

THE Servant of India

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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE *Independent* takes us to task for describing the Moplah rebellion as a practical interpretation which some Moplahs had put on the Khilafat and for the description having come from 'an organ of the party whose lamented leader spared no effort to make Hindu-Moslem unity a permanent quantity in Indian public life.' If facts are not beneath the notice of our chivalrous contemporary, will it deign to observe that Ali Musaliar and other rebel leaders were prominent Khilafat officials in the district, that a Khilafat flag was hoisted at Tirurangadi and that a Khilafat *Raj* is still in existence at Nilambur? A red flag captured on the very first day of the outbreak near Tirurangadi had on it a crescent and stars and an inscription which began with "Khilafat—Allah is great" and exhorted everyone to set forth for battle. Was this not a practical interpretation of the Khilafat? As to Hindu-Muslim unity, any preaching from the *Independent* is absolutely superfluous. But we want it to be based on Indian nationality. In order to create that feeling in Mussalmans we may countenance special concessions as to their representation in councils &c. We may give our sympathy to the political aspirations of Turkey and insist on Britain carrying out its pledges. But all this could be done without having to support the Khilafat doctrine, which, according to some of its exponents, demands temporal allegiance to the Sultan of Turkey even from Mussalmans living under other flags. To allow this, we submit, would be inconsistent with the ideal of Indian nationality which can exist only on a non-religious basis.

* * *

IN this connection we commend to our readers the following thoughtful remarks of the *Indian Social Reformer* :—

So far as we know, no single Mahomedan ruler has given his support to it. There are to-day much-respected Mahomedans of light and leading occupying high and responsible positions in the Government and influencing its policy. We have been at some pains to ascertain the views of non-official educated Mahomedans, and they almost without exception, think that the Khilafat question has been pressed far beyond its legitimate value owing to Mahatma Gandhi's insistence on it as the way to *Swaraj*. It follows that the result of persisting in this view can only be to throw the ignorant masses into a state of excitement which, when it passes the limits of public safety as in Malabar, can be put down only by force. We cannot view with equanimity a movement whose ultimate result is bound to be that some hundreds of illiterate, ignorant people would be shot down in the interests of peace and order. Then, is there nothing to be done? We do not say that. We believe something, much, can be done, if the present agitation is abandoned. Our suggestion is that the Indian leaders should leave the matter to be settled in negotiation with His Majesty's Government and if necessary, the Turks, by a Committee of three or four Mussulman leaders of proved ability and patriotism, and should accept as final whatever this Committee recommends as practicable. To persist in the present movement in the face of hard reality may be magnificent from the spectacular point of view but it is neither politics nor common sense. Every person is entitled to go to the extremest lengths of personal sacrifice, if he chooses. But no one is entitled to plunge hundreds and thousands in misery for the sake of his idea.

* * *

IN his recent Madras speech Mr. Gandhi brought the Ministers of that province within the sweep of his adjective 'satanic', at which they appear to have got unnecessarily excited. Satanic and sin are now being used so freely that they have lost all their terrors for us. Is it not sin to serve Government in any capacity, e.g. as post master (though it is not sin to utilise the services of the post office) and are we not living in the Kingdom of Satan? But as the only escape is through the gate of non-co-operation let us all accept our kismet with true oriental resignation. The Ministers, however, were right in showing that Mr. Gandhi was mistaken in his facts. The Chirala municipality which has so much offended the Andhra non-co-operators was constituted quite a year before any Minister came into existence, so that Mr. P. Ramayanagar was not guilty of imposing it on an unwilling population as Mr. Gandhi had said. Forests was a reserved subject in Madras so that no Minister could be blamed for the collection of the grazing fees. Mr. Gandhi spoke of the sin and cruelty of separating the cow from the calf. It is no doubt wicked to separate the two. But who is really responsible for it—the Government or the ryot

who knowingly drives his cattle into a reserved forest? In the particular case to which Mr. Gandhi was referring the ryots adopted civil disobedience despite Congress injunction. We do not say that grazing fees could not be unjustly imposed or rightly resisted. But those who elect to refuse to pay the fee with a full knowledge of the consequences, cannot well complain of the sin and cruelty of separating the calf from the cow.

NOTHING can so effectively alienate public sympathy from Madras labour as the use by the latter of bombs, however crude they be, against the police and the Adi-Dravida workmen who are now attending the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills. The labourers made a great mistake in rejecting the mediation of the conciliatory committee of businessmen who had succeeded in persuading the stiff capitalists to agree to their preliminary conditions. They must recognise that terrorism will not pay and will only handicap those friends of theirs who are trying to get the Government to bring about a settlement of the dispute. It is incumbent on the leaders of the labour movement in Madras, some of whom are pledged to non-violent non-co-operation, to set their face firmly against these methods and hound out of their ranks the dangerous elements that are responsible for them. But we hope at the same time that those who have been trying to bring about a settlement will not relax their noble efforts on account of these sinister developments; but on the other hand will redouble them so that there may soon be an end to this hell of troubles.

SIR VITHALDAS THACKERSEY did well to expose in the Legislative Assembly what the Indian mercantile community regard as the stores purchase scandal. They have every right to demand that where stores have to be imported, purchases should be made "in the cheapest market consistently with quality and delivery," and that no preference or favouritism should be shown to British industries at the cost of the Indian taxpayer. Yet this is exactly what the action of the High Commissioner for India amounts to in some of his recent transactions. While disclaiming any desire to "subsidise British industries and labour" at India's cost, he is not unwilling to give "a bit of a preference especially to people who have formerly dealt with us." One would expect the High Commissioner, who is there to safeguard Indian, and not British interests, to press this very consideration for securing "a bit of a preference" for India from these British firms. The larger and the more constant the order, the greater the claim to special rates. This simple business convention however seems to be overlooked, when a British firm is concerned. Not only is it preferred to a foreign one quoting even 10 p. c. less, but it enjoys the special privilege of being confidentially shown the quotations of foreign firms with a view to enable it to bring down its own to "within 10 p. c., say, of the German or Belgian

tender." Think of the loss this means to India on a 7½ million sterling worth of railway material recently ordered from a British firm! Even supposing that the placing of this order with foreign firms had necessitated the deputation of experts for carrying out the inspection of the goods while under manufacture, we do not believe it would have cost this country more than £75,000. The incident has only to be mentioned to bring out the evident injustice it means to India.

