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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE cables from England have for some time been busily engaged in giving to the Indian public the fullest details about the approaching marriage of the Princess Royal and, during this last week, all possible particulars about the wedding itself. India most naturally joins in the general congratulations to the King Emperor's daughter, even if it can hardly be expected to take an intelligent interest in the dresses and other minutiae of the function, which have been so faithfully telegraphed to us from day to day. There is, however, one item in this news which is of more general and permanent interest. We are told that the inward reason for all the popular demonstrations is the deep satisfaction felt by the English people that the tradition of foreign matrimonial alliances has been broken through. Much the same was said when Princess Patricia a few years ago married Captain Ramsay: and if this is really the true explanation and if the King has really decided to break the tradition of a royal "caste", he will indeed have made a wise decision. Royalty as a caste (with all the usual caste *taboos* about inter-marriage &c.) does of course in Britain not go further back than to the Stuarts, since when the idea of "divine right" of sovereigns was used to bolster up their absolutist claims as autocratic rulers directly responsible to God and to Him alone. Since the interpolation of Parliament, this conception has not only weakened a good deal but has become utterly repugnant to the modern mind which has done with any but strictly "constitutional" monarchs. It is therefore only logical that the old caste idea should now also be abandoned seeing that it has become quite unmeaning and we are glad that the King should have taken the lead

in this matter. At the same time one cannot help feeling that a good deal of English rejoicing is due to the fact that the king's new policy is welcomed because it panders to the insularity of the English and to their quaint conceit that an English Princess should not have been "thrown away" at a *furriner*. Much could be said about the beneficent and more still about the maleficent results of the old system which turned the whole of European Royalty into a close corporation: still, we cannot but regret that the note of xenophobia should be so dominantly sounded in the otherwise harmonious chorus of congratulations to the Royal Bride.

* * *

It is the pit
that pays.

EVEN a cursory review of the new taxation proposals made by the Finance Member is sufficient to convince the reader that there is no equity in the arrangement, and that one of the fundamental canons of a sound system of taxation viz. to make the people to pay according to their ability, has been grossly violated. The doubling of the salt duty is an instance in point. A family of a poor workman is likely to consume in a year's time the same quantity of salt as a family in a higher station of life and consequently, the contribution which a poor man will have to make to the national exchequer through his salt bill will in no way be less than the one made by his fellow countryman in comparatively more opulent circumstances. Further, the proposal to double the duty on salt is inequitable from another point of view. The increase in salt duty is in all probability bound to result in the reduced consumption of this most necessary commodity for life, a prospect which few can afford to look upon with equanimity. The consumption of salt in India is at present a little over 13 lbs. per head, whereas the best medical opinion lays down 20 lbs. per head as a necessary standard for healthful existence. Evidently in this matter the Government of India have been moved by revenue considerations only. The reason why they are taxing the necessities of life rather than the luxuries of the few is, because to use an old theatrical simile, "It is the pit that pays." But can it be called sound finance? Does it not violate the fundamental principles of justice and equity? Moreover, this is not the only tax which the poorer classes of the community are required to contribute to the State. The contemplated increases under customs, Posts and Telegraphs, third class Railway

passenger fares are more than enough to break the back of the poor ryot. As the late Mr. Gokhale said in his famous budget speech in 1903, 'so far from contributing less than their fair share to the exchequer of the State, the poorer classes of our community contribute as a matter of fact much more than they should relatively to their resources.' We hope, therefore, that Government will abandon the policy of looking again and again to the pit for its revenue when already it is paying more than its due and when more equitable sources are close at hand.

Notes and Resolutions.

THE Delhi compromise between Mr. Gandhi and A. I. C. C. consisted in maintaining nominally the Bardoli resolutions, but evacuating them of all meaning by "Notes" appended to them. Thus, whilst at Bardoli the key-note was "to promote a peaceful atmosphere," Delhi permits Civil Disobedience even of an "aggressive character" and explains "Individual" as equivalent to a "group of individuals"! Mr. Gandhi, however, having obtained at least the lip-service of his "followers" to "Non-violence", now promptly tries his best to evacuate these "Notes" in their turn of their obvious meaning. This good work was begun by a press interview granted at Delhi and is continued in the last number of *Young India*, in which he pours out the vials of his sarcasm on "the hurricane of opposition" which he encountered at Delhi and "the gentle and considerate manner" in which the *Mahratta* criticised the Bardoli resolutions—all of which merely ended in the majority at Delhi, "in spite of all my warnings and passionate plea for rejecting my resolution, if they did not believe in non-violence, accepting it without a single material change!" Without any material change! Sweet are the uses of irony. Mr. Gandhi rightly says that Swami Shradhananda's argument was "absolutely honest, as he does not really believe in non-violence even as a policy." But since it was turned down and non-violence re-affirmed, even if only in a way, Mr. Gandhi now insists that everybody must carry out what the A. I. C. C. pledged itself to. It is characteristic of Mr. Gandhi that, having obtained "unanimity" by a compromise, he now brushes aside his opponents' part of the compromise as immaterial and insists on emphasizing his own as the only essential portion—i. e. "abatment of excitement at any cost", "prosecuting the constructive programme" &c. &c. Having at Delhi obtained a show of unanimity by accepting the contradictory "Notes" on his original "Resolutions", he now in so many words repudiates the relevancy of the former and insists on strict performance of the latter. Mr. Gandhi admits that at Delhi he permitted "truth to be stabbed"—to keep his party together? But now he taunts the malcontents who do not believe in non-violence "to form a new organisation": "those who do not believe in the creed should surely retire from the Congress," and he

advocates with tongue in cheek the exercise of "domestic civil disobedience" on the part of "rebellious provinces" against the Congress! Does Mr. Gandhi really believe that this sort of "strategy" will do any good, either to himself or to the cause of real "Non-Violence"?

* * *

Property Rights of Married Women.

WHAT is the position of a Hindu widow in relation to the benefits of the insurance policy of her deceased husband? Do they form part of his property or are they to be regarded as a trust for the widow? Considerable divergence of opinion exists on the point and even judicial rulings differ from province to province. Thus while the Madras High Court interprets the pertinent section of the Married Women's Property Act 1874 in a way favourable to the widow, the Bombay High Court takes quite a different view. There it was held that "section 2 (of the Act of 1874) excludes Hindus, etc. from the benefit of section 6, so that a policy of Insurance effected by a Hindu husband and expressed on the face of it to be for the benefit of his wife, forms part of the estate of the deceased, and is not a trust for his widow"! This is unfortunate and places the widow in a very uncertain position. The Bill which Mr. Kamat has recently introduced in the Assembly seeks to remove this anomaly and to insure uniformity on the subject throughout the country. It decidedly improves the lot of the poor widow and as such deserves support from social reformers. Nor is there anything in the Bill to which the orthodox and reactionary elements in society need seriously object. The fear is expressed that the passage of the Bill will place the creditors of the deceased husband in an unfair position. We do not believe that this result will necessarily follow in all cases. But even if it did, the claims of the helpless widow are, in our opinion, more sacred than those of the creditor. Not that we have no concern for the welfare of the latter; but frankly we ought to care more for the former. It is in this view that we welcome the introduction of the Bill and hope that it will before long be placed on our statute book.

