the Joint Standing Committee has published its report, which your readers will doubtless have already seen *in extenso*. On the whole, but after much difficulty, the validity of the principal Indian claims and grievances has been recognised. The principle of racial equality has been expressly admitted, but the manner of application is left over to some impartial body which should make an inquiry on the spot. Mr. Churchill has, however, stated that he does not favour a Royal Commission except as a last resort. But the reactionaries on the Committee, taking advantage of the fact that a number of those sympathetic to the Indian point of view were unable to attend, have written protesting that they feel it incumbent upon them to record formally their dissent from the report. They say:—"The Committee was instituted, especially with a view to making reports and recommendations to Parliament on Indian affairs. On the initiative of some members of the Committee, the Committee proceeded to consider the position of Indians in Kenya Colony, but it soon became apparent that the questions involved in the status of Indians there affected many other British Colonies, mandated territories, and protectorates, and we came to the strong conclusion that the question of Kenya cannot be dissociated from Imperial policy of vital importance which might even affect the self-governing Dominions. We hold that the questions involved are matters for consideration of the Imperial Conference and"

the Government of the Empire, and that we, as a Committee constituted for dealing purely with Indian affairs, are neither qualified nor empowered to settle a matter of such magnitude. Finally, we desire to record the fact that the main substance of the report was only adopted by a bare majority of the members of the Committee." This precious document is signed by Sir Henry Craik, Major Glyn, Lord Harris, Lord Buxton, Sir W. Joynson-Hicks, Lord Midleton, Lord Sydenham, and Sir Charles Townshend. The fact is that these gentlemen will not reconcile themselves to the principle of racial equality within the Empire. They are quite inaccurate in their last statement. The substance of the report is the recognition of the principle of racial equality, which was adopted by a majority of 10 to 7, and would have been adopted by an even greater majority but for the absence of certain members of the Committee. Apart from that, the dissentients are clearly out of court, for they have attended the sittings of the Committee with a considerable amount of regularity, and have accepted its jurisdiction from the earliest sitting, when they were defeated on the very question of jurisdiction. As to the rest of their suggestions, they are hopelessly out of date. The fact is that Major Grogan and his East African colleagues have been doing a good deal of wire-pulling both at the Colonial Office and with the Parliamentary reactionaries, and Sir William Joynson-Hicks has been their principal spokesman.

#### THE GOVERNMENT OF BURMA BILL.

The end of the present Session of Parliament is drawing near. In a statement on business for the rest of the Session, Mr. Chamberlain said that the Government were endeavouring to secure the prorogation by the 26th August, and earlier if possible, with a new session in the late autumn if the Irish situation requires this, as a result of the success or failure of the present negotiations. In the course of his remarks on the chief measures that the Government would like to see carried, he referred to the Burma Bill, which has come down from the Lords. He stated that it had obtained the approval of the Standing Joint Committee, but that strictly speaking it was not necessary for the purpose of bringing into force the provisions with which it deals. It was, he said, introduced to obtain the approval of the Standing Joint Committee, but it was not necessary to carry out the judgment that they had formed upon it. For once one may write oneself down in accord with Sir W. Joynson-Hicks, who earnestly appealed to the Leader of the House not to have so important a matter dealt with by Proclamation, as he evidently proposed to do. He thought that the promulgation of a constitution for a part of the Empire should be done by Parliament, the mother of constitutions. There would be no opposition to the Bill, which would be treated by all parts of the House as an agreed Bill. Mr. Chamberlain did not reply. But in any case, Burma will get her constitution in a short time, subject to a Committee on Franchise and Functions

reporting at an early date.

#### [THE LATE MR. A. J. WILSON.

By the death of Mr. Alexander Johnstone Wilson at the advanced age of 80, India loses an old and steadfast friend. His weekly newspaper, the *Investor's Review*, expressed sound views on Indian political and financial questions; and his sympathy with the Indian peasant was deep and true. Many years ago in one of the periodic famines, his journal was instrumental in raising a special fund which was administered under the guidance of Sir William Wedderburn and his Indian friends. Mr. Wilson was a familiar figure at the breakfasts and luncheons arranged by Sir William in the interests of Indian reform, and it would be difficult to find a journalist whose financial knowledge was equalled by his political sagacity. His collection of essays, "An Empire in Pawn," contains important chapters on Indian Economics expressed in a fashion uncommon now a-days: with vigour and might, as became a fearless and uncompromising critic of financial abuses.