A CORRESPONDENT from Malaya desires to warn Indians against going there in mistaken hopes. He says:

"There are so many unemployed Indians in Singapore. They come here thinking that Malaya is paved with gold but when they come here they roam in the streets of the principal towns here. Some think Java, Borneo, Sarawak and Sumatra will be better but they find things are worse there than in Malaya and so come back to the latter place. The "Non-European Unemployment Fund" in Kuala Lumpur has not enough means to meet all demands. The times are hard and every one is getting hard too in these places. A man working in a mercantile firm to-day is not sure of working next month. One of the biggest Chinese merchants of Singapore has declared bankruptcy lately. Summonses have increased in the Courts here by double their previous numbers. Every day you can see in the papers here about one of the following—unemployment, murder, robbery, breach of trust, suicide, absconding businessmen &c. &c."

We wish to draw the attention of our contemporaries in other provinces, particularly the vernacular papers of Madras, to this state of things in Malaya so that the likely emigrants may get a timely warning.

IN the *Young Men of India* of this month Rev. D. G. M. Leith of Madras writes a useful article on prohibition. Answering the objections usually taken to total prohibition, the writer says that it is incumbent upon temperance reformers, who often disclaim all responsibility in the matter, to suggest how the loss of revenue which the adoption of prohibition will entail should be made good. Then he himself proceeds to make some suggestions:

There seems to be little reason why income-tax should not be doubled, and in the case of the wealthiest trebled and quadrupled. Indeed, we believe that the time will come when it will be felt that there is no reason why a man whose income is over Rs. 1,500 per month should not give 50 per cent. of his surplus income to the needs of the State. There are large Zemindars, wealthy lawyers, captains of industry, whose contributions to the State expenditure are exceedingly small indeed in proportion to their wealth. . . . Again, there are many luxuries on which the tax is very small, such as tobacco, scents and jewels. There is no reason why taxes on such things should not be largely increased to help the depleted exchequer.

If Provincial Governments are permitted to levy a cess on income tax for provincial purposes, they would feel able to undertake such measures, which, though very costly, are imperative in a moral sense. In any case the non-co-operationist view of "no further taxes" must be definitely abandoned, for we cannot afford to be guilty of "keeping taxes as low as possible, even at the price of morality," as Mr. Leith puts it.

REPEAL OF REPRESSIVE LAWS.

THE Government of India have accepted the recommendations of the Committee, which in pursuance of the Rt. Hon. Mr. Sastri's resolution in the Council of State was appointed to examine some of the repressive laws on the Statute Book and to report on the advisability of repealing or amending all or any of them. The Committee have recommended the retention of the Bengal Regulation of 1818 and its Madras and Bombay counterparts in an amended form: the retention for the present of Part II of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908 and of the Seditious Meetings Act of 1911; but the immediate repeal of all other laws referred to them. The presence of repressive laws on the Statute Book has always been so strongly objected to that one naturally expected that the announcement of the repeal of most of them would be received with some enthusiasm. If, however, there has been a disappointment in this respect, it should not be inferred that the country no longer cares for the repeal. It only means that the attention of the public has been diverted to other and really very much less important matters. The mere passing of the Rowlatt Act, though it was not to come into force for a long time, was sufficient to provoke Mr. Gandhi to launch the country on the disastrous course of Satyagraha. But when that and other obnoxious laws are actually repealed, he and his followers are too busy making bonfires of foreign cloth to take notice of the event. We should, however, have been more pleased if the reservations mentioned above had not been made.

The object of Bengal Regulation III of 1818 and the analogous Regulations of Madras and Bombay is "the due maintenance of the alliances formed by the British Government with Foreign Powers, the preservation of tranquillity in the territories of Native Princes entitled to its protection and the security of the British Dominions from foreign hostility and internal commotion." The Committee consider that in order duly to fulfil the Government's obligations to Native States these Regulations should remain on the Statute Book but that the application of the phrase 'internal commotion' should be restricted to the frontiers. We are told that cases in point are exiles from foreign or protected States who are liable to become the instigators or focus of intrigues against such States, who could not be suitably tried in the courts of the States or of British India. We wish very much that instances had been given. The States require very little protection nowadays against instigators, whatever might have been the condition of affairs in 1818. Now it is the subjects of States that need protection from the high-handedness of their rulers. There is every reason to fear that if the Regulations be retained, pressure will be brought to bear on Government to apply their provisions against subjects of States who might incur the displeasure of their rulers for awakening political aspirations in their fellow-subjects. It would be a perfect irony

of things for the British Government to take repressive action at the instance of rulers of States against their patriotic subjects for the only fault of their having drawn political inspiration from the grant of responsible government to British Indians. If the Committee had mentioned cases where the use of the Regulations was found necessary we should perhaps have been able to appreciate their position. Even in frontier districts we do not think these special laws are required as the ordinary law has provided sufficiently against all offences against the State.

Part II of the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908 gives power to Government to deal with associations which encourage or aid persons to commit acts of violence or intimidation. This law was enacted owing to intimidation of witnesses that prevailed in Bengal in connection with anarchical outrages. Recently it was used against the so-called Volunteers of Delhi with, it is said, very good result. Its retention is recommended because the Committee say further: "It has been stated in evidence that Bolshevik emissaries have entered India and we cannot overlook the possibility of illegal associations promoted by them terrorising the population and engaging in a campaign of crime and terrorism." While it is no doubt a possibility, it is also obvious that what they say with regard to organised attempts at wide-spread disorder in recommending the repeal of the Rowlatt Act applies to this case as well: "We prefer, however, to leave this contingency to be dealt with when and if it arises, rather than retain a statute which is regarded as a stigma on the good name of India".