* * *

Age of Consent Bill.

ANOTHER piece of social legislation deserves more than passing notice. It is sponsored by Mr. Sohanlal and seeks to raise the age of consent from 12 to 14. We wish the mover had tried to raise it to 16 instead of 14, and hope he will consider the advisability of doing so before it is too late. Nearly thirty years ago when the then Age of Consent Bill was on the legislative anvil, fierce controversy raged as to whether it was wise to call in the aid of the foreign-made law for promoting social reform. The controversy was then carried to such lengths in Poona and elsewhere that it resulted in several broken heads. Far from any such untoward consequences happening to day, the proposed change in the age of consent has practically gone unnoticed.

BANKRUPTCY !

SIR W. M. HAILEY introducing the Budget for 1922-23 on Monday last in the Legislative Assembly, had necessarily to start with the *damnosa hereditas* of the 1921-22 accounts, which now show an ugly deficit of 33 crores for that year. The year before, unfortunately for Sir Malcolm, was begun in exactly the same style: a heavy deficit from the previous year to make good, "exceptional causes" why estimates should have been so falsified, optimism about having now turned the corner, and all the rest of it. This year we have merely a *rechauffe* of the same old stuff—only the Budget estimate even for the coming year anticipates already a further deficiency of 27 crores: a deficiency which can only mean a minimum, since the Finance Member himself is somewhat diffident that military operations in Waziristan etc., will not eat up more money than the paltry few crores inserted in this budget.

In plain English: the Government have been unable to make both ends to meet in the past and they are unable to do so now. An individual who arranges his life on these lines, who spends more than he has got and trusts to the money lenders to see him through, finds himself pretty soon in the Bankruptcy Court; and a State which adopts this spend-thrift policy cannot in any way end differently. If India is not yet actually bankrupt, there is no doubt that the finance policy of the present Government is, anyhow. What, if such a budget had been presented under Swaraj! One can almost hear the sneers of English critics at such revelation of incompetency to deal with the finances of India, proving to the critics' content that Indians are quite incapable of running their own country without the help of that peerless institution, the *quondam* Indian Civil Service. Well, we make a present of the Budget before us to the *Morning Post* and can only say that, if that is the best its special proteges can evolve, we do not see how Indians, left to their fate, could possibly have done worse.

For the budget of a country is after all nothing but a statement of Public Expenditure, that it has been agreed to incur for the coming year, with a corresponding statement showing, by what taxation that expenditure can be met. It is the business of the true Treasury expert to forecast accurately the yield of such taxation, so as to leave at the end of the year neither surplus nor deficiency. That ideal of course is not capable of literal attainment; still, it is the very essence of budgetting to aim at it. If then we find a Finance Minister presenting a statement like this. Indian Budget for next year *budgetting* for a deficiency, it is tantamount to his confession that he is unable to perform his duty. Many a European country to-day is in that very position—having squandered its resources during war time, it is unable, thus impoverished, to live at a pre-war rate of expenditure, though still persisting to do so, at the expense of its creditors.

Is India in that parlous position? We deny it; we maintain that India is perfectly solvent, that it has got no impossible obligations to fulfill, that there is no inherent impossibility here in India of meeting every legitimate and necessary expenditure by equally legitimate and necessary taxation, without having to leave over an insoluble deficit sediment of a few crores. But if it is true that such is the case, it is equally true that much of the expenditure and taxation now budgetted for is both illegitimate and unnecessary.

I. Before the introduction of parliamentary control, it was only natural that the bureaucracy should have looked upon the value of its services with, well, let us say, generosity. In England, before the advent of modern parliamentary control kings had in like manner looked upon their value to their lieges; in India many a Feudatory Chief still looks thus upon himself. To-day's cables offer another amusing illustration in the relative value set upon the Coalition by the Coalition Cabinet itself on the one hand and by the constituencies on the other. If Englishmen came to the conclusion that their services were indispensable to India, they would naturally claim as their reward a pay at least commensurate with the standard of English life, if not rather better. That India is a very poor country and England the richest European country is a misfortune which cannot be helped, seeing that *ex hypothesi* the English were indispensable. But with the Montford Reforms, that hypothesis has been done away with. It is therefore only commonsense to expect that now, at a long last, remuneration of the Civil Service should come to be based on an Indian, and not on an European, standard of life. There is no other choice possible, logically or practically. The present holders of posts of course must receive their covenanted payments, but the first duty should be to regrade all posts and to attach to them scales of pay proportionate to Indian conditions, paying to present incumbents an additional "Transition Allowance", to bring up their pay to the covenanted amount. Similarly, if it is impossible to do without further English service candidates for some time yet, supplementary "allowances" will have to be made to them, to make the pay sufficiently attractive to people accustomed to live according to a more wasteful—we refuse to call it "higher"—standard of life.

It really needs no labouring, that it is utterly impracticable to go on running India on the present wasteful lines. The present Budget shows clearly that nothing but avowed bankruptcy can result, unless the public services are brought in harmony with Indian standards: and bankruptcy means, that the Indian exchequer will one fine day be unable to meet the pay bill. Thus even to the English point of view it may commend itself to be satisfied with fewer golden eggs rather than with the slaughter of the goose that lays them.

And what applies to the Civil, applies with equal force to the Military Service. Army pay also must be reduced to Indian standards, and to do this the policy of Indianizing the Army must be taken up seriously. There is no war with any first class military power possible so soon after the "Great" war; now therefore is the very time, that the Indianization of the army can most safely be undertaken. If it would have been unsafe to swap horses in midstream, there is every reason, why it should be done now that the stream has been forded.

Of course there is no doubt that Indianization and resultant economies cannot be made to tell immediately, seeing our present liabilities towards office holders. Anyhow, the least one can expect is that expenditure should annually show some steady reduction under these heads. But what do we actually find? Civil Administration in the current year swallowed 8'23 crores, whilst in the next 9'14 crores are budgetted for: an increase of nearly one crore! Similarly, Military Services were budgetted for this year at 66 crores and for next year at 67 crores. Now this sort of thing really will not do; it has got to stop and the people of India have a right to expect from their representatives a guarantee that such stoppage is actually being undertaken.

Quite apart from the question of personnel, to ask India to spend 62 crores net on Military Services in the coming year out of a total expenditure of 101 crores is simply preposterous. Not only is the establishment fantastically paid, but what benefit does India (not the Empire or England!) get from the total expenditure on military services? Security within and without, is the stock-answer; but is the present Indian Army fulfilling those duties in the only possible way? Can wire entanglements, aircraft, mechanical transport not be more widely employed? Above all: is every rupee spent on the Army spent on efficiency, or how many annas out of that rupee are spent on—prestige?

