

# THE Servant of India

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## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE Assembly's refusal to grant supplies comes perhaps not as a surprise: but it is none the less serious for that. And the seriousness of the affair to our mind lies in the fact that it will provide both Lord Reading and Lord Olivier with an argument—well-nigh irrefutable—for refusing any immediate constitutional advance. The "invaluable" Mr. Patel not only refused supplies: he delightedly agreed with Mr. Pal's suggestion that refusal of supplies in the House logically demands refusal of tax-paying in the country—and to cap all, Mr. Nehru later on made a general statement identifying himself with Mr. Patel. In the face of that, how can one expect even friends of India in England to be enthusiastic about handing over the administration of the country to Mr. Patel and friends? As a matter of cold fact, the only way to cope with the situation and prevent it from getting steadily worse, is to take the plunge and devolve upon the Nationalists the responsibilities they clamour for. Even that of course is made difficult by the Swarajists' refusal in Bengal and C. P. to assume such responsibilities: but the point there is that Mr. Das and his friends saw no evidence that their responsibility would be real and unfettered. One therefore feels that the only cure for irresponsibility is responsibility. But here the seriousness of the situation becomes so manifest: for, even assuming that Mr. MacDonald's cabinet quite agreed with this view, what earthly chance would they have, of persuading a majority of the British Parliament to it? That is the tragedy of the Swarajist intransigence: that it makes it quite impossible for anybody outside their ranks, whether in this country or in England, to bring about that *Swaraj* which they are quite genuinely aiming at,

The Swarajist tactics, we are afraid, have destroyed in all such minds the alternative: 'Diarchy or Swaraj'? and have merely substituted that of 'Autocracy or Anarchy'?

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THE strike situation in Bombay is progressing, just as one would expect it to progress with a body of employers, who—under present market conditions—have nothing to lose by cessation of work. After all the pourparlers that have been going on for so long, without leading to anything tangible, it needed but a notice, such as was issued by the mill-owners, to goad hungering strikers to deeds of despair. The notice in question curtly called on the strikers to return to work unconditionally and never even mentioned the bonus. Is it a great surprise that the strikers' reply should have taken the form of burning, looting and otherwise damaging seven mills? It is high time that public opinion bestirred itself and placed the blame, not on the maddened ignorant workers, but on the provocative mill-owners. As a further illustration of the capitalist's mentality, we would single out the reply given by them to the Government's appeal that they should undertake to pay all wages due for January "without prejudice to the question of bonus and irrespective of whether the mill-hands desire to return to work or not." To even this eminently modest and fair request, the owners have returned a stubborn refusal! Mr. Wadia admitted average profits in the mills of 10½% for 1905/14 and 53% for 1915/22. In these last seven years, that is to say, the owners received back the capital invested by them nearly *four times over*: and yet they now are unable to pay their men the accustomed bonus of a month's wages! Has all the money gone? Then who is truly improvident—the owners or the men? And are such employers fit to be entrusted any longer with the lives of a couple of lakhs of employees?

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THE *Baby Week* which for Poona closed on the 1st was an unqualified and resounding success in every way. In saying this, one is not simply repeating a stock-phrase: success, surely, it is when to 22,000 women of the poorer classes it is brought home, how their ignorance is killing off babies by the thousand—brought home in the peculiarly vivid way which the film makes possible. 16,000 women attending 1½ hour's show of ante-natal, puer-

peral and post-natal hygiene, and of the art and science of baby tending and nurture! The performances at the Aryan Cinema in the city started at 7. a.m. and went on uninterruptedly until 6 p.m.—everyone of them thronged to the utmost capacity of the theatre. At three other centres—the Camp, Raatha's Peth and Kirkees—similar shows were given on other days of the week, and it is reported that two thousand women attended at each of the three cinemas. We mention these details, to show how excellently planned the whole *Baby Week* here was and how equally excellent the response. Yet what did we hear responsible "leaders" say by way of thanks? That the whole thing was a wicked Brahman dodge to instil the cinema habit into poor non-Brahman women! Hard indeed is the way of the social Reformer in our country.