They discuss at considerable length the various arguments that have been urged against the Seditious Meetings Act of 1911, such as that it is unconstitutional, that it offends public sentiment and causes further agitation, that the existing law is adequate for all purposes for which this Act was intended, that its counterpart, the Press Act, being repealed this should also be repealed, that it prevents good propaganda as well as bad, and that in any case it is superfluous as the Viceroy can always fall back on his power to issue ordinances. We cannot agree with the Committee in their conclusion that in spite of these objections the law should remain for the present on the Statute Book. They say, with reference to Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code, that it was not designed to prevent meetings over a large area and that its use would arouse as much resentment as that of the Seditious Meetings Act. We think there is a difference; but the point we wish to emphasise is that the very presence of the latter offends public sentiment. The Committee anticipate wide-spread disorders in the near future as a result of the non-co-operation and Khilafat propaganda and in support of their opinion adduce many quotations of an inflammatory character from the speeches and writings of the propagandists. They also refer to the Moplah rebellion as justifying their forecast. We do not wish to treat their fears lightly. But

one or two events that have happened after their report was drafted throw a fresh light on the situation. The administration of martial law in Malabar has been received very differently by the public from the administration of martial law in the Punjab. No doubt the attitude of the authorities has changed very much and is mainly responsible for the difference. But it is also evident that the people recognize the necessity for giving all necessary support to Government in an emergency. Another fact is that the arrest of the Ali Brothers has been received with rather unexpected calmness. In all probability the next development of the non-cooperation movement will be the adoption of general civil disobedience which may assume the form of refusal to pay taxes. But against this course special legislation will be of no avail for even ordinary law will be disobeyed. We are therefore of the opinion that all repressive laws should be immediately repealed.

We take this opportunity to welcome the recommendation of the Committee that a Bill should be introduced on the lines of the Disorderly Public Meetings Act of England which makes disturbance at a public meeting an offence and provides a heavier penalty for disturbances during Parliamentary elections. The need for such protection against hooliganism has been specially felt in recent times and we should like the legislation to be introduced immediately, that is to say, without waiting for the next general election as the Committee seem to imply.

WHEREIN SHALL WOMAN ASSERT HERSELF ?

NOW that the women of the Presidency have gained the right of franchise, they will perhaps begin to assert themselves in certain matters regarding their personal well-being which, up till now, have been woefully neglected. The very act of claiming the right of franchise is an act of assertion on the part of womanhood, and it is greatly to be hoped that the same spirit which inspired women to this act will inspire them in other acts which, though they may at first sight seem of less importance, will have equally far-reaching effects, and even more immediate results.

It seems that the women's greatest enemy is custom. There are probably many women among us who, if called upon, are prepared to perform deeds involving much courage. There are women who will bravely face physical dangers, women who unhesitatingly expose themselves to the risks of infection and contagion in rendering service to others, women who live lives of self-sacrifice of the highest degree for the sake of those whom they love—but there are very, very few women who have the courage to break away from customs or rather from customs, many of which surely ought to have become entirely obsolete by now. Often a woman will feel the real need for doing something which, upto the present time, has not been considered quite the proper thing for wo-

men to do, but her courage will fail her, and in nine cases out of ten, or rather in 999 cases out of 1000, she will, against her own conviction, and regardless of her own welfare, continue to do as she has always done, and as others have done before her. She cannot face the terrible bugbears of लोक हंसतील and लोक झणतील. In countries where the phenomenon of "fashions" occurs, a new departure started by an individual will, if it finds favour, be imitated by so many other individuals, that it very soon becomes the "fashion," or a custom of longer or shorter duration, as the case may be. If the new idea is really valuable the newly-formed custom will probably become a more or less permanent one. If there is not much utility or beauty in the idea, it will have a short and limited reign, and then die out entirely. But in neither case will the originator of the idea be made to feel ludicrous, or at least he, or I should rather say "she," will not feel herself to be an object of ridicule. The person concerned will simply have put his or her own ideas into practice; that is all.

Even here, where the phenomenon of "fashions," as known in the West, does not occur very largely, it is probably more the fear of the unknown, a fear of the possibility of ridicule, that prevents women from doing what they would like to do. In all probability the results would be good, and not bad, if only the women will take the risk.

To be more explicit. Is there any reason why a woman's head should not be protected from the sun? At first sight it would seem that an emphatic "No" is the correct answer to the question. However, strange as it may appear, there are, at least in the minds of women of Poona City, several reasons why a woman's head should not be thus protected. Let me illustrate this by examples. I recently attended an afternoon meeting at the Shivaji Mandir, where the audience consisted of men and women. A lady who had gone there with me and was sitting next to me was considerably inconvenienced by the fact that the declining rays of the sun were shining directly into her face. Her eyes were screwed up and she complained that her head was beginning to ache. The sun's rays having passed from my direction to hers, I immediately offered her my umbrella advising her to shade her face with it for a few minutes. To my surprise, however, she refused it saying, "All the women would laugh." I noticed, on the other hand, that nobody laughed at the men for using sunshades or umbrellas, although they already had caps or turbans on their heads, while the heads of the women were bare, except for the hair which, I regret to say, had in many cases become precariously thin on the top of the head owing to the "custom"-ary tightness with which the hair is drawn back.

The wearing of the *padar* over the head as a protection from the sun is a mere pretence. Neither the head nor the eyes are shaded, though the back of the neck does gain a little protection. A Hindu lady with whom I was speaking about this matter said, "Am I a man that I should go about carrying an

umbrella?" And yet another lady said, "Yes, it is true that women's heads and eyes need protection just as much as those of men, but we cannot use headgear or umbrellas. This is our *मर््यादा*."

Though none of these reasons would appeal to the hygienist, they seem to bear the weight of supreme importance in the minds of our women. Only yesterday a lady who can by no means be called backward or narrow-minded, in spite of the fact that her literary education is very small, said to me, "It would look better for me to come home with my clothes soaked with rain than to come with an umbrella over my head."

Again, to take another example, many women, believing it to be more "correct," still go bare-foot, though they complain of cuts and blisters, cracked heels, sores, and even septic poisonings. Some women who wear the "Brahman shoes" find them unsuitable for a long sharp walking expedition, and yet continue to wear them on these occasions, thereby spoiling both the pleasure and the benefits to be gained by the exercise of walking. Yet none of these women have the courage to wear what they find comfortable, or to devise something suitable and use it regardless of what others may think or say.

We try to find remedies for so many diseases while our attention would more profitably be turned to the prevention of these diseases. According to the women's code, what is good for the mother is good for the daughter, and thus not only the present generation of adult women suffers, but also the future generation, for the girls whose youthful days are regulated by such rules as those discussed here can hardly expect to become the healthiest or most robust of women.