That is the key problem, and without a complete reversal of the policy of the old bureaucratic age, there is no hope for its solution: but the Budget just presented does not even attempt to deal with it.*

II. When we turn to the revenue side and consider the sources from which the revenue is drawn, we meet with a further system of vicious principles on which the taxation of the country is based. First of all we have "Commercial Services" principally Posts and Telegraphs and the Railways. Now it is a first and obvious principle that a State nationalizes a service in order to serve the nation better than it would be served, if the undertaking were in private hands. In the latter case profits are of the essence; in the former, service. Hence a national "service" is essentially non-profit-making, and to make profits out of a Public Service, means to levy a special tax on those who make use of it. The condition of our railways has become a by-word: yet we are now to be charged still more for

using it, not merely to make it self-supporting (which would be quite legitimate,) but to produce a surplus! Every railwayman knows that efficiency cannot be had, unless the Railway Budget is taken right out of the General Budget and made to stand on its own legs, paying its way certainly, but concerned not with profits, but with the one and only legitimate question, of how to render the railway service most efficient.

Similarly with the Posts and Telegraphs. If it is bad finance, for this service during the current year to have spent a crore more than it has earned it is equally bad finance to make it in the coming year yield a surplus of two-thirds of a crore. To achieve this the $\frac{1}{4}$ anna post card is to be discarded; just as to turn an eight crore loss on the railways in 1921-22 into a 1922-23 surplus of nearly five crores, third class travellers are to be charged 25% more for the abominable "service" that is being meted out to them as it is. In either case the Budget has managed to raise revenue by making itself obnoxious to the greatest number of people, i. e. the very people who can least afford it. Even if the two services are to be made self-supporting, it should be possible to do so without touching third class railway passengers or the $\frac{1}{4}$ anna post card: but "finance", which does both in order to squeeze out a surplus, stands simply self-condemned.

The same callous indifference to the needs of the poorest has devised a 100% increase on the salt tax which is counted upon to wring over five crores out of those who can least afford to pay. This proposal is perhaps the blackest spot on an already sufficiently dark outlook; it really ought to be resisted *à outrance* and swept aside by a rising tide of indignation. As for customs, the taxation of petroleum, matches etc. only emphasizes the general trend, viz. of shifting the bulk of the new burdens on to the shoulders of the poorest.

Not as if the Budget could not be tender-hearted: for could compassion with the wealthy man go further than, in the face of such a call for fresh taxation, to be satisfied with getting *one* pie in the rupee more out of a person with an income of Rs. 40,000, and *two* pies out of a millionaire? Compare a man with a taxable income of a lakh having in future to pay Rs. 10,000 instead of Rs. 8,000 income tax—with the semi-starving masses of India having in future to pay 60% more for their salt! What difference will it make to our rich people to pay a few pice more for their sugar, their matches, their kerosene? And what do these same pice mean to the poor? Again, compare the rich man in England with his income-tax of 1's. in a pound and the rich man in India with his income-tax of 2s. in a pound. Why is there no further and steeper gradation of the income-tax beyond Rs. 40,000 level? If the trifling rise of a pie or two can be made to yield four crores, what legitimate reason is there for not adding another pie or two rather than imposing a 100% salt tax? Or even yet another pie or two to do away with the obnoxious rise in the

cost of third class railway travelling and the abolition of the $\frac{1}{4}$ anna post card? If only half the ingenuity had been employed to make the rich bear more adequately the burden of taxation, than there has been to squeeze the uttermost farthing out of the very poorest! But there is no whisper of death duties or of any of the other means devised, of getting those best capable of doing so to share in the expenditure of the Nation.

If, however, on the one hand we feel, and feel most strongly, the injustice of the incidence of taxation, we on the other cannot but deplore the raising of the cotton excise by the same 4% that it is proposed to raise the import duty. If we claim the legitimacy and necessity of taxing the wealthy classes here more heavily, we cannot but admit that it is both unnecessary and illegitimate to increase the wealth of Lancashire, whose rich people are not amenable to the Indian income-tax, instead of benefitting our Indian producers—cottage industries on the one hand which will increase the lamentably inadequate resources of the poor, and capital industries on the other, in whose prosperity the Indian exchequer can be made to share. The increase of the cotton excise is therefore as impolitic as it is bad, even from the point of view of taxation alone.

To sum up. The Budget submitted at Delhi last week embodies both on the Revenue and on the Expenditure side features which spell bankruptcy, and displays moreover a complete bankruptcy of ideas and policy on the part of its framers.

The Civil and Military Services of India are still to be run on the lines of English prodigality instead of Indian frugality and not one solid indication is given of any real start in the direction of Indianizing these services, not only as regards the men, but also as regards their spirit. Once more the Budget is an ominous reminder that such policy can only lead to complete bankruptcy.

The Commercial Services are treated as an instrument, out of which to squeeze profits, instead of considering as their only *raison d'être* the greatest convenience to the greatest number.

Of fresh Taxation, four out of twenty-six crores are alone derived from direct taxation, the bulk of 22 crores being obtained from indirect, the most vicious and unsound form of, taxation. The faces of the poor are ground still more, in order that the rich may get off lightly; though in the interests of Lancashire both the rich and the poor in our textile industries are discriminated against by the perpetuation of the cotton excise.

It is evident that all this budgetting is rapidly making for a stage when the limit of bearable burdens will be reached, a stage when the poor will be so poor as to be incapable of consuming any further those necessities, on whose consumption the whole fabric of taxation is made to rest. Nothing but complete bankruptcy of policy can contemplate such straight heading for material bankruptcy and

can persist in imposing indefensible taxation to meet indefensible expenditure.

THE INDIAN BUDGET FOR 1922-23.

THE Budget for 1922-23 was presented to the Legislative Assembly on March 1st 1922. Last year, on the same day, while presenting his estimates for 1921-22, the Finance Member expected a revenue of Rs. 128 $\frac{1}{3}$ crores against an expenditure of Rs. 127 $\frac{1}{2}$ crores, leaving a surplus of Rs. 71 lakhs. But his expectations have not been realised. The new taxation proposals, that he then made and were adopted by the Assembly, not only did not rehabilitate the finances of India, but, on the contrary, widened the gap between income and expenditure. The revised estimates for the current year show a huge deficit of over Rs. 34 crores. This, in general, is, according to the Finance Member, due to a falling exchange, to the continued depression in world trade, to reduced returns from commercial services and increased running expenditure incidental to their maintenance.

While talking of the first cause viz., the falling exchange, the Finance Member makes light of it, as if it were, as "explained last year," a matter of adjustment. I don't know if people's memories are so short. If one reads para 5 of his last year's speech, he will find how energetically the Finance Member was defending his position and how impatient he was with those who differed from him. This year he speaks as though nothing serious had happened and in order to mislead an unwary reader he quotes the rate of exchange that prevailed in December 1920, (which was between 1s. 7d. and 1s. 8d.) though the actual rate at the time he made his speech and to which he referred therein, was in the neighbourhood of 1s. 4d. Under these circumstances one cannot understand why the Finance Member should make a pretence of defending as natural his assumption of the average rate of 1s. 8d. The factor of the continuance of depression in world trade could have been well anticipated and provided against, at the beginning of the year, rather than being left to be defended at the end of it. The other two factors are such as could be pleaded with some show of justification.