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WE have received the official report of the Annual General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in India and pull from it the following passage which is distinctly of general interest:

Soon after the last Assembly, the National Missionary Council, now the National Christian Council, met at Poona in January 1922, when Mr. C. F. Andrews, who had then returned from a tour in Africa, made a stirring appeal on behalf of Africa, and urged the Indian Church to go to Africa with the Christian message. His proposal seemed wonderfully opportune, for letters poured in from various directions urging us to give Africa our foremost consideration. A questionnaire was then started which went to each member of the Committee, and which after an interesting career finally reached the Convener in June. It proved to be a most valuable document. Unanimity of opinion prevailed to the effect that it was high time for the Church to undertake some Foreign Mission enterprise. There was difference of opinion on the subject of the choice of the Field. Some felt strongly that Tibet should be the land, while others favoured Africa."

The Assembly eventually decided upon Africa "in view of the close connections between India and Africa, and of the problems which have arisen in consequence" and is now seeking "the advice of the Presbyterian missionaries in Africa with regard to the particular portion of the field that we should enter." We shall watch with the greatest possible interest whether the powers that be in Africa will ever allow these Indian missionaries to embark on their enterprise, seeing that their very presence will loudly proclaim that a human being may have even the same high Christian culture as white people, and yet not be white. That is dangerous doctrine in a continent organized as a white ascendancy over black masses of serfs; and, somehow, we don't quite believe that valid excuses or plausible reasons will be wanting to prevent such a *demonstratio ad oculos* being given.

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THE fierceness of the onslaught on the rights won by German labour during a generation of wise social legislation, which seemed to reach its consummation in the Constitution of the new Republic at Weimar, is aptly illustrated by a circular issued by the Union of German Employers (*vide Frankfurt Gazette* of Feb. 7th), which asks all its members to paralyze completely the law of industrial arbi-

tration. Employers are exhorted to resign their seats on these boards; if the resignation is not accepted, to refuse collaboration; if legal proceedings are threatened, to put in an appearance, but to obstruct and make all arbitration impossible! That is what it has come to in Germany, under French pressure—which does not hit big business at all, but rather enables the latter to push down German labour conditions to the French standard and below it. German workmen of course will not submit tamely to such a process; and the strike at the famous dye-works at Mannheim against imposition of a 9 hour day is an illustration, as, unfortunately, is the subsequent riot, of which recent cables tell us. Our remarks last week of the international consequences of lowering workers' standards anywhere, are strikingly borne out by an address presented by a Dutch Chamber of Commerce and Industry (one at Tiltburg) which asks the Labour Ministry to amend the Labour Law of 1918 in view of "the danger to Dutch industry resulting from the abolition of the 8 hour day in Germany and consequently urges the introduction—of a ten hour day in Holland! On the other hand since Miss Bondfield spoke up on behalf of the British Government at Geneva, two events on the credit side have to be thankfully registered: (1) The Swiss referendum on the subject has resulted (by 4,31,341 votes to 3,14,009) to maintain the 48 hour week in Switzerland; (2) the Belgium Chamber has thrown out two attempts against the Eight Hour Act, one by 136 votes to 20, another (a Government Bill) by 97 to 66.

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WE referred recently to the proposal of calling together an Imperial Labour Conference in London this coming summer. Very appropriately, Mr. E. W. Wimple gives in "Industrial and Labour Information" of December last a short account of the "Workers Travel Association," of which he is the Secretary. Founded in 1921, language classes and lectures were held during the winter 1922-23, but it was only in 1923 that actual travel organization was embarked upon. The Association of course does not aim at being merely a tourist agency: it means to be that also, especially for the particular class concerned, i. e. manual workers; but it means to be more. Its principal aim is to facilitate reciprocal visits between the workers of different countries and thus to "break through the barriers of ignorance and distrust which hide their common humanity." Travel clubs are to be formed all over England, enabling members to spread the cost over a period of several months on the instalment plan, and abroad centres have already been opened at Berlin, Vienna, Geneva, on the Italian lakes, in Brittany and in Belgium. During 1923 more than 2000 people (most of whom had never before been abroad) availed themselves of the facilities offered by the Association, including a party of 35 educationalists who went to Denmark for the purpose of studying the Danish school system. The constitution of the association rules out the distribution of profits, which instead are to be spent on propaganda, lectures, libraries, scholarships &c., &c. One hopes that soon the Association will tackle the need of bringing other spheres than those of merely Western culture within the orbit of their activities and will also enable Westerners to see something—not of India, nor of Indian ruins, nor of English Society in India—but of Indians. How far we in this country have still to go in this respect, is with his usual force and lucidity brought out by Mr. Andrews, in the series of articles on "Emigration" which we commenced last week.