Often my arguments are met with by the counter-argument of poverty. I wish to emphasize strongly that I am treating here only of those who cannot legitimately bring forward the excuse of poverty. The question of the poor is quite a different matter, and cannot be dealt with on this occasion. Yet, I must confess, that the proverbial poverty of India is often used as a cloak for sins of omission and commission by those who have no right to it, and who try to screen themselves behind their truly poor brethren.

In conclusion, then, let me once again point out with the strongest emphasis how absolutely essential it is that we women should begin to free ourselves from the fetters of custom where it is necessary for our general welfare, though without unnecessarily breaking away from old associations or wantonly destroying old traditions. It was once said by a prominent statesman that "Woman cannot have the vote because she is a woman." That was in the days gone by. Let us then with all speed break down the hoary old superstition that woman's health may, or should, be neglected because woman is woman, and by doing so we shall further the welfare not only of our women, but of the entire population of our beloved country.

SHILAVATI KETKAR.

A COMMERCIAL POLICY FOR INDIA.

INDIA has no fiscal policy of her own. Being a dependency her commercial policy is dictated from Whitehall which is as a rule the embodiment of the interests of the Lancashire manufacturers. It is often asserted that India is "a mere 'plantation' whose good must be sacrificed to the interests of British capital." The consensus of opinion of Indian economists is protectionist without an exception and against the present Free Trade policy adopted in India. Indian industries being yet in an undeveloped state they naturally seek protection at the hands of the Government, which is denied them. Some interested persons, among whom Mr. Chamberlain may be counted, mooted the idea of Preferential Tariff, which, they say, would result in many advantages to India and to her nascent industries. Much capital has also been made out of a resolution proposed a decade ago in the Indian Legislative Council by one of the members. But the eyes of these advocates of Imperial Preference are closed at the repeated protests of Indians against this Preference scheme. One of them went the length of scribbling a book entitled "Indian Offer of Imperial Preference." This question of commercial policy was recently discussed in the Council of State. And now a fiscal commission is to be appointed to go into this matter and it would not be out of place and season to reconsider this question and what it means to India though for some years it was treated as an academic one.

A nation could adopt either Free Trade or Protection as her commercial policy according to the will and state of the people of the country. And this has been considered as her natural right. But India is unfortunate that her policy should be determined not by the will of her people but by foreigners who have no stake in the country but their own commercial interests. Plainly speaking, there is no reason why India should adopt a Free Trade policy but that it has been adopted by England. This has been brought to the notice of those responsible for our policy time and again and being unable to continue the same policy against the public opinion, this new policy of Preferential Tariff has been suggested.

Many seem to be under the impression that Preference means Free Trade within the Empire. But its correct idea is "that each part of the Empire should remain an independent fiscal unit and levy such duties for revenue or protection as may seem good to it, but should relax them in part in favour of other parts of the Empire, thus taxing foreign goods on a higher scale than British goods." According to this definition given by Mr. Money, India ought to be in the first place an independent fiscal unit with as good a right to protect her home industries or to adopt any other policy as any other independent country in the world. And until she obtains this position she cannot consider this scheme at all. The Preferentialists conceive something different from this. They believe that India cannot hope to get Protection

and also confess that Free Trade has done no good to her industrial development. But they also say that the question would be satisfactorily solved by the adoption of Preference. We quite recognise that the part of fiscal autonomy granted to India under the Reforms cannot come to our rescue. The words of Mr. Gokhale seem to be as applicable to-day as when they were uttered that India demands the right kind of protection. But in the absence of such a Protection he preferred the policy of Free Trade, *reasonably applied*, to any other scheme of tariff.

Preferentialists propose in the main that the excise duty on Indian manufactured articles should be abolished. Indians have time and again emphasized this point and such a step would be welcome. Nothing has contributed more to the strength and unanimity of Indian feeling on this subject of countervailing excise duty than the favour shown to Lancashire in determining the commercial policy of India. The Indian view on this 'adventitious piece of injustice' is that it must be abolished at the earliest opportunity.

Preferential tariff for goods imported from the United Kingdom and other British possessions is another item of tariff reform. Its advocates propose that British goods should be imported duty-free. The import duty on Lancashire cotton goods being abolished, the cloth in the Indian market would be cheap and even the poor peasant would be able to clothe himself comfortably. The imposition of higher protective duties on foreign goods with countervailing excise duty on Indian manufactures abolished will promote cheapness and nascent indigenous industries would be protected against foreign competition. Owing to the enhanced duties on foreign imports and exports the revenue would increase and that would be an advantage financially. They profess to firmly believe that the satisfactory solution of the Indian fiscal problem lies in the adoption of Imperial Preference.

But what are the facts? The cotton industry is one of those industries for which protection from Government is demanded. In times of yore India used to produce the finest cloth in the market of the world. It was because of British intervention in the Indian market that we lost our supremacy. Many a chapter can be cited in favour of this assertion. In the cotton and textile industry Lancashire is the only rival to us. Under Preference India cannot hope to protect her industry against that of Lancashire. Nearly 60 per cent. of our imports are from the United Kingdom; and we will not gain much by taxing the remaining 40 per cent. Besides, as the commodities that we import from foreign countries are mostly those of everyday use, by taxing these we shall be taxing our own people. The kerosine and sugar and matches that we import cannot be supplied to us by any part of the British Empire and if we impose any import duty on these commodities the pockets of the poor are sure to be touched. The British Empire is not for the present able to produce sufficient

sugarcane or beet for Indian needs, nor to produce matches nor kerosine. No doubt the Preferentialists argue that these industries in India will be protected and grow in course of time. But the danger to this Protection is likely to come from Great Britain herself. She might act the part of middleman and purchase all the sugar or any such commodity for the Indian market, as she did during the War in the case of dyes in which transaction she profited to the extent of 10 per cent., and thus nullify all the advantages that India might have enjoyed owing to Preferential Tariff. England will then be the centre of all trade of India, and even for a trifling foreign commodity she will have to look to England. There is a belief among many people that it is due to England and her policy that the growth of indigenous industries in India has been arrested.