#### THE WORLD OUTSIDE.

THE *Constructive Quarterly* of June in an interesting article by H. H. Horwill draws attention to the Quaker activities in connection with the industrial and labour problems of the day. The small body of Quakers—perhaps twenty thousand all told in England—have always exercised an influence far beyond the number of their membership. In the nineteenth century they have led public opinion and formed a national conscience on such questions as the philanthropic duties of employers, on the stewardship of wealth, on social reforms in the treatment of prisoners, the protection of aborigines, the opium traffic, and last not least in moulding international relationships after the standards already accepted in the relationship between individuals. This latter postulate they acted up to in an unforgettable manner during the recent war, when, as the true Satyagrahis they have been for centuries now, they became living martyrs for the faith that was within them, bearing the ridicule, the contempt, the hatred of their fellow-countrymen with the same equanimity as they bore the savage punishments heaped upon them in camp and in prison. Those whom the military tribunals could not touch, went on quietly, ministering to the needs of the war-stricken population, friend and foe alike, and if ever people have borne a truly descriptive title, it is these men and women who call themselves "The Society of Friends." True friends they have indeed proved themselves and there is not a country in the war-affected area of Europe, where their name is not blessed, not only for what they have done, but for what they are still doing in their works of mercy and love.

THUS much is usually fairly well understood, though perhaps not as fully recognised and valued as it deserves to be. But what has by no means



yet become generally known is the new line taken by this "Society of Friends," a line which can perhaps be best indicated by the fact that there has recently been formed a Socialist Quaker Society. Since then Mr. Malcolm Sparkes' plan for National Industrial Parliaments and Mr. Dennis Miller's for a National Pool of 20 per cent. of all incomes have made admittedly very valuable contributions to the reconstruction of society at large on the basis of *service* instead of *competition*. Perhaps the most fascinating scheme—just formed for immediate practical execution—is the one contained in Mr. W. R. Hughes' book "New Town," for the formation of a "Pioneer Trust Ltd.," which is not only to create a new garden city of the most approved type, but is also to finance all the industrial, agricultural, and commercial enterprises of its citizens, with the one purpose of eliminating profit-making. We refer all interested to Mr. Hughes' book (published by Dent's), but cannot leave the subject without expressing a very deep regret that there has never yet been made any attempt in India to bring together in an Indian New Town the many capable persons there must be who have enough faith, enthusiasm and ability of working out in an actual, though experimental, city India's citizenship of the future.

MOST of those who have doubts as to the justice and feasibility of making people sober by Act of Parliament will be inclined to throw all such doubts completely to the winds and plump wholeheartedly for Prohibition, when they see such reasons adduced by anti-prohibitionists as was done recently by arch-reactionaries like Mr. Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labour, who is reported to have said that Prohibition "invades the habits of the working man, upsets him, and unsettles him and makes him meet other men as restless and discontented as himself." With the facts commented on by Mr. Gompers, we entirely agree; but instead of blaming Prohibition for such results, we altogether rejoice at them. For, what does it really mean except that no man would and could stand the conditions of modern industrial work unless he were drugged? It is perfectly true; but we know of no more utterly damning indictment of capitalistic labour conditions. The story is told of a preacher in England urging a loafer to come to his address on "The Road to Heaven" and getting the reply: "This"—meaning the pub at the corner—"is the quicker way there." Respectable people wring their hands at the drunkenness of these "lower orders"—and this applies to the Depressed of India, as it does to the Depressed of Europe—but one doubts whether one of these well-meaning, well-fed and well-groomed people could carry on existence such as the proletariat are condemned to lead, without clouding and deadening their consciousness and reason by artificial means, whether it is alcohol, opium or ganja.

IF Temperance is really to be acquired, provision must first be made for such a standard of life as is bearable without anæsthetics. And secondly, the people affected must be shown what better use they could make of the time they now spend in getting drunk and in being drunk. If Prohibition really "invades the habits of the working man" (*pace* Mr. Gompers), the habits, that is to say, of drunkenness, so much to the credit of Prohibition. If it "makes him restless and discontented" with his wretched lot and spurs him on to unite with his fellows to better their common lot, so much more to the credit of Prohibition. But what of a so-called Labour leader who advocates drunkenness as a preventative of thought and action and as a soporific for the masses!