The deficit of 34 crores arose out of a fall in revenue of 20 crores and a rise in expenditure of over 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ crores. The principal contributions to the former were 14 crores from Customs, Rs. 13 crores from Railways, Rs. 90 lakhs from Income-Tax, Rs. 80 lakhs from Posts and Telegraphs. The chief increases of expenditure were Rs. 2 crores in Interest, Rs. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ crores in Military Expenditure and Rs. 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ crores in Exchange.

In his budget proposals for 1922-23, the Finance Member expects an expenditure of Rs. 142 $\frac{1}{4}$ crores against a revenue, on the basis of existing taxation and including the provincial contributions of Rs. 920 lakhs, which will amount to Rs. 110 $\frac{1}{2}$ crores, leaving a deficit of Rs. 31 $\frac{3}{4}$ crores. Out of the expenditure of Rs. 142 $\frac{1}{4}$ crores, the

Military expenditure alone is responsible for Rs. 62.18 crores.

The Finance Member suggests three ways of meeting this deficit, first, by leaving the deficit uncovered; second, by reducing expenditure; and third, by increasing revenue. As regards the first, every one will agree with the Finance Member that it cannot be resorted to, as the deficit is not due to temporary causes which may be got over within a measurable time. The problem, therefore, is one which must be envisaged. But what one cannot understand is why the Finance Member puts away the second method as quite out of the question. Even the Anglo-Indian opinion, the reasonable section of it, agrees that there must be drastic cut in the Military expenditure. Even before the Welby Commission, (1897) General Brakenbury, some time Military Member of the Government of India, admitted that the strength of the army was in excess of India's own requirements and that a portion of it was maintained in India for Imperial purposes. *The Times of India* aptly remarks that "The Army in India was organised for war against a first class European Military Power." But as there is no ghost of a chance in our time, of having to wage war against a first-class European Power, the issue before India becomes one of retrenchment and not of economy. The Government of India must face it and announce a drastic reduction, spreading it over two or three years. Nobody expects that there should be a reduction, at once, this year, of 31 crores, so as to make up the deficit; but if the Government of India are agreeable, a cut of 5 crores is not impossible. This can be effected partly by reducing regiments and partly by substituting Indian for British troops. But the Military services are a non-votable item of expenditure and the Government may sit tight upon it. If this is the case, the Assembly can bring pressure on Government by threatening an *impasse* regarding votable items aggregating to about Rs. 34 crores. Any way, it is time that the Military expenditure, which is a veritable sink, was materially reduced.

Regarding the fresh taxation proposals for increasing revenue some of which will be necessary. It is certain that the doubling of the salt duty, and the post-card rate, raising of the cotton excise duty from $3\frac{1}{2}\%$ to $7\frac{1}{2}\%$ and that on machinery from $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ to 10% will be obnoxious. Every duty is obnoxious to some one or other, but the salt duty and the post card rate will operate heavily on the poor man. As for cotton excise, it has a very bad history and will have the odium of being imposed at the dictation of Lancashire, although there is a corresponding rise in the general import duties. The increase of $7\frac{1}{2}\%$ on machinery will act as a tax on industrial development which is one of the prime economic needs of India. The increase on iron and steel and railway material may be retained, but the above four items must be knocked off. And if any deficit remains, after retrenchment is effected, it should be made up by an increase in the import duty on yarn from 5% to 10% or 15 p. c. The working

expenses of railways should also be substantially reduced so as to avoid the necessity of passenger fares being increased.

The ways and means position of the Government of India is also not satisfactory. The current year's deficit of about 34 crores was met by borrowing. Any tyro in Economics will tell that the national economy is in a bad way when current expenses are to be met from capital resources. Government had to borrow more than 78 crores of rupees in the current year. In the next year they have a borrowing programme of about Rs. 58 crores. The principal charges on it are Rs. 30 crores for Railway Capital Outlay and Rs. 3.5 crores for Delhi and Telegraph capital outlay. Rs. 7.9 crores for discharge of debt and Rs. 4 crores for discharge of Treasury bills. It is difficult to say whether a sum of Rs. 30 crores will be required for the necessary improvement of open lines and lines under construction. But one feels doubtful as to whether anything like this sum could, with profit, be spent in the course of the year. Expenditure on Delhi has now become necessary. The other two items mean reduction of debt which is a source of national credit and financial strength. Government, in any case, should make it a point not to borrow more than what is actually necessary.

A very important point viz. 'deflation' has been raised by the Finance Member, while considering the general currency and exchange arrangements. In order to keep himself in funds, the Secretary of State, in normal times, sells Council Bills on India. But on account of his having recovered large sums from the British Treasury, he had no need to sell Councils. Besides, the balance of trade being against India, there was no demand for councils. So in the current year he had naturally to draw on the reserves which meant deflation of the currency. But the deflation of the currency carried out at an inopportune time means money stringency. If things are allowed to move as they have been hitherto, next year there will be a deflation of about 33 crores out of a total circulation of about 170 crores. In order to avoid deflation, the Government may, as the Finance Member suggests, have recourse to the selling of councils, if the exchange market permits. Of course, nobody would find fault, if the circumstances which arise justify the action. At any rate, a strong case seems to have been made out for applying the interest on Paper Currency investments and the excess of the Gold Standard Reserve over 40 million pounds, towards the relief of revenues.

The problem of Provincial Finance has become a knotty one. All provinces, except perhaps the province of Bihar and Orissa, have budgetted for a deficit. They are, therefore, unable to pay their contributions. The Government of India also, being in deficit, are unable to forego the provincial help. Under these circumstances the question is what is to become of the Meston Settlement. I venture to believe that the financial position of the Government of India and that of the provincial Govern-

ments would have all been right, if the Provincial Government had not, at the very commencement of the Reforms, started on a career of increase in expenditure in all departments. If they had given the new councils the breathing time of a year on the basis of old establishments, they would have been free from blame. But, as it is, they have given ground in certain quarters for suspicion about their real intentions and if they want to rehabilitate themselves, the only remedy is drastic retrenchment.

C. S. DEOLE.

A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, FEBRUARY 16.

MR. SASTRI'S PLANS.

MR. SASTRI returned with the rest of the British Empire Delegation from Washington on Tuesday. The delegation, led by Mr. Balfour, were warmly welcomed by the principal members of the Cabinet, including the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Leader of the House, the Lord Chancellor, and other Ministers. The King's representative met the returning travellers, and Lord Derby and the American Ambassador were also present. To-day, Mr. Sastri had a long interview with His Majesty. According to present arrangements, he will leave for India from Marseilles on March 9.

In an address to Edinburgh Indian students, Prof. A. Berriedale Keith deplored the fact that the non-co-operation movement was having the very worst possible influence upon the prospects of the reforms. He did not think that it would or could succeed.

Attempts are still being made to press the Secretary of State for India to induce the Government of India to remove or reduce the cotton import duties. It is extremely unlikely that Mr. Montagu will agree to such a demand, nor, indeed, could any Secretary of State for India, whatever his political complexion.

Telegrams from Canada state that the Canadian Supreme Court has decided that the British Columbian Legislature has no authority to prohibit the employment of Orientals on Crown-granted lands, and finds that the regulations are really an attempt to deprive Asiatics of their ordinary rights as inhabitants. The decision is based upon the Supreme Court's interpretation of the Japanese Treaty of 1913, the British North America Act, and certain Privy Council decisions.