As regards the imposition of export duty on goods exported to foreign countries, we can safely predict that it will not do good to India. The danger of retaliation is beyond exaggeration. Our exports to foreign countries are nearly two-thirds of the whole and not even 30% constitute our monopolised goods of which a large portion is exported to the United Kingdom. Except for our monopolies foreign nations will naturally seek the cheaper markets and Indian trade with foreign countries will decline. It is also contended that as India produces raw materials which are required by foreign manufacturing countries and without which their trade will suffer, she need not be afraid of retaliation. But in view of the fact that all Indian products are not Indian monopolies the contention falls to the ground. On the other hand, India by adopting such a suicidal policy would indirectly encourage other nations to produce those materials which were hitherto her monopolies. The jute industries furnish us with a good example. Dundee though a jute producing country could not compete with India. But by adopting the measure suggested by the Preferentialists, Dundee will revive her industry; and India will suffer to the extent Dundee will gain. Under these circumstances the danger of retaliation is greater.

Solidarity of the Empire is one of the aims of the Preferentialists. The Empire will be an industrial unit, self-sufficient and independent of other countries which produce raw materials. There was a time when India believed that it was her good fortune to be connected with England. But the great war has revealed many a thing and has changed the whole situation of the world, political, social, economic and industrial. With all the racial inequalities and degradation of Indians in every sphere of life it is impossible for India with any sense of self-respect to retain the same love and respect for the Empire as a whole. It is quite evident that India cannot gain anything from Preferential tariff. What have the colonies to give us in return for our raw materials? Great Britain claims a large percentage of imports and in proportion India will have to suffer the loss of revenue

which she would have got either under Protection or Free Trade. Under Preference the Indian consumer does not find himself better off than under Free Trade. From the point of view of the Indian producer the Preferential tariff scheme would not be advantageous to him. The underlying motives of the advocates of Imperial Preference can be detected when they declare that India is a debtor country and that her obligations to England can be liquidated easily by direct shipment of Indian goods to the United Kingdom. We do recognise the advantages that we may enjoy under the "most favoured nations clause" and we may adopt it if necessary.

It is a matter of gratification that Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah has been appointed as Chairman of the Fiscal Commission. This question must necessarily be considered as our Government now-a-days shows some leanings towards it; but we hope that the matters will be settled in the best possible manner. At the same time it is believed that the appointment of the Commission was superfluous when Indian opinion on the subject is unanimous. India's cry has been to secure fiscal autonomy. If real responsible government is to be granted to India, the determination of its fiscal policy must be in the hands of the Indians themselves.

K. G. W.

A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, SEPTEMBER 8.

THE LATE PROF. DAS GUPTA.

IT was with a shock that his friends, British and Indian alike, heard of the sudden passing away of Professor J. D. Das Gupta, of the Calcutta University. Professor Das Gupta had come here as a member of the Calcutta University delegation to the Imperial Universities Congress, and had taken an important part in the deliberations of the Congress. Though he did not appear to be in any too good health, no one suspected that he had so insecure a tenure of life. It had been a great pleasure for him to get back to Oxford, where, at Balliol, he had been a brilliant scholar, and I had the pleasure of discussing with him just before he died several interesting problems in education, notably the research work carried on by the Calcutta University, of which he was very proud, and the teaching of history, his own special subject, as a whole, and not in water-tight compartments. On these subjects he spoke enthusiastically, and he felt that the work done by the Calcutta University, on the original side, deserved to be better known. He certainly did his share to make it better known, and his University may be grateful to him for yet another added to the many services that he had rendered her during a long and useful life. Professor Das Gupta, as was natural in a man of his sensibility and experience, was most deeply interested in the Indian student problem in this country, of which he had been making a close study

and he had been affectionately induced to give the students at the Shakespeare Hut the benefit and privilege of close association with him. Last Friday evening, apparently in his normal condition of health, he had dined at the Hostel, and had afterwards held a Group Conference among the students, who learned to appreciate his gifts of character and simple, unaffected manner. On his way home, on arriving at Golder's Green station, he suddenly collapsed, but, reviving somewhat, he was eventually brought safely home, where, however, he passed away a couple of hours later. The cremation ceremony took place yesterday afternoon at the the Golder's Green Crematorium, where the remains of a number of distinguished Indians have been similarly disposed of from time to time. A choir of Bengalee ladies chanted a couple of appropriate hymns, whereafter Principal Heramba Chandra Maitra, a colleague of the deceased, delivered an eloquent address upon a Sanscrit text. Among those present were Sir Devaprasad Sarbadhikari, Sir Nilratan Sarkar, and Mr. N. C. Sen. The simple ceremony, amidst foreign surroundings, was of a touching character. The sympathy of the Indian community goes out to the widow and son of the deceased, who are both in this country. Mrs. Das Gupta expects to leave for India at the end of the present month.

THE I. C. S.

A few days ago, a gentleman, evidently a member of the twice-born service, writing under the pseudonym "Komma" in the *Times* wrote a long and silly season letter on the probability of the reduction of standard in the I.C.S. in the future, with the increase in the proportion of Indians in the service and under the new conditions inevitable as a result of the Reforms. He sighed heavily after the old times, and seemed to think that the service offered little prospect for British youngsters. Of course, if the old ideas of race superiority remain, there is certainly no scope for the British youngster under the new regime, and it were as well that our people here, young and old alike, definitely recognised that unalterable fact. The days of racial superiority are gone for ever, and it is superiority of character alone that will be allowed to tell in the long run. Among the more brilliant students now at Oxford is Mr. M. C. Chagla, who, though never having previously held office in the Majlis, has been elected its President for the ensuing term by a two-thirds majority. Mr. Chagla has also held office in the Oxford Union, where he is doubtless marked out for further preferment, and he is one of the bright particular stars of the Asiatic Society at the University. He adds to a brilliant record as a public worker, considerable balance and sober judgment, as well as great charm of manner. Noting the fallacies underlying "Komma's" effusion, he has hastened into the breach, and attains in to-day's *Times* the distinction of a quarter of a column in the correspondence page. He denies the allegation that "the Indian is to be selected on a lower standard and will not compete with the

Englishman," and asserts that all that the new regulations have achieved is to remove the disabilities and disadvantages from which Indians who wished to compete for the I.C.S. suffered in the past. He also denies that the sort of examination held in the past necessarily resulted in the selection of the best Englishmen any more than the best Indians. But even in the then difficult circumstances, he declares, Indians managed to hold their own well with the British competitors. He says that under the new examination scheme, it is unlikely that the standard will fall, especially having regard to the severity with which candidates for University examinations are plucked. So much so, that it is likely that Indians who are afraid of the severer standards in India will, if they can afford it, send their sons to this country to compete under more favourable conditions here. Mr. Chagla says that Indians would be delighted to compete on equal terms in India with Britishers at examinations held there, and adds shrewdly that "the fixing of a certain percentage for the Indian element of the service, as it must be obvious to anyone, is not for the benefit of Indians, but in order to preserve, to a certain extent, the British character of the service." Mr. Chagla, if he continues in this spirit, will travel far.