HOWEVER, as regards Prohibitionists, one cannot but feel that their nostrum will not cure everything. People there are who even contend that it starts at the wrong end altogether. Raise the standard of life (they say), fill life with a more varied and higher content, and drunkenness will automatically disappear, Prohibition will become unnecessary. Take the pernicious habit of giving opium to infants—this abomination to which general attention has been recently called. One would think, to read much that has been written on the subject, that these mothers were all unnatural friends, delighting in nothing so much as in stunting their babies. Let any one put himself in the place of a mill-hand, who has to earn a living, got to go away early in the morning, and leave the baby under the care of another child or of a stranger for a whole day. Can such a mill-hand *afford* to have a troublesome baby? Establish Nursery Schools first, such as were advocated in this column last week, and then the drugging of India's future citizens will naturally stop.

IN England the Government have just passed their new Licensing Bill against the Local Option Bill moved by the Bishop of Oxford. By the new law a great number of war-time restrictions are being swept away, some good, some foolish. But what perhaps is of greatest interest, is to note the curious coincidence of a greater popular clamour for drink facilities with a swelling number of under-employed and a falling standard of life. In the war years of feverish national activity, there was no such thing as unemployment or under-employment; the general income of the worker rose steeply to a level where not only the necessities, but even the amenities of life became available. Add to this the mental preoccupation and excitement afforded by the fortunes, the upheavals, the new problems of war; and it will become easily understandable why alcohol as an anæsthetic or as an excitant could be so largely dispensed with at the time. The once drastic restrictions in the quantity and quality of, and opportunities for, drink have been relaxed one by one, with the result that England to-day is nearly back in this respect where she was seven

years ago. Lord Birkenhead grew lyrical about this restoration of individual freedom to Englishmen. The Lord Chancellor fortunately is not a representative of Englishmen; else—with *Dora* still alive—a malicious observer might conclude that the freedom of getting drunk is more highly prized by these people than the freedom of speech, of press and of assembly. As we said before, a national vice points usually to a vice in the economic system and therefore every radical treatment will apply itself, not to symptoms, but to the root cause of the disease.

AT the same time, when one talks generally of drink in European countries, especially in the wine-growing countries round the Mediterranean, one is not speaking of the same thing as "drink" in a London slum; anymore than one could compare the smoking of a cigarette with the smoking of hashish. The war-time restrictions in England were, therefore, admirable, in that they diluted the alcoholic strength of all spirituous liquors. Light wines—especially when still further diluted by water, as is customary in all Mediterranean countries—cannot make a man drunk, unless taken in such quantities as the human system would revolt against. If the sting is thus taken out of drink, it is also possible to proceed along another line which has been found eminently successful during the war-time control, viz. that of transforming the English public house into a Continental café. The Government Control Board under Lord D'Aubernon made the highly successful experiment of running "Reformed Inns" of their own; endeavouring to humanize the pre-war "pub" and to turn it from a licensed supply shop of drunkards into a place of general resort for bodily refreshment and innocent amusement. Such "Reformed Inns," of course, being run by a Government Board, were not run for profit. Those in charge of the premises and the employees attending their customers had nothing to gain, whether much or little alcoholic drink was sold. In fact the whole business was run on national lines, not on the night-mare logic of modern capitalism. And now this effort, together with so much else, which might have turned England from a C3 to an A1 nation, is thrown away on to the rubbish heap. The new Licensing Bill is guillotined and kangarooed through Commons and Lords and has already become law. And, with a sigh of relief, the Beer Lords and Whiskey Magnates come back into their own yet again.