MR. CHURCHILL ON THE KENYA PROBLEM.

Kenya has been a great deal in the public eye during the last week. Mr. Churchill's speech at the Kenya Colony dinner had given the impression, and had been so designed, that the decisions then announced were, for all practical purposes, the considered policy of the Cabinet. It was from this point of view, no doubt, that they were regarded by the Indian public in Kenya and in India, at first. But it soon became clear that Mr. Churchill was being taken at a different valuation than that which he had given to himself. On both sides of the Indian Ocean it soon came to be realised that a clear distinction must be drawn between certain departmental decisions that Mr. Churchill would like the Cabinet to take and the settled policy of the Government as a whole, and Mr. Churchill's gramophone repetition of the argu-

ments with which he had been plied by Lord Delamere, in favour of breaking pledges made to Indians whilst keeping pledges that were never made to Europeans, and of excluding Indian immigration from Kenya—and subsequently from the other parts of East Africa—was soon reduced to its right proportions. The Indian delegation now here, representing Kenya Indian views, last week addressed to Mr. Churchill a vigorously worded protest against the after-dinner speech of which the Minister had been guilty. Doubtless, by the time this reaches you, you will have had the full text of the letter and your readers will have appreciated the points upon which the delegates have concentrated. Owing to the great congestion existing in the British Press, full publicity here has not been possible, but an extended summary has been circulated by Reuter, and has been widely published. Shortly after the despatch of this letter of protest, Mr. Montagu took occasion, in a speech delivered to the members of the 1920 Club, to repudiate the policy outlined by Mr. Churchill, and made it quite clear that it was one with which he, as Secretary of State for India, could not possibly agree, in the light of the Imperial Conference Resolution and of the spirit of the Reforms Act for which he had been responsible. It was at once made evident that there was disunion in the Cabinet upon a most important matter of Imperial policy, and several of the papers commented upon this new example of Coalition methods of government. But it was also obvious that the Cabinet had not been consulted by Mr. Churchill and that the policy was his and not that of the Cabinet. Then telegrams of protest began to pour in from India and Kenya. The Bombay correspondent of the *Times* rendered excellent service by pointing out the alarming consequences inevitable in India if the Churchill policy were adopted by the Imperial Government, and the Assembly debate brought the fact home that the constitutionalists were unanimously hostile to any attempt to whittle away what India had gained at the Imperial Conference. Kenya telegrams, too, pointed to the agitation with which the Indian community there received the rebuff from Mr. Churchill so unexpectedly, after what he had himself led them to understand. On Monday, that doughty old warrior, Sir Valentine Chirol, who is as strongly Nationalist on this question as the most fervent Indian Nationalist, had a powerful letter in the *Times*, in which, in biting language, he pointed out the imminence of the peril to the Imperial fabric caused by Mr. Churchill's audacious attempt to score off Mr. Montagu on the basis of the "settled fact", and reminded the public how seriously the situation in India, as in Egypt, was being jeopardised by the Colonial Secretary's egregious blunders. On Tuesday, Col. Wedgwood referred to the Churchill speech in questions addressed to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and extracted from him an admission that he had said what he had said "off his own bat" and without consultation either with the India Office or his colleagues in the Cabinet. He also declared his willingness to receive the Indian delegation if it desired an interview. But he was obviously unrepentant and spoke as though he did not intend to budge from the position that he had taken up, in spite of the overwhelming evidence of the intensity of feeling on the subject in India and in East Africa. Repeated reference was made to the matter in the course of the subsequent debate in the Commons on Indian affairs. Mr. Montagu himself, in his defence, referred to the question and the attitude taken by his colleague as one of the

primary matters affecting the re-establishment of settled conditions in India. Mr F. D. Acland, one of the Asquithian Liberal leaders, who immediately followed him, also drew pointed attention to the matter. So did Sir John Rees and Captain Elliott, who devoted almost the whole of his vigorous speech to an analysis of the evil results upon the British Commonwealth of the revival and intensification of racialism in different parts of it. Col. Wedgwood would doubtless have done so, too, but that he had no opportunity of taking part in the debate. Mr. Sastri, who returned in time to attend the debate, has come straight from Washington with the firm intention to prevent Mr. Churchill from destroying the whole meaning and import of the Imperial Conference Resolution to which both were parties. In to-day's *Times*, in the course of an interview, he speaks very plainly. He says:—"Mr. Churchill's statement...as to the position of Indians in Kenya is arousing in India the acutest anxiety as to the *bona fides* of the resolution of the Imperial Conference last June, from which South Africa alone dissented, regarding the equality of all races within the Empire. The least that was expected was that in Crown Colonies which are under the administration of the Colonial Office, the resolution would be interpreted in the most liberal manner. I can only express my profound astonishment that Mr. Churchill, himself a party to the resolution, should make suggestions, calling them 'decisions,' which are on their face a serious derogation thereof. India looks upon this as a test case. Instead of the Kenya proposals being both in letter and in spirit a recognition of perfect equality between Indians and Europeans, they were elaborately contrived to be so workable as to produce inequality and hardship, the good faith of Britain would be irremediably shaken, and the party in India which stands for the British connexion would be wiped out of existence as a political force. I cannot believe that Mr. Churchill is fully informed as to the state of feeling in India. He must know that his policy is fraught with the utmost danger not only to India but also to Britain, and it is the greatest unwisdom at present to teach India by any means that she must use force or threaten force, not for the purpose of obtaining new rights, but even for the fulfilment of pledges repeatedly made and endorsed by the Imperial Conference." Stronger language than this, from a man of Mr. Sastri's eminence in the eyes of the people of this country, is unnecessary, and I have no doubt that it will have its full effect in the proper quarters. In fact, I learn from very reliable sources, that in the highest political circles, it is recognised that Mr. Churchill has gone too far, and whatever else it may do, the Cabinet is extremely unlikely to endorse categorically the Colonial Secretary's post-prandial pronouncement.

INDIA IN THE COMMONS.

And now to the Debate itself. Two amendments to the Address in Reply were down on the paper, but, curiously enough, neither was in the name of an Asquithian Liberal, though it was Sir Donald Maclean himself that had asked for a day for discussion of Indian policy. It was certainly not intended by him to demand Mr. Montagu's head upon a charger. But the Diehards could not resist the opportunity of making one more attempt to force Mr. Montagu out of office. And the Labour Party thought it would be a good opportunity to put forward an amendment to strengthen Mr. Montagu's hands if he saw anything like a good opportunity to get the Cabinet favourably to consider encouraging the Viceroy to hold a conference of Indian leaders. The Diehard resolution