Battles for the 48 hour Week.

### THE PROGRESS OF CO-OPERATION.

Few institutions can equal co-operative societies as training ground for self-government. Within twenty years of the passing of the Co-operative Societies Act in 1904 their number in this country has exceeded 56,000 with a total membership in primary societies of more than two million persons, or about a third of the total number of voters under the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. Each one of these societies is a democratic institution governed by elected representatives and if only they are efficiently managed, they afford the most valuable and extensive political training that the nation can desire. Yet by a curious shortsightedness the average Indian politician, like the Irish politician, has been remarkably indifferent, if not actually hostile, to this excellent institution. If he is really in earnest about nation-building—and we do not in the least doubt that he is—he cannot do better than make himself responsible for the efficient working of at least one society, large or small.

According to the abstract of statistics published annually by the Government of India relating to the progress of the co-operative movement in India, the number of co-operative societies of all kinds increased, during 1922-23 from 52,182 to 56,136 or by nearly 4000. For more than three quarters of this increase three provinces were responsible—Bengal, Madras, and Bihar and Orissa. Bengal and Madras added more than a thousand each to their number, while Bihar added nearly nine hundred. Of the other provinces only the United Provinces had any considerable increase, while in the Central Provinces and Ajmer-Merwara there was an actual decrease, which in the case of the C. P. was more than a hundred. Of the four Indian States for which figures are given, Hyderabad had the largest increase, but that was of less than 100 societies. We do not know why no figures are given for Travancore, Cochin and other States, which possess quite a good number of co-operative societies. But whatever the reason, it is an omission that should be rectified at the earliest opportunity. The membership of the primary societies increased during the year from 19.74 lakhs to 21.02 lakhs; but as this increase is not proportionate to the increase in the number of societies, the average membership of a society has fallen from 38 to 37. In the Punjab, C. P., Ajmer-Merwara, Delhi and Mysore, there has been an actual decrease of membership, owing no doubt to the expulsion of unworthy members. In C. P. and Ajmer this decrease is accompanied by a decrease in the number of societies, but not so in the Punjab, Delhi and Mysore. The total working capital has increased more rapidly than either the number of societies or their membership. Within the last four years, in spite of the general trade depression and financial stringency, it has risen from Rs. 21.4 crores to Rs. 35.5 crores—than which there can be no surer testimony to the confidence

of the public in co-operative institutions. During 1922-23 the capital per society increased from Rs. 5,964 to Rs. 6,331 and that per member from Rs. 158 to Rs. 169. Baroda, however, has been an exception. There the working capital fell from Rs. 27.67 lakhs to Rs. 26.67 lakhs.

To turn now to the working of different kinds of societies. There were seven provincial banks in 1922-23, as in the previous year, of which six were in British India and one in Mysore. The deposits which they received from 'individuals and other sources', i. e. other than subordinate co-operative societies, increased from Rs. 3.85 crores to Rs. 5.78 crores. The most notable increases were in Burma from Rs. 50 lakhs to Rs. 99 lakhs and in Bengal from Rs. 38 lakhs to Rs. 87 lakhs. There can be no greater tribute to the utility and efficiency of these provincial banks than this great increase in deposits. The Bihar and Orissa provincial bank was able to finance during the year its client banks and societies to the extent of Rs. 39 lakhs against only Rs. 8.34 lakhs in the previous year. The Bombay provincial bank has made a speciality of providing ordinary banking facilities to its primary societies. In 1922-23 there was a large expansion of these banking transactions. In Madras there was a large inflow of deposits both into the provincial bank and the central banks. Hence the latter not only borrowed less from the former but made considerable deposits with it. The course of the Mysore provincial bank, however, was very different from that of the British Indian provincial banks. The deposits it received from the public and the loans issued by it to societies both fell to about 50 per cent. of what they were in the previous year. It is a very serious state of affairs and we hope it will receive the urgent attention of His Highness's Government. The central banks had a year of steady progress everywhere except in Bhopal and Baroda, where there was a falling off in deposits.