HAS the official end of the War taken place? At one time one was told it was to be on August 4th; then again on September 2nd. In any case, whether the War is at an end or not: the entente certainly is. Officially it may still be deemed to exist, but that does not give life to the dead. Its swan-song surely was M. Briand's mournful confession that he could not accede on France's behalf to the eminently sane proposals which Mr. George sub-

mitted to the Supreme Council of the Allies. And so the Allies, allied in name only, had to demonstrate *orbi et urbi* that they can no longer compose their differences and have had to refer to the League of Nations the fate of Upper Silesia. Mr. George made a very able speech indeed and for once vindicated the dignity of England by resolutely refusing to be any party to "finishing off the wounded," even if the wounded happens to be Germany, which, hovering between life and death, asks for mercy. But France, or rather the packed Chamber which rules France to-day, is deaf to all such cries, as she is to the counsels of her own best sons and friends. On she marches after the chimeras of militaristic empire and nationalist madness, not recking her own extinction, if only thereby she can encompass the ruin of her enemies. And the latter include not Germany only, but Russia. The mail brings the news of a curious treaty made by France with Finland; Poland has had to enter into an alliance for defence and offence with Rumania; and the French troops in Upper Silesia, it is whispered, are only to be increased to serve as a compact body for the pegging out of French claims in Russia—whenever such an opportunity may offer. Did we say, the War was officially over? Ah, yes; officially.

As regards the calamitous famine with which poor Russia is afflicted, it is of psychological interest to note, how the people, who are suffering from the modern psychosis which we might call Sovietophobia, are apparently quite unable to mention Russia without conjuring up some melodramatic horror. One day Reuter talks of "cocaine-doped women commissaries killing out of sheer blood-lust" (not a bad effort that!); the next day, the Anglo-Indian press regales us with headlines of "Shooting the Starving." Reuter's melodramatic correspondent telegraphs from—Warsaw, from where of course the most reliable news about Russia might be expected! And when below the scare headlines, one scans, the other news one finds that apparently the Russian Government have given instructions not to allow the panic-stricken people to flee aimlessly from one province into another, spreading disease and disorder, thus only adding to the problem of food distribution; one finds that these instructions include apparently the right given to the various sanitary cordons to shoot, if necessary. There is not a word about it that these instructions have anywhere had to be carried out, but having been issued by a Soviet Government, of course, that must be taken for granted! And how thin-skinned these propagandists become who, when the boot is on the other foot, are the first to repeat the good old Tory dictum that "the first duty of a Government is to govern, and when I say govern, I mean shoot!" But is it quite "cricket" to sabotage even this international famine relief for Russia?

## CORRESPONDENCE.

## NON-CO-OPERATION IN BENGAL.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—Non-co-operation has ended in a fiasco in Bengal, as it was bound to do, and as it will end in other parts of India. Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal in a series of articles in the *Englishman* has been mercilessly dissecting the Gandhi cult exposing its hollowness, its inconsistencies and its bluff. Mr. Pal, an Extremist leader of yesterday, is demonstrating to-day that Mr. Gandhi's policy makes for violence and ill-will, and not for the generation of soul-force or any such spiritual elevation. It is of the earth earthy, Mr. Gandhi's ascetic life and personal character notwithstanding. The thinking Indian public did not need to be convinced of the mischief, but it is significant that it was left to Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal to denounce it in the columns of an English newspaper. That is indicative of the current of Extremist opinion in Bengal.

Mr. Gandhi's first stage in non-co-operation, namely, the boycott of schools, law courts and legislative councils and the renouncing of titles, has previously failed in Bengal. Boys who in their enthusiasm were led to absent themselves from school have come back chastened by domestic discipline. Lawyers who gave up practice and stumped the countryside find that the new occupation is profitable only at the beginning when moneys collected at meetings and otherwise were larger than professional income and they have reverted to the profession. All seats in the legislative councils are full. Titles are retained by the holders of them. Fireworks do not flourish for long in damp Bengal.

The next stage in Mr. Gandhi's programme is boycott of foreign cloths and the adoption of *Khadr*. Bengal has gone through the farce and knows the result. During the anti-partition agitation Bengal had more bon-fires of British goods than Mr. Gandhi can dream of. Bengal spun its fancy yarns and have done with them. It leaves that pleasant fertile occupation to other provinces new to the experience.

A word about the Crore Fund. Mr. C. R. Das, the Vice-King of Bengal, announced Bengal's contribution of twenty-five lacs. Whatever other provinces may think, Bengal knows that it is a myth. The announcement is based upon the principle that the new cult must not die for want of statements. It is curious that some of the non-co-operative journals are clamouring for accounts of the moneys collected and moneys spent. They might as well cry for the moon. A non-co-operation leader said the other day that this demand for accounts was most demoralising; it connoted want of confidence; without blind confidence in leaders no movement could succeed. Faith and not reason was the motive force of all great movements. "Theirs not to reason why." The appeal for the Crore Fund had a poor response in Bengal, not because Bengal is poorer than other provinces, but because Bengal believes in accounts. It is not suggested that patriots cannot make money in Bengal. They can, but not to the same extent as before. Their field of operation is shifted from pure Bengalis to outsiders who are engaged in industries. Hence organising strikes is a profitable business in Bengal now, inasmuch as operatives in industries are mostly non-Bengalis.