ran as follows:—"And desire to express our view that the present position of unrest and lawlessness leading to constant breaches of the peace in India is the direct result of the administration of the Secretary of State during the last three years and trust that Your Gracious Majesty's Government will take immediate steps to restore law and order and to establish the security of life and property in that country." It stood in the names of Sir William Joynson-Hicks, Sir Charles Yate, General Sir Charles Townshend, and Mr. Rupert Gwynne. The other amendment, standing in the name of Mr. Spoor, would have added the following words to the Address:—"But regret that there has been as yet no measure of appeasement and conference in India such as had so successful an issue in the similar case of Ireland." The language of this last resolution did not carry a great deal of conviction in a House that was beginning to be greatly alarmed at the news from Ireland, showing that the "appeasement" that resulted from the conference on Ireland has not been so successful as we had all hoped, owing to the invasion by I. R. A. volunteers of the Ulster border and the seizure and carrying off of Ulster citizens, in circumstances over which plainly the Irish Provisional Government had no control. It was also realised that Mr. De Valera's influence is growing proportionately as Mr. Michael Collins has to admit that he does not yet possess the power to prevent such breaches of the peace and provocations to war. In any event, Mr. Spoor's amendment was not moved, and, in fact, he was not present in the House during the debate, his place being taken by Col. Wedgwood. The debate therefore resolved itself around the Diehard amendment, which was moved by Sir W. Joynson-Hicks. It must be admitted, apart from the matter, that the mover did his best not to make a personal attack upon the Secretary of State, but devoted himself, on the basis of official reports, press telegrams, and private communications, to attacking the Secretary's policy and its results. But the very form of the amendment showed that it was Mr. Montagu that was aimed at. The framers must have known very well, that, seeing that Mr. Montagu had not been disavowed by his colleagues and his resignation demanded by the Prime Minister, they had to attack Cabinet policy, but they did not dare do so directly and knowing that the matter would be taken as a motion of censure of the Government, they decided to put their amendment in such a form as, being certain in any event of its defeat, would make it look as little like a frontal attack upon the Government as possible. Besides, even this Coalition Government, in spite of such evidences of disunion and departmental independence as that of the squabble now publicly proceeding between the Colonial and India Offices on the Kenya Indian question, were bound to maintain the constitutional doctrine of Cabinet responsibility, and the Government Whips were necessarily put on at division time. In spite of Mr. Montagu's clever defence, very convincing though it was at the time and of the speech of the Prime Minister late in the debate, it is very doubtful whether Mr. Montagu would have escaped political oblivion had the matter been left to the free vote of the House. Mr. Rupert Gwynne, who embodies the anti-Semitic propensities of the *Morning Post*, of which his brother is the editor, made a vitriolic speech against Mr. Montagu, full of malignant personalities, which did a great deal to offend members that heard it. But every reference to the evil plight of the British civil servants in India received sympathetic cheers from large sections

of the House that did not allow themselves to be carried away by Mr. Gwynne's poisonous eloquence. With the exception of the speeches of the Secretary of State and the Prime Minister, which have doubtless been cabled out to India in full, there was little of note in the debate. Owing to the late hour and the persistence of General Page Croft who succeeded in catching the Speaker's eye at the last moment, to the exclusion of Col. Wedgwood, who had several times risen to take part in the debate, Mr. Stephen Walsh formally notified the House that the Labour Party would participate neither in the debate nor in the division, and, though Commandar Kenworthy had spoken, and had, to Mr. Montagu's annoyance, described the latter part of his speech as a Dishard one, he, too, did not vote. Indeed, I believe that a number of members present did not vote, some of them because, though they could not vote against the Government, they would not vote for the results of Mr. Montagu's administration. Among these was Lord Eustace Percy. And there were those who, having regard to what they regarded as the reactionary manner of the two Government speeches, would not cast a vote for the Government, though they were not anxious to see Mr. Montagu driven from office.

EFFECT OF GANDHISM ON ENGLISH PUBLIC OPINION.

As to the atmosphere, it was very obviously hostile to any suggestion of immediate further reform in India. The difference between the atmosphere presently prevailing in regard to Indian affairs and that which prevailed at the time of his departure for Washington towards the end of October, was strikingly commented upon by Mr. Sastri in the interview that I have already quoted. The activities of the non-co-operators, the mischievous violence of the excited mobs, the boycott of the Prince, the demand for further reforms whilst those already in existence have not yet been thoroughly tried out: these and many other things have resulted in the alienation of the sympathy of friends and the great mass of general opinion here alike. No one but Mr. Gandhi could have succeeded in bringing about such an immense revolution of generous feeling as that expressed in the following passage from, of all papers, the *Westminster Gazette*:—"For the present there can be no other policy for us in India than that which the Government is endeavouring to pursue. We have before us a hard and a long task, and for its successful carrying through we shall earn no thanks. Our mission must be the gradual development of self-government in India, until India can rely upon, and if necessary defend, herself. Until that goal is reached, we can but remain responsible for the government and good order of the country. Here we may be looking ahead for decades, if not for centuries. But for serious statesmanship there is no escape from the toilsome fostering of Western ideals of democracy upon which we have embarked." If a Liberal paper can, at this time of day, write in this spirit, it is natural to expect the *Times*, which has never really loved Mr. Montagu, to follow the lead of the *Morning Post* and demand his resignation. So bitter is it against him that it has not scrupled to omit from its interview with Mr. Sastri his eloquent testimony to the multifold services rendered to India by him. Indeed, it was careful to print only a short Reuter report of the debate in the Assembly on Mr. Montagu's services to India, when it had at its disposal the very full summary issued by the India Office. The fact is that Indian affairs have had a serious, if temporary, setback. There is no blinking the plain meaning of the Prime Minister's

speech. He says that there can be no going back upon the reforms so far granted, but follows Mr. Churchill in the suspicion that India, after all, may not prove to be a proper field for the application of Western democratic institutions, and, until India gives positive proof that she intends to remain in the Empire, until she definitely overthrows Gandhism and all that it implies, until the present reforms have been loyally worked, no Government in this country will think for a moment of making any further statutory advance in constitutional reforms in India. It were best, then, in the circumstances, such is the opinion of friends of Indian progress here, to concentrate upon the development of constitutional conventions, which would in substance bring about many of the reforms that public opinion here is not ripe for giving statutory form to for the present. The immediate disaster is certainly not irreparable. But its existence can be attributed, without doubt, to the rise and growth of Gandhism and the failure of public opinion in India to recognise that its success could only be at the cost of immense suffering to India, if indeed, it could ever succeed. It is an amazing fact that, not to the *Morning Post* but to Mr. Gandhi will fall the "credit" of driving Mr. Montagu from office, as is the unanimous demand of the Tory press, supported by the *Times*, and the responsibility of the present setback to Indian hopes and aspirations.