UNEMPLOYMENT.

Things political are to a great extent at a standstill. The holidays and fine weather preclude, except in special circles, any great interest in public affairs. That perhaps explains why one evening paper gives us a striking placard announcing the despatch of the Cabinet's reply to Sinn Fein, whilst another, supposed to be of much more liberal tendencies, can think of nothing better to attract its readers with than the announcement of the probable starters at a north country race meeting. But many things of interest and importance are happening around us. There is, as I have indicated already, the Irish question, which has reached an acute crisis again. There is the probability, however, we are informed, that the Government, instead of taking umbrage at the intransigent attitude of Mr. de Valera, is willing to enter into conference with the accredited Irish leaders on the basis of acceptance of the British connexion, but with no other conditions, relying upon the necessities of the situation to secure by voluntary agreement with the Irish people the requirements that the British Government regard as essential to a settlement. Then there is the question of unemployment, which is likely to take strange shapes before the winter is over. Already unemployment processions are frequent, and the demands of the unemployed are ringing in the ears of all of us. When there is so little work to be done and being done, it is a little difficult to expect those who are in work, and working pretty hard too, to be willing to accept the burden of maintaining at full rates of pay those who are not working, and many of whom, even when nominally working, never do an honest day's work and do not intend to. The go-slow policy has got on

the nerves of a large number of citizens, and they will regret to see that the president of the Trades Union Conference that has just been in session had not only no condemnation for "ca' canny" tactics, but actually seemed to imply that they were a part of normal trades union policy in existing economic conditions, as though there were more wealth in the world than that actually created by the labour of men. The economics of the Labour Party is in need of complete revision. If Labour contends that Capital is immoral, Capital has the easy retort of "tu quoque." Mr. Bernard Shaw seems to see the situation pretty clearly, for he has nothing but contempt for the dishonest drone, from whatever class he may come, and he roundly tells Labour that the Socialist State will tolerate neither a policy of go-slow nor one of strikes. It is not the sort of pabulum that will make the distinguished thinker popular with the workers or with those of their leaders who have not the courage to look facts in the face and take the trouble to jettison their top heavy cargo of outworn shibboleths. It is as much the recognition that Labour is obsessed by economic fallacies that prevents the sympathies of the average man going out to the worker even when he is in the right and Capital or the Government is obviously in the wrong. Hence, much sympathy that might have gone out towards Mr. George Lansbury and his colleagues of the Poplar Borough Council, who are now in gaol for refusing to levy a rate to satisfy the demands of the London County Council and the Metropolitan Water Board for services rendered. They claim that the Government or the wealthier Boroughs of London should come to the aid of the poorer ones, which cannot afford to raise such a rate, in view of the great burden of expenditure upon the unemployed. The answer to this is that several of the poorest Boroughs are in the hands of Labour experimentalists, who are quite regardless of the pockets of the rate-payers in their disbursements upon luxurious buildings, for which there is no necessity, or for wild-cat schemes which the rate-payer is not eager to see run at his expense. But that the Government will have to take steps for the relief of unemployment in the near future, and ease the burden upon the poorer Boroughs, is clear enough, and it may quite well be that the Cabinet will be forced to call Parliament at an earlier date than contemplated, Irish question or not.

THE WORLD OUTSIDE.

It is curious to what extent the crude materialism of a bygone Victorian age still forms the basis of most "anti-colour" arguments. The favourite one of course is that miscegenation between White and Black means the admixture of inferior "black" morals to a superior "white" character; implying that strength of will, clarity of judgment, love of one's neighbour, etc., are "characters" like the characters which dis-

tinguish the fleet Arab horse from the heavy Clydesdale or from the frisky polo pony. That you may breed through a stud-farm *characters* but never *character*, physical accidents but never spiritual substance, is of course a solid fact, but when have people bothered about facts when carried away by hatred and pride? So Mr. Vernon Kellogg in a recent number of the "Yale Review" solemnly talks about "Americanising the Germ Plasm," advocating discrimination between the "germ-plasm" allowed to immigrate into the hallowed borders of the U. S. A. and that which is to be kept out in future, implying that you can breed "Patriotism" by selecting "patriotic" parents! Twaddle of course remains twaddle, however many biological terms you may express it in, but the worst of it is that Mr. Kellogg happens to be the American Commissioner of Immigration! This sort of pseudo-scientific nonsense however does not stop at Ellis Island; for was not an Archdeacon the other day tarred and feathered by a white mob at Miami (Florida) for being suspected of favouring negro equality and intermarriage of races? His bishop has now denied that Mr. Irwin, the Archdeacon in question, ever taught either: the denial even more than the lynching, illustrating forcibly the mentality of the white germ-plasm. The irony of it all is that of course a steady infiltration of negro blood into the rest of the American population is going on, is bound to go on and is bound to result in a final assimilation, even if it takes a thousand years or two to do it. Prof. Conklin in a book noticed below believes as a matter of biological fact that the commingling of all existing human types is inevitable within the next 5000 or 10,000 years at the most: a result he welcomes as making for progress. Personally we can only say that the sooner the Miami germplasm is assimilated away and into something else, the better for Miami, for America and for the world.

The Biology of War.