It is perhaps not known that in Bengal the non-co-operating leaders are mostly lawyers. An amusing story is going the round of Bengal papers. A leader who gave up his practice as a District pleader went about on a lecturing tour, of course at the cost of the non-co-operation fund. He brought about a dispute between a mother and son in a rich family and is now appearing in the courts as pleader for one of the parties. This is a type of lawyer-non-co-operator in Bengal. We have our commercial and industrial non-co-operators also. The trouble is that Bengal is demanding accounts.—Yours, etc.

B. L. M.

August 14.

## SELECTIONS.

## INDIAN WOMEN'S EDUCATION ASSOCIATION, LONDON.

THE annual meeting of the members of the Association was held under the presidency of Sir M. M. Bhowmaggree at the Indian Students' Hostel, Keppel Street, London, on Friday, July 22, 1921, at 3.30 P. M.

Among those present were the Ranisahab of Kalsia, the Princess of Kalsia, Princess Sophia Duleep Singh, Princess Sudhir Chandar, Lady Clwyd, Sir Sankaran Nair, Mrs. Cobden Unwin, Mrs. Villiers Stuart, Mrs. Haigh, Mr. and Mrs. Kotval, Mr. W. D. Hall, Mr. J. N. Bose, Mrs. Rustomjee Faridoonji, Miss Meyer, Miss Kausalji, Miss Mehta, Miss Bhalchandra, Miss Ghosh, and Mrs. Nundy.

The report and accounts for the year 1920 were adopted on the motion of the Chairman, seconded by Mrs. Villiers Stuart and supported by Sir Sankaran Nair. In the course of his speech Sir Manoharjee appealed for funds from India, and urged that societies should be formed throughout India with the object of selecting women students and providing them with the necessary funds for a course of study in this country. The function of this Association was not to raise funds but to take charge of and assist in various ways the women students during their residence here. He hoped the committee would prepare a prospectus for circulation in India setting forth in clear language the objects of the Association, and at the same time making it clear that the monies available were quite inadequate to meet the expenses of students. Mrs. Villiers Stuart in seconding appealed for more life-members at a subscription of £10. There were now 35 such members.

Mrs. Mackenzie (Hon. Dean of Education) gave an account of her recent visit to various educational establishments in India and appealed for extension of women's education. India could not attain her proper position in the world until her women are given greater facilities in the universities.

On the motion of Mrs. Haigh seconded by Mrs. Kotval it was resolved that the Association should extend assistance to the enquiry of the Indian Students' Committee under clauses 3, 4, 5, 10 & 11.

Miss Bhalchandra, the present student of the Association, stated that she had derived great benefit from her stay in this country and thanked the members for many kindnesses shown to her in the way of hospitality. She had been made to feel thoroughly at home here. It was a matter for satisfaction that Miss Nirvan Ghose has passed her examination brilliantly in spite of indifferent health. On the motion of Mrs. Haigh, the Chairman was thanked for his services and the Indian Students' Hostel for the use of the Hall.

## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

IT would appear that Northern Nigeria is being governed on principles just the opposite of those which hold sway in Kenya. Colonel Wedgwood, in his speech on the Colonial Office Vote, described Northern Nigeria as the "pearl of our Crown Colonies." "There is no white man in Northern Nigeria," said he, "who owns an acre of land. The whole of Northern Nigeria is being worked by the natives or the people of Nigeria, and exploitation is not seen. Even a black lawyer is not allowed to go up country to conduct a case. The black lawyer is too often the precursor of the white exploiter. We have said in Northern Nigeria we are going to show what England stands for in colonial policy, and how we can raise up the uncivilised black to a degree of civilisation that has never been known in that country before. And it is being done." Sir A. Steel-Maitland testified to the good work done there by way of education. "There (in Northern Nigeria) you have a striking example of real genius applied to the development of natives through education. In East Africa there is nothing comparable to that."

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