Out of 49,840 agricultural societies of all kinds all but 1047 had for their object the provision of credit facilities to their members. Being the simplest and most easily managed societies, their number and transactions have expanded to a phenomenal extent. It is to them that one looks for fostering moral qualities in their members. But in the present state of the co-operative movement in India, the moral results are still far from the horizon. Even as purely business organizations, one cannot be proud of their efficiency. A fair test of their efficiency is the proportion of overdue loans. In well-managed institutions one would not expect it to exceed 5 per cent. But in the year under review it increased for the whole country from less than 14 to nearly 20 per cent. The percentages for the more important provinces and States are given below:

Punjab	6	C. P.	38.5
Burma	7.8	Assam	44.8
Bombay	20.0	Hyderabad	0.5
Madras	21.4	Baroda	20.0
Bihar & Orissa	22.5	Mysore	40.0
U. P.	30.0	Bhopal	58.0
Bengal	37.0		

These figures reveal great laxity of supervision and control in all provinces and States except Hyderabad, the Punjab and Burma. Bengal, the U. P., Madras and Bihar, which organised such a large number of new societies in 1922-23 will do well to cry halt to their policy of expansion and concentrate on raising the efficiency of the existing societies.

Among non-credit agricultural societies those meant for the purchase and sale of goods to members, or stores societies, were more or less stationary except in the Punjab and Burma. In the former their number was ruthlessly reduced from 160 to 22, but the value of goods sold to members increased from about Rs. 6 lakhs to Rs. 20 lakhs and the value of members' products purchased for sale to others rose from Rs. 4.4 lakhs to Rs. 30.2 lakhs. Co-operators of the Punjab are to be warmly congratulated on having so successfully attempted joint purchase and sale of goods. Both in purchase and sale the Burma societies doubled their transactions. Bengal raised its 'production' societies from 29 to 114 while the Punjab had 48 of them against 11 in the previous year. But in the latter there is a great decrease under other forms of co-operation, so that perhaps it is only a matter of mere classification. These non-credit societies are still largely in an experimental stage. Their number and transactions fluctuate from year to year. Nevertheless, they are very interesting and important experiments and the different provinces are right in pursuing them in spite of disappointment.

Non-agricultural societies, whether credit or non-credit, are naturally more efficiently managed than agricultural societies. But the percentage of overdues even in these is unduly high, being about 10. Mysore societies are easily the worst with more than 30 per cent., while Madras ones are bad enough, with about 13.5 per cent. The Punjab and Burma again show a very low percentage. There was a large fall in the number of stores societies—from 495 to 422—and in their transactions, the fall in the latter being most conspicuous in Burma—from over Rs. 13 lakhs to under Rs. 4 lakhs. In Bombay, however, the value of goods sold to members increased, though the number of stores societies decreased. So far as the purchase of members' products was concerned, there was a general improvement except in Burma where there was a big fall. There has been steady increase in the number of societies for production and sale in Bengal and Bihar and Orissa—obviously the work of the Bengal Home Industries Organization Society.

Considering the inefficiency of our agricultural credit societies, it is a matter for much regret that the number of supervising unions and the staff employed by them have not increased at a more rapid rate. These unions seem to be adequate only in Burma and the C. P. In Bihar and Madras the number of societies in charge of a superior appears to be too large. In Bombay, Bengal, U. P. and

Assam, very few societies are served by unions, while the Punjab societies do not figure in the list at all. The co-operative movement can do no lasting good if it be not self-governing. It is clearly the duty of Government and non-officials to see that controlling and auditing institutions such as are the unions, spring up and grow in every province. At present not even half the number of agricultural societies are affiliated to them. Neither money nor trouble should be grudged to foster them, for really it is they that give us training in self-government.

## INDIAN EMIGRATION.

BY C. F. ANDREWS.

### II

IN my earlier article, I promised that I would deal with the subject of Indian emigration in the past and its effect upon the history of mankind. This will be the subject of my second article. In my last article, I shall deal with right and wrong methods of emigration. During the last twenty years, it has been my lot to travel to very many distant parts of the world and thus to see many peoples, especially in the Far East. One fact has been impressed upon me more and more. It is this, For over a thousand years, Indians went far and wide as emigrants and carried with them their highest culture wherever they went. The thousand years, to which I specially refer has often been called the Buddhist Age. It dates, roughly from 500 B.C. to 500 A.D. But it might easily be extended on either side; for it was much longer than the period I have mentioned. For instance, the greatest expansion in Java was probably as late as 800 A.D. Nevertheless it will perhaps be best to keep in mind, that the most flourishing period of all was within one thousand years of the death of Gautama the Buddha.