THE trick of using scientific terms to hide unscientific thought is only too common nowadays. Prof. Nicolai of Berlin University recently made some very timely remarks in an address he delivered on this subject at the summer school organised this year at Salzburg by the Women's International League. He emphasised particularly the pseudo-Darwinism of the militarists who think they have demolished pacificism when they talk about the inexorable laws of the struggle for life and such like biological sounding phrases. As the famous German physician pointed out, war as a matter of fact "Selects" not in the interest of the race but against it, by weeding out the fit and saving the least fit to live. This is obvious, but the speaker went further and showed that as life developed, it grew more complex and as life grew complex it demanded not struggle, but more and more co-operation within the same species. Again as in the most highly developed animals there is necessarily evolved a central co-

ordinated brain, so he reasoned; corresponding to this physiological fact there must be a sociological one, a central co-ordinator in the body politic: and this he sees in a League of Nations of some sort or other. Prof. Nicolai by the way, is a very remarkable man in more ways than one. He used to be the physician to the German Empress but condemned fearlessly the sinking of the "Lusitania"; was then compelled to serve in the ranks as a hospital orderly, but when about to be drafted into the combatant ranks, escaped by aeroplane to Copenhagen, where he wrote his famous book "The Biology of War." The German Republic has welcomed him back to Berlin since then and appointed him to a chair at the University there. Which incidentally throws a strong light on the real change which Germany has undergone since the "All Highest" ran away into safety and obscurity.

The Direction of Human Evolution.

IT is certainly interesting to see how professional biologists agree in brushing aside the semi-scientific jargon of unscientific politicians who try to gain fictitious support for their patriotisms by re-painting their crumbling posts with the iron-grey colour of science. Prof. Conklin, for example, in his recently published "Direction of Human Evolution," reaches the very conclusion which Prof. Nicolai has reached. In his book the English Professor demonstrates how biological progress has only been possible because minor units have been put in subordination to the larger units of organisation; and how similarly society as an organism tends to subordinate personal independence and develops into the "highly organised State, in which" increasing specialisation and co-operation are the companion principles of progress. From this to the Society of States seems a natural step, wherein the units are no longer individuals, but States. The United States of the American continent, the British Empire itself, are clearly gropings in the same direction, of which the only true goal can be a federation of the world. It is however most necessary to bear in mind that such a federation of the world, to be in the line of biological progress, must consist of subordinate States which must increasingly specialize, if they are to raise the value of the sum total of co-operating states. Mr. T. H. D. Cole in his just published "The Future of Local Government" for instance suggests that in England itself "the Lamastrian Region might take over the cotton textile, the Yorkshire Region the woollen and worsted, the Welsh the tin-plate industry" &c. If every state is self-contained, there is no need for co-operation: isolation would be the better ideal.

The Illusion of Victory.

IF ever any man had the right to say "I told you so," it is that veteran pacifist, Mr. Norman Angell, who in his famous book "The Great Illusion" many years before the great war predicted exactly the futility of all such future wars,

should man ever be so foolish as to engage in them. Well, everybody was so foolish and now everybody is as disillusioned as the author said everybody was bound to be, after trying the Great Illusion just once more. Mr. Angell has just published a sequel to his first book, called "The Fruits of Victory," and it goes without saying that it is of the greatest interest. The main thesis regarding the genesis of wars is that, whilst all nations will say that preponderance of power is very bad in other nations (who would be bound to misuse it sooner or later, human nature being what it is), they will yet always except their own. One's own nation would never use preponderance of power otherwise than for purely defensive purposes; one's own nation in fact through the strength of her armaments only maintains the Peace of the world. Of course. It is always the other fellow. Germany said that before the war; France says it now; Japan says it; the United States say it. Of course it is only the British Empire that can be trusted with Supreme Power really—at least if you happen to be an Englishman. An American will argue similarly, but for America. And the palpable fallacy seems to strike nobody. Not even after this "Great War" which was going to usher in a New Earth and a New Heaven on earth, if only the victory of the allies could be made sufficiently decisive. "If we allies only had the power to do it, we would soon finish off these miserable people who always upset the world; we would give self determination to all people; make the world safe for democracy; get together in a grand league of nations; and concentrate on making every country fit for heroes to live in." Thus ran the argument during the war. Well, has the victory not been decisive enough? Of course it has. Then why have all these fine things promised not materialized? Because untrammelled power never yet has led to anything but misuse of power, in whosoever hands the power may be. And the only hope is just this one: that all nations will grow so fed-up on the fruits of victory, that they will force the hands of the patriots and make each sovereign Government surrender its sovereign rights to a League of Nations, a Parliament of Man. Not very likely? Perhaps; but we said, not the greatest probability, but the only hope. Literally, the only one. Let everybody get that clearly into his head, anyhow.

Helots or Customers.

MEANWHILE, victory, one should say, ought by this time be recognised as the Dead Sea Fruit that it is. England, which of all European countries is the least hit financially, is perhaps the worst off industrially, since it depends more than any other country on its capacity to produce for export. The very completeness of the defeat of its enemies rebounds on itself by having eliminated England's best customers. England's "Victory" has with one fell swoop annihilated her one time unrivalled position as world's supplier. To retain any market, to tempt any consumer to buy, England must now try to undersell customer nations whom as ex-enemy nations she forces to undersell herself! Instead of acknowledging the lunacy of the process, English capitalists gaily continue to clamour for lower standards of wages to meet the competition of continental wage standards. Now these dear patriots, curiously to say, seem to think that the necessary economy to meet foreign competition can only be effected in one way, viz. by reducing wages. They never seem to think, before practising economy by cutting down wages, that

cutting out wasteful methods of production, extravagance and incompetence of management, inefficiency of organization and marketing could by any means yield equal or perhaps even greater results. The Sankey Commission revealed the perfectly scandalous state of the British Mining industry and as for British agriculture, we cannot forbear quoting the following from the *New Statesman* of the 3rd instant.

The average yield of wheat in England is about 32 bushels to the acre; one variety introduced by Professor Biffen, of Cambridge, has yielded 96. The system of milk recording has improved the yield of dairy herds and the value of cows by 50 per cent. and more in many places from which reports are available. It has been demonstrated that, for dairying, one acre of arable, carefully handled, is worth three of grass, and that the value of grass land may be doubled and trebled by the judicious use of phosphatic manures. Farm stock may be improved out of recognition by the employment of premium bulls or registered stallions. Many small farmers and some large ones pay as much rent to rats and mice as they do to their landlord.

But of course reducing the wage bill is the line of least resistance. In this connection the "Economist" has certainly rendered a good service by going into the assertions taken for granted on all sides viz. that German workmen are working longer hours at lower rates than every other industrial nation. The "Economist" declares such assertions to be a pure myth, since no German workman puts in more than eight hours a day, miners in fact only seven. As for their real wages, they are said to be 30% above prewar levels, with a tendency to rise still further.

REVIEWS.