CORRESPONDENCE

PRIMARY EDUCATION IN THE SANGLI STATE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—Some weeks back you published in the *Servant of India* an article on Kolhapur Administration, in which the writer asked if it was at all possible to conceive of an Indian State in which primary education was so utterly neglected and indeed made a matter of pecuniary gain as was the case in Kolhapur. Of course it is impossible, but your readers must not imagine that in other States primary education receives the fostering care it needs at the hands of all who have any concern for the welfare of the masses. Even in Sangli, which was the first among the Deccan States to introduce compulsion and whose example Mr. Gokhale urged the Government of India to follow in 1912, we find to our humiliation that the rapid progress which was achieved during the ever-memorable régime of Major Burke, Administrator, has been thrown back. It is no longer our proud privilege to show the way to British India; on the contrary, British India may justly point a finger of scorn to the Sangli State at the present time. During Major Burke's time, i. e. from 1905-06 to 1909-10, the number of pupils on the roll increased from 4,146 to 9,119—120 per cent., the expenditure on primary education having risen during the quinquennium from Rs. 30,766 to Rs. 54,256—77 per cent. As a matter of fact, the full effect of the wise and bold policy inaugurated by Major Burke manifested itself some time after he had left the State. Thus in 1911-12 primary education received Rs. 63,761 for its share, more than double what it received in 1905-06. But, sad as it is to make the confession, Sangli has not kept up its rate of progress since the installation of the present Chief; indeed primary education has received a setback. If in 1909-10, 9,119 pupils were in school, in 1919-20 their number was 7,913—a decrease of 1,206, and in 1918-19 7,346—a decrease of 1,773 and in 1915-16 6,824—a decrease of 2,295! In 1919-20 expenditure on primary education was Rs. 60,042 as against Rs. 54,256 in 1909-10 or Rs. 63,761 in 1911-12. The reduction in expenditure is comparatively less because recently the salaries of teachers have received an increment. In 1918-19 the majority of teachers received a salary of Rs. 9 or 10 per month; the minimum salary has now been raised to Rs. 13 for an untrained teacher. A trained teacher draws

Rs.15 to Rs.30 if he has received one years' training, Rs. 20 to Rs. 40 if two years' training and Rs. 25 to Rs. 50 if three years' training. Such trained teachers, whatever modicum of training they may have gone through, are to be one-fifth of the total number of teachers, 60 among 300, the remaining four-fifths being still untrained. I ask you in all seriousness, can any State give anything like efficient instruction to its citizens when it pays its masters such a small pittance as this? Of course universal education cannot be ensured except with compulsion, but it must not be supposed that a State's duty is done by merely enacting a law of compulsion. It is easy enough to issue a fiat compelling attendance in Indian States where the whole legislative and executive authority is centred in the Princes; it is much more difficult to enforce attendance. And attendance can be enforced only when the State provides the necessary schools and makes them so bright and attractive that the parents will think it worth their while to send their children to them. This will be possible only when the State is willing to devote a large portion of its revenue to this branch of education. So long as a State is not prepared to loosen its purse-strings in respect of primary education, so long of course it will make no progress towards the goal of education, although nominally compulsion may be in force there. And Sangli—I say it sorrowfully—is not applying to primary education its rightful share of the yearly income. Just consider: while the amount allotted to primary education remained in 1918-19 nearly what it was in 1916-17 (to be precise, Rs. 60,042 against Rs. 58,470), that which fell to the share of the Pāgā department (the Chief's stables) increased in this period from Rs. 20,350 to Rs. 84,517—an increase of 178 per cent.!! I wish through these pages to make an humble but earnest appeal to the Chief that if at all he desires his subjects to be enlightened, he must cease to devote to his stables more money than he does to education and an amount again which receives progressively larger increases. Primary education must be his first concern and therefore one which should have the largest appropriation of the State's resources.—Yours, etc.

A RYOT OF SANGLI.

SELECTIONS.

GANDHI THE MAN.

(A Consideration of the Man and His Message Apart from His Political Activities)

By V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

POLITICS is not easily separable from life. Mr. Gandhi would not countenance the separation, for his great aim is to strip life of its sophistication and reduce it to its own nature—simple, rounded, pure. It merely happens that for the moment his activity is in the field of politics. It merely happens that for the moment he is confronting government and daring its wrath. It merely happens that for the moment his cry of *Swaraj* for India has caught the ear of the world and the world is anxious to know what his *Swaraj* is. His real and final objective is a radical reform of humankind. His gospel is "Back to Nature." He avows himself an implacable enemy of western civilization. In his mighty war against western civilization *Swaraj* for India is but a campaign. The rules of the campaign are the rules of the mighty war; the weapons to be used in the campaign are the weapons to be used in the mighty war; the virtues to be evoked by the campaign are the virtues which will win the mighty war in the end. The cardinal rule of both, the war and the campaign, is non-violence. Non-violence is of the heart as well as of the body. By thought, word or act you may not injure your adversary. Enemy in a personal sense is too strong a word for his dictionary. But as the adversary does not follow the rule, you will be subjected to great suffering and loss. Rejoice in the suffering and loss and court them; if you cannot rejoice in them, do not avoid or complain against them. Love your enemies; if you cannot love them, pardon them and never retaliate against them. Force is wrong and

must go under. The soul is invincible; learn to exercise its full power. Hold to the truth at all costs; *Satya* triumphs in the end. Out of this cardinal rule, almost logically, proceed a number of principles which will keep us straight in the war and this campaign for *Swaraj*. Since western civilization and the existing system of British Government have to be got rid of, we must have nothing to do with either offspring of Satan; we must first cut off our connection with those large and powerful institutions by which they enslave us. These are schools, courts, legislatures. Withdraw children from schools, sue not for justice in courts, and avoid the polling-booths. Machinery being another invention of Satan and mills being the mainstay of British domination in India, boycott both, cease to import foreign cloth, and erect a spindle in each home. The motion of the *Charka* has mystic properties, its music chastens the soul, and its products most adorn the human form, especially the female form. These principles and courses of action have more or less permanent validity because the war against modern civilization must be expected to be of indefinite duration. It is a picked body, however—namely, the members of the *Satyagrahasrama* in Ahmedabad—who are engaged in this exalted enterprise and owe lifelong allegiance to these principles and courses of action. The numerous levies now fighting in India under the flag of non-co-operation are enrolled only for a single campaign and may lapse into the common grooves of life as soon as the British Government has been brought to its knees and has consented to change its basis. In the intensive operations of this campaign it may become necessary to resort to civil disobedience of selected laws and non-payment of taxes. But, whatever the severity of the measures which such action may provoke the authorities to adopt, non-co-operators are precluded from the slightest infraction of the commandment as to non-violence.

To understand Mr. Gandhi's view of life, attention must be fixed on the rules he has laid down for the regulation of his Ahmedabad institution. Its name, *Satyagrahasrama*, means the hermitage of the determined practice of truth or the abode of soulforce. The *asrama* is still small. It has had no real chance of proving its vitality, for ever since its establishment other things have claimed the energies of its founder. But the attainment of its objects is conditioned by the increase of its numbers and the acceptance by the community at large of those austere ideals which are at present exemplified in the lives of a few apostles. No estimate can be formed of the prospective influence of the new gospel without an examination of its real nature.

Truth in the highest sense is possible only where the individual enjoys complete freedom. All forms of force or coercion are thus at once barred. Compulsion, authority, Government—these are *anathema maranatha* to one who at bottom is a philosophical anarchist. In fact, he describes the essence of his doctrine sometimes as love, sometimes as truth, sometimes as non-violence (*ahimsa*); these terms are in his opinion interchangeable. No organized government, in the ideal world, is justifiable. The merit of the British Government is that it governs least. Even a family and a school must trust entirely to the power of love and moral reasoning. Flagrant misconduct he deals with by himself, fasting for a certain number of days, the guilty party being invariably brought to a state of contrition within that period. Sometime ago he applied this remedy to end a serious strike in a mill, the employers coming to reason for fear of incurring sin. Within the last few weeks the violence practised by some persons in Bombay in the name of non-co-operation on the occasion of the Prince of Wales' visit entailed this form of self-chastisement on his part, and by all accounts it had the desired result.