Let me give some of the evidences of the effects of this Indian emigration which I have seen with my own eyes. In Japan, I have read ancient inscriptions in Bengali script, on posts and pillars, carved in stone and wood: I have also seen art records dating over many centuries which were to me the clearest possible evidence of the spread of Hindu Buddhist culture. As we study more thoroughly Japanese history and Japanese archaeology, we find that the living touch with India was constant for over a thousand years and that every great flood of religious progress in India as it spent its forces, washed with its tidal wave the shores of Japan in the Far East. Again, in China, I have met those who have studied the subject, who have told me the very same story about India. It is clear now, that not only did Chinese travellers and scholars come to India, but that Indian scholars and sages travelled to China. There was a prolonged and intimate intercourse between the two countries, and China absorbed all of Indian culture and art that it could hold. There was reflex action upon India that was no less marked and important-

I think that, perhaps, the best way of bringing home to Indian readers the extent of this intercourse, is to relate a conversation, which I had with Dr. Sylvain Levy, of the Sorbonne, Paris. He told me, that a large amount of Sanskrit literature, which had been lost altogether in India, owing to the Indian manuscripts having perished, might still be recovered from China. Each manuscript had been faithfully transliterated into Chinese and Tibetan characters, and it only needed the work of Sanskrit scholars, who knew Tibetan and Chinese scripts, in order to restore the original Sanskrit. One has only to exercise one's imagination in order to realise to what an extent the mutual intercourse had gone. In our Asram, at Santiniketan, Dr. Sylvain Levi was able to create a great enthusiasm among our Indian teachers and students for learning Chinese and Tibetan. Some of our best scholars have persevered in their studies and are competent to teach. On March 14th the Poet, Rabin dranath Tagore, is himself going to China. He is taking with him, most probably, one of the best of our Sanskrit professors. It is not unlikely that the latter will remain in Peking, and seek to transliterate priceless treasures of the Indian past. The Visvabharati, at Santiniketan, is already becoming a centre of this Far Eastern research. It may not be well known that the Poet's father, Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, was a great traveller and visited China more than sixty years ago. The Poet on his new journey to the Far East, will visit also Siam and Indo-China. The very name of the last country tells its own history. It is *Indo-China*. For many centuries, it was ruled over by Hindu kings. In Siam, the chief festivals of the year are still related to Hindu mythology. In both places, architectural ruins, which are among the most remarkable still extant in the East, are to be found. But as I have not visited either of these places personally, I cannot speak at first hand about them as I can do about Japan.

On the other hand, I have been personally to Celebes and Java, and I can speak of these from my own experience. Celebes today owes all its most important roads and aqueducts to Hindu colonisation. The island was found by the Hindu emigrants in a state of savage barbarism. Today it is still one of the most civilised among the islands of the Malay Archipelago. The mild and peaceful character of its population is due to centuries of Hindu civilisation in the past. The neighbouring island of Borneo, where Hindu civilisation did not penetrate so deeply, relapsed about completely into barbarism. Yet even here,—I have heard,—there are still abundant traces left of the Hindu-Buddhist civilisation. Unfortunately I have not been able to go to the Hindu Island of Bali, for want of time; although I was most eager to do so. There, the old Hindu civilisation remains practically intact. A very beautiful incident occurred early in the present century. The Dutch Government had ordered the 'occupation' of the Island by an armed force and the Balinese, Hindus as

they were, had determined to preserve their independence. They came forward, in the white robe of martyrdom, and threw themselves without any weapons in their hands upon the invading army and were shot down by rifle fire. They still came on to death. The Dutch Governor gave the order to cease fire. The Queen of Holland when she heard of it, sent a royal command that those who had defended their freedom with such moral bravery should not be deprived of their independence. So Bali remains unconquered up to the present day.

I have been all over the Island of Java and have seen its historic ruins. It is full of Hindu and Buddhist temples. The greatest monument of all is one of the seven wonders of the world,—Borobudur, about which I have often written in the Indian Press. The sculptures there tell the whole story of Indian emigration. We can understand from them that emigration from India was not one of conquest, but of sacrifice. It did not appeal to force, but to love. Everywhere the form of the Buddha is seen in his acts of divine compassion. In each sculpture some act of sacrifice is represented. In one scene the Buddha is giving his life to save a wild beast from the pangs of hunger. In another, like a St. Francis, he is preaching to the beasts and birds. In another, the aborigines are crowding to his feet as he lands from the ship upon the shore. The beauty is indescribable. The historical record is invaluable. It shows how, during this golden period of a thousand years, Indian emigrants were going far and wide across the Earth, not to capture and destroy, but to civilise and build up the humane and spiritual realm of man.