The Khilafat and England: By Syed Muhmud, Ph. D. with a foreword by Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall and an introduction by Mr. Muzharul Haque. Published at Sidayat Ashram, Patna.

This is a learned disquisition, mainly historical, in which Dr. Mahmud has tried to prove that the Sultan of Turkey is the true Khalif and that, according to the injunctions of Islam, he should be an independent State possessing sufficient temporal power to protect the Holy Places of Islam which should always be in Muslim hands. It is a reply to officially-inspired controversialists. The writer says that the Khalif's authority is not limited within any frontiers but extends to all Muslims personally wherever they may be and that even those "living under other sovereigns come under his decrees of matters even political, for in Islam politics and religion are a mixed compound. The Khilafat implies temporal allegiance as well, because the Khalif is the heir not only to the religious but also to the temporal power of the Prophet." This is obviously Pan-Islamism and makes cheerless reading to all non-Muslim Indians who have been heartily co-operating with Muslims in upholding the claims of Turkey. Such a view of the political implication of the Khilafat would make nationalism impossible to Muslims. We do not think this extreme orthodox view is shared by many educated Muslims.

Bharata Shakti. By Sir John Woodroff. Published by Messrs. Ganesh & Co., Madras.

In less than four years this small collection of addresses on Indian culture has run into the third edition and no wonder, seeing that the author is an eminent authority on the Shakta Tantra Shastra and an ardent lover of Indian nationalism. The speciality of the present edition is an invigorating introductory essay called postscript, wherein he advocates better care and protection of the cow, dissemination of culture by means of the vernacular and a greater respect for Ayurvedic medicines. He condemns strongly a slavish adoption of what is known as western civilization as well as a slavish rejection of it merely because it is foreign. He is an unsparing critic of the importation of the English

case-law system into Indian Courts and of the results of manufacturing B. L.'s on a wholesale scale. His message to Indians may be summarised thus: "Food is power, feed the poor; have faith in yourselves, in your fellows, in your race and in your civilization."

The get-up of the book is excellent and is a credit not only to the publishers but to the country itself.

"Dry" America—By St. Nihal Singh. Price Rs. 3. Published by Messrs. Ganesh and Co., Madras.

A description of the effects of prohibition on the social and economic life of the American people occupies as many as 146 pages; and the remaining six are given to the treatment of the Indian problem. The author evidently realises that the principal difficulty in the way of a "dry" policy for India is one of finance. Unlike America, we are both by tradition and religion a nation of teetotalers and require no propaganda to convince us as to the beneficial effects of prohibition. If the financial difficulty is satisfactorily got over no objection need be anticipated from any section of the Indian public on the ground of an encroachment on its legitimate right of drinking. The class of legitimate drinkers is an exotic in this country and will receive no encouragement to continue its existence. In his treatment of the Indian problem Mr. Singh wisely confines himself to the consideration of the financial difficulty and suggests the imposition of death duties as a means of partially replacing the excise revenue. His other proposals for the same purpose are the higher taxation of increasing land values and a tax on cinema tickets and other luxuries. It is doubtful, however, if all this will carry us very far. So far as Bombay is concerned, death duties may not yield more than a crore; while the other two sources may at best be expected to bring in an equal amount. They are thus insufficient to cover even a half of the deficit that may be created by the elimination of the excise revenue, which in normal circumstances would have enriched the provincial treasury to the extent of four crores and a quarter. It will thus be seen that the Indian problem, as is well known bristles with difficulties and its solution will tax the intelligence of the Government's financial experts to the utmost.

**COMPULSORY EDUCATION.
CONDITIONS AT WAI.**

SOON after the Compulsory Education Act was passed the Wai Municipality considered the possibilities of introducing compulsory and free elementary education within its limits but had to give up the attempt owing to financial difficulties.

But the Education Minister's recent offer of a two-thirds grant, accompanied by permission to adopt the double shift system has, as in several other cases, made the introduction of compulsory education a matter of practical politics; and the sub-committee recently appointed by the Municipality has recommended in its favour.

The population of Wai is a little over ten thousand, having remained almost stationary during the last decade; and a census of its school-age population (taken in 1919) places the number of children between 6 and 11 roughly at 1300 (700 boys and 600 girls). 413 boys and 122 girls are already studying in municipal schools, the number of over- and under-age children in no case exceeding 35. Thus while the schools maintained by the municipality are imparting instruction to 500 children, those maintained by the Mission number 213 children (90 boys and 123 girls) on their rolls. It should also be remembered that about 100 children of school-age are at present studying either in the higher primary classes or in the lower classes of the Dravid High School. So 813 children in all (500+213+100) are already under instruction, leaving 487 to be provided for in case instruction on a compulsory basis should be decided upon.

As regards the necessary provision for instruction, the sub-committee's report contemplates the maintenance of 8 instead of the present 6 primary schools including the higher one at municipal expense. In estimating the cost, the committee has proceeded on the basis of the new rates of

teachers' salaries, which are expected to amount to Rs. 9,332 in the case of the seven three-standard schools and as much as Rs. 2,300 in the case of the higher one. Provision for an attendance officer and his establishment, repairs and furniture prizes and books and other items of a miscellaneous nature might cause an increase of Rs. 1,222 in the above figure, which will thus stand at Rs. 12,860. It must be mentioned here that the above calculations are made on the basis of a three-hour shift, causing no addition to the teacher's work, and consequently to his salary. Supposing, however, that the use of the three and a half hour shift is insisted on and the teachers were to demand a 25 per cent. increase, there would be an increase in the above figure to the tune of Rs. 2,332, which means the cost of the scheme would be nearly Rs. 15,000, the Government and municipal shares being Rs. 10,000 and Rs. 5,000 respectively. Now, the Municipal budget for the current year provides for an educational expenditure of about Rs. 4,200, which might actually rise to Rs. 4,500. An additional burden of Rs. 500 will generally be regarded as negligible when compared to the advantages which universal education ensures. But the additional Rs. 500 may be unnecessary in the first two or three years; for a by no means inconsiderable proportion of the school age population will continue, as at present, to avail itself of the facilities afforded by the Mission schools; and the whole provision for teachers' salaries may in actual practice never be required, at any rate in the initial stages of compulsory education. All fear on the ground of additional financial responsibility is thus clearly without foundation and the enforcement of the scheme should become possible, as is contemplated by the municipality, from the beginning of the new official year.

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