Nobody is entitled to possess more than is absolutely necessary for the moment. To hold in excess of the need is to be guilty of theft. He and his wife have given away all their property—he practised law for many years with success—and now own nothing beyond the clothes they wear and a change or two and may be a bag or box to contain these. The *asrama* in Ahmedabad contains the barest necessities.

Each person must supply his wants by his own exertion. The ideal is to grow the corn that one eats and weave the cloth that one wears. Even the brain-worker is not exempt from this bodily labour. In fact, the spindle has grown to be a fetish with Mr. Gandhi. Its music has a charm for him. He prescribes it for all, men and women. Boys must prefer it to books. Lawyers must cast away their briefs for it. Doctors must abandon stethoscope and take to it.

So far its products have been coarse; but, he asks, can a man or woman look more beautiful than in the *khaddar* made by himself or herself. When a lady pupil of his wore the first *sari* of her own making, he surveyed her and pronounced her divinely attractive. Without a doubt his eyes so saw her and his mind so judged her.

Control of the senses is a requisite of the first order of importance. It is very hard and can be only very slow. But it must be incessantly and ruthlessly practised. Luxuries are, of course, taboo. Even comforts must be steadily reduced. The palate is a particularly venal sense and has to be rigidly curbed. Simple hard fare is a condition of spiritual advancement. Celibacy is also enjoined on the inmates of the *asrama*. Married couples may not be admitted unless they agree to surrender their mutual relation and adopt that of brother and sister. If Mr. Gandhi had his way he would recommend this course to mankind. The resulting extinction of the species has no terrors for him. He merely asks, why should we not all go to a better planet and live on a higher plane? The question would not appear so fantastic after all to one who believed in the re-birth of soul according to the law of Karma and remembered that no person would be a celibate except of his or her own free choice and when the sex passion has been transcended.

Machinery, being one of the most inseparable adjuncts of modern civilization, must be abandoned. It is of the kingdom of Satan. Mills and factories, where the labourer is done out of his humanity, have no place in his scheme. The wealth they create, it needs no saying, is an abomination. Posts and Telegraphs and railways are likewise condemned, and with them goes the printing press. He says that every time he himself uses one of these instruments of civilization, he does so with a pang! It would be nearly as hard for him to carry on his work without resort to them as it would be to escape from the atmosphere of the earth; but perhaps, the use of evil might be defensible in its own destruction. Rapid and easy means of communication have but multiplied crime and disease; could not man infer from the fact of God having given him legs that he was not intended to go farther than they could carry him? What are ordinarily called the benefits of railways and similar things are in reality the opposite, being added enjoyments or means of gratifying the senses.

Medicine does not escape his judgment: he calls it black magic and actually says it is better to die than be saved by a drug prescribed by the doctor. The fear of immorality and unhealthy modes of life has been materially weakened, if not totally removed, by the hope of being saved from the evil consequences by the help of the doctor. A return to the cure of nature and her simples would redeem mankind.

These and similar doctrines, which appear harsh to the ordinary person, form the substance of Mr. Gandhi's ethic. Let it not be supposed that they are logical abstractions formulated for the purposes of a moral treatise or sermon, and with no intended application to life. Their propounder practises them in the spirit and in the letter, and the limitations on their practice do not proceed from any tenderness for himself or his relatives. His renunciation of worldly goods has been already mentioned. He does not seek the medical man in sickness. He eats *hari* fare. He wears *khaddar* woven by his own hands and in that dress and barefooted appears before the Viceroy of India. He knows no fear and shrinks from nothing which he advises others to do. In fact, his love of suffering and hardship as a means of spiritual progress is almost morbid. His compassion and tenderness are infinite, like ocean, to use an eastern simile. The present writer stood by as he wiped the sores of a leper with the ends of his own garment. In fact, it is his complete mastery of the pas-

sions, his realization of the ideal of a *sannyasin* in all the rigor of its eastern conception, which accounts for the great hold he has over the masses of India and has crowned him with the title of Mahatma or the Great Soul.

Now to a few other doctrines of a subordinate grade. Curiously enough, he is a believer in the system of caste, though the pride of caste and its exclusiveness will receive no quarter from him. Apparently he is convinced of its beneficence, if maintained in its original purity, and holds it to be of the essence of Hinduism. In this belief, however, he is not likely to be followed by a great section of his countrymen, who are anxious to restore their religion to its ancient purity. But he is at one with them and in fact with the awakened conscience of India in desiring to exorcise the demon of untouchability. Millions of people are held by caste Hindus to be beneath their physical touch and live in conditions which are scarcely fit for human beings. These he would uplift, asserting that Hinduism gives no kind of justification for the abuse. But his work for the depressed classes, as they are called, would take the form which has quite recently been given to social work of that kind in the West. He would have the worker cast aside his own status and live the life of the class to be helped, do their work and earn their wage, exactly as they do. So only can real understanding and sympathy come, so only can that confidence be engendered which is the essential pre-requisite of all work of amelioration.

His non-co-operationist followers seem in places to have mixed up his humanitarian work with politics, and so suffered a check. In the Mahatma's eyes no political rights will be of the slightest use to a community which is the prey of great social failings, and work for *Swaraj* can never reach any success without simultaneous work for great social reforms. But violent political excitement is not a favourable condition for such activity. The indiscriminate antagonism of government and its officials is only to be expected to the activities of hosts of young picketers, who are pledged at the same time to embarrass and even destroy the ordinary administration.

The educational ideals of the Mahatma have not yet received a clear expression. To compulsion, even of rudimentary education, he must be averse. The higher sciences and arts, the specialized forms of historical research or economic inquiry, with their glorification of machinery and wealth in its varied forms, will find no room in his simple scheme. Of the necessity of introducing one language for common use in India he has been for long a persistent advocate. He has chosen Hindi for the place of this *lingua franca*. With characteristic earnestness he has collected funds for the purpose of spreading a knowledge of this language and has sent out enthusiastic teachers to all parts of India. The non-co-operation turmoil may have for the time overshadowed this activity. Perhaps, too, the bulk of educational workers in India has not yet accepted the Mahatma's conclusions in this regard and for this reason his efforts on behalf of Hindi have not been co-ordinated with the educational work of the country generally.

The writer of these lines is not one of Mr. Gandhi's political followers or a disciple of his in religion. But he claims to have known him for some years and to have been a sympathetic student of his teachings. He has felt when near him the chastening effects of a great personality. He has derived much strength from observing the workings of an iron will. He has learned from a living example something of the nature of duty and the worship due to her. He has occasionally caught some dim perception of the great things that lie hidden below the surface and of the struggles and tribulations which invest life with its awe and grandeur. An ancient Sanskrit verse says: "Do not tell me of holy waters or stone images; they may cleanse us, if they do, after a long period. A saintly man purifies us at sight."

—Survey Graphic of Feb. 1922.

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