In many parts of Burma and Malaya, I have also found remarkable traces of Hindu civilisation. The island of Ceylon bears in every part traces of its own unspeakably great debt to India.

Turning to Africa, the record is not so full and convincing. It is strange that on this side of India there was so little advance. French scholars are finding out, that Madagascar had contact with India from very ancient times; and it is not unlikely that the milder and more cultured character of the Hova tribes in that Island is due to a Hindu emigration in the past. How far westward into Africa that civilisation advanced, has not yet been investigated, but Speke, the discoverer of the sources of the Nile, was greatly helped in his discoveries (as he mentions in his book of travels,) by references which he found to the interior of Africa in Hindu books describing great lakes and mountains. The name, Chandiristan, was given to one region by the Hindus, and the little 'Mountains of the Moon', which used to be found in our atlases, when I was a child, still recalls this. At the same time, it has to be confessed that Hindu civilization failed to exert any permanent influence upon the continent of Africa in the past. Will it do so in the future? That is one of the great issues of the Kenya Immigration question. It was proba

bly in Central Asia, that Hindu civilisation penetrated most thoroughly and successfully for many centuries. The records of it are all now buried in the sand. For that portion of the earth has become waterless and barren. But Sir Aurel Stein's archaeological researches and discoveries have revealed to us the amazing richness of Hindu civilisation, two thousand and more years ago, when Central Asia was a garden that blossomed like the rose and human life was sweet and beautiful with a thousand arts and literary enjoyments. There were also religious amalgamations and approximations that were of vital importance to the Buddhist and Christian development in Eastern Asia. I have only sketched out a fraction of the Indian emigration, in the age when Hinduism was truly great; when India was truly a mother of nations. Speaking with full knowledge and care, I do not think that any large population, that inhabited this earth in ancient time, has had a nobler record than this. Her kingdoms and empires were founded, not with the sword, but with noble deeds of sacrifice and devotion. Her fame became world-wide, not through bloody conquests, but through art and culture and religion.

One thing must be clear to every one, from the record of what I have seen with my own eyes, as a traveller and scholar. The Hindus of those days were not a stay-at-home people. They were adventurous and brave, enterprising and even reckless of danger. They had the joy of life strong in them and they were eager to explore the world. They knew, as the *isa Upanishat* begins, that "all things that move in this moving world are enveloped by God", and they went out to find God everywhere. They knew also how to "enjoy through renunciation", as the *Upanishat* goes on, and "not to covet". Therefore they wished to go on working and living "even for a hundred years". In that last sentence, I have paraphrased the great and wonderful Sanskrit *sloka* which follows. It is to this India, that we must seek to return, not to the unadventurous India, that framed the *kala pani* doctrine.

But, at the same time, we must not make again the mistakes of the past, and send out emigrants at haphazard, and without any scientific method. We must never again have any repetition of the evils of cheap labour exploitation under indenture.

( To be continued )

C. F. ANDREWS.

### PUBLIC INSTRUCTION IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

1917-18--1921-2

In estimating the progress of education in a country, one is guided by a variety of considerations. Foremost of those are the actual needs of the people in respect of education, the extent to which they are satisfied at the given stage and the rate at which plans for future progress are arran-

ged and expected to proceed to their goal. As arising out of these, we have other considerations not less important which have reference not so much to the extent of education as to its content and character, such for instance, as tell us whether the instruction imparted is suited to the varying needs and capacities of individuals, whether its general effect on mind and character is of a wholesome and sufficiently permanent nature and whether it provides the individual with a reasonable amount of physical, intellectual and moral equipment enabling him to make his way in the world and lead the life of a self-respecting and useful citizen. We have in addition to consider how far the claims of the advancement of learning itself have been attended to, so as to enable the country to contribute its proper share to the general progress of mankind. The administration of education in a country must take into account all these aspects of its work, and make conscious and vigorous efforts to accelerate the pace of progress. It cannot rest content with the progress that is the outcome of a natural but vague hankering after a better state of things to be found in the least advanced of societies or of the momentum which a society once started on the path of progress, naturally carries with it. A progressive administration must aim at something more. It must initiate new measures, encourage the growth of new and useful ideas, and obtain and use available means for the vigorous prosecution of all that it undertakes or encourages.

I have before me the Report on Public Instruction in this Presidency for the last quinquennium, and I have tried to apply to it the test afforded by the above mentioned considerations. It cannot be denied that the report records great and important changes, some of them quite far reaching in character, and that it shows a genuine desire on the part of the administration to enhance its usefulness and justify its claim to be considered progressive. Nevertheless, the general impression that one gathers, on a perusal of the report, is one that cannot be described as a feeling of satisfaction. If we wish to judge of the progress during these five years on the basis of what has been actually accomplished, the report, if it does not quite disappoint us, gives us little cause for congratulation. Its relieving feature lies mainly in the promise that it holds out for the future, especially in the adoption of the principle of compulsory education and the provision, on a scale never before attempted, of special inducements to backward communities to take advantage of the facilities for education. But even here, the tone of the report is suggestive rather of the moral satisfaction that one feels when one has acknowledged a long forgotten duty than of the optimistic assurance of one who not only believes in that duty, but also in his readiness and capability to fulfil it.

Let us first consider the progress achieved in the expansion of education and the provision of

increased facilities for obtaining it. Beginning with the most elementary type of instruction: we find that out of every 100 children in the Presidency between the ages of 5 and 10, only 22 attended some sort of school at the close of the quinquennium, as against 18 at its beginning. In other words, scarcely one additional child per hundred per year was brought under the influence of education even of the most elementary type. If we take into account the preceding quinquennium, we find that in the ten years from 1913 to 1922, the number of children attending schools, for every 100 children between the ages of 5 and 10 rose from 18 to 22. Considering the set-back due to the Great War and the awakening noticed everywhere after its close, as mutually compensating elements, we may regard as the normal rate of progress achieved in the expansion of elementary education during recent days the addition of 3 children in every 5 years for every 100 children of school-going age, to the number of children actually attending schools. At this rate it would take a century and quarter more to bring all children between the ages of 5 and 10 under the influence of the most elementary type of education. According to the provisions of the Compulsory Education Act, the rate of progress of expansion during the next ten years is expected to be about three times as rapid as the normal rate above deduced. Coming next to the field of secondary education, less than 3 out of every 100 children of school-going age are found to take advantage of the facilities afforded, and though there has been a slight increase in the number, this percentage has not yet been exceeded. The number of institutions for secondary education has remained stationary. In the case of university education also, so far as the number of pupils taking advantage of it is concerned, things have remained practically what they were at the beginning of the quinquennium.

Coming now to the provision of facilities for different kinds of education, so as to enable the pupil to choose what is most suited to his condition, inclination and capacity, we find that very little progress has been achieved. The number of technical and industrial schools is exceedingly small, being 34 for the whole Presidency and the number of pupils in them, has remained stationary at 2370 during the quinquennium. The number of institutions and the number of pupils are both ridiculously small and bear witness to the extremely one-sided character of the educational programme followed hitherto. The facilities for professional education, too, are extremely limited, and scarcely suffice to meet even the demand consequent upon the present limited expansion of primary and secondary education. With only one college for education in each of the subject of Law, Medicine, Engineering, Agriculture and Commerce, there is no wonder that hundreds of students should each year have to be turned away from the doors of these colleges and forced to crowd into non-professional courses of study ad

versely affecting the general level of attainment in them. Briefly speaking the educational administration of the country has not hitherto succeeded in bringing even a quarter of the whole school-going population of the country within the fold of education, or in making provision for even a tenth of this quarter for continuing their education in suitable directions; while the provision for technical, industrial and professional education scarcely touches even one out of every 1000 persons of school-going age.

The Report admits that by far the largest part of the increase in expenditure on education during the past five years has been the result not of expansion or improvement, but of the increase in the cost of maintaining schools and the pay of primary teachers. The programme of Compulsory Primary Education now laid down will in itself lead in the course of the next ten years to an additional annual expenditure of 75 lakhs over and above the present expenditure of about a 100 lakhs from the provincial funds. The question then arises: that if by making use of all resources accessible to the educational administration, all that it could do is to maintain existing conditions as they are, and if, during the next ten years, the extension of primary education in accordance with the Compulsory Education Act is likely to absorb every new source of income, what is going to be the future of secondary and higher education in the country? The importance and immediate need of the extension of primary education can scarcely be over-estimated, and yet, unless such extension proceeds side by side with the extension and improvement of facilities for secondary and higher education and with a proportionate increase of those for technical and industrial education, it is likely in the end to lead to disappointment, if not to disastrous consequences. Elementary education covering very little more than a knowledge of the three R's is essential but, only as a means to an end and not as an end in itself. To be of any use, it must lead to other courses of instruction leading either to the University (which can be the destination of only the minority) or to technical, industrial, commercial and agricultural schools, (which ought to be the natural goal of the large majority). The secondary instruction now provided leads to nothing but the University. It is, moreover, within the reach of a few only owing to its restricted extension. As it is, it suffers from a great deal of wastage, only 25 p. c. of those who enter upon it succeeding in getting through. By far the larger portion of the pupils are stranded in the middle of their career, and are thus forced to merge in the huge majority of the illiterate masses. The extension of elementary education, without a corresponding attention to the provision of subsequent opportunities for education of a character more directly bearing upon the ordinary occupations of life, cannot in any sense be considered a wise policy and this constitutes the most serious problem that the authorities in charge of education

must prepare themselves to face during the next few years.

The evils of the situation are already making their appearance in certain directions. A number of schools and classes for training teachers have been closed at the outset. Secondary schools have been threatened with a possible reduction of grant-in-aid. The committee which was appointed in 1921 to draw up a comprehensive scheme of technical and industrial education made its report but there is not the least indication of the recommendations either of the majority or the minority, being attended to or even given a consideration. The University of Bombay appointed a committee of their own to go carefully into the recommendations of the Sadler Commission and submitted their own report to Government making definite recommendations for the improved organisation of secondary and higher education. This report has been allowed to lie unnoticed, apparently for the reason that the changes it suggests cannot be undertaken in the present stringent condition of finances. But one fails to see any reason why such portions of the recommendations as dealt with the reorganization of the senate with a view to make it more representative in its character, should have also failed to receive attention. The report makes prominent mention of the appeal which Dr. Mackichan makes in his report on the Congress of the Universities of the Empire, to the City of Bombay to "learn to regard the University not as an institution planted in the midst of them by Government, but as in a peculiar sense their own" and to support it by an abundant stream of liberality. And yet, we find neglected one of those means by which the University could be brought into closer relationship with those whose help and support it seeks to attract.

When some of the pressing essentials of the educational programme have to be set aside, it goes without saying that those of a less pressing character can have but little chance. Thus the needs of research,—the topmost rung in the ladder of education,—must for the present rest content with the scant attention that can be paid to them. It is true that the Royal Institute of Science has commenced work, but a good deal will have to be done before it is raised to a sufficiently high level of efficiency. Institutions like the Bhandarkar Institute require to be even more liberally treated than they are, while there are others which have not yet been given the benefit of Government help. While acknowledging the value of what has been done, one is constrained to observe that that is but a fraction of what is actually required or even of what is carried out in other places such as Bengal. The production of sound literature for the general reader, as well as the student and the scholar, is another activity which has not yet received its proper share of recognition and help. The report points out that the output of books is deplorably small, and that Government have resolved to give subsidies to authors who are prepared to produce suitable books in the Vernacular for the diffusion

of useful knowledge. But in the very next sentence, it observes that scarcity of funds has so far prevented Government from giving effect to the project. The education of girls is again another instance of no advance. In respect of this matter, indeed, the Department of Education scarcely appears to have any definite programme of its own, except in so far as the new enactment on compulsory education has in contemplation. In the case of girls as well as the backward communities especially in villages, positive efforts of a more insistent and continuous nature require to be put forth to popularise the idea of education. Ignorant parents have got to be approached and taught to appreciate the benefits of education by organising such agencies as the "moving schools" in America, or helping social workers to organise them. It will not do simply to wait till the apathy of the masses dies a natural death.

I may suggest, in this connection, that such quinquennial reports should contain a brief survey of educational conditions, the working of experiment, and the birth and growth of new ideas in a few of the advanced countries, such as England, France, Germany, the United States and Japan. This, I think, is the practice followed in the Reports on Education published in these countries. Such a survey, however brief, will be both interesting and instructive. It will serve to fix our eyes on the ideal. It will show us, by comparison and contrast, our excellences and short-comings, and point out lines of improvement. Above all it will serve to make it clear that in other countries education is regarded as one of the foremost duties of the State for which no amount of expenditure can be considered too large, and it will both compel and justify those in charge of education, to raise their voice against the unnatural state of things under which, out of every rupee of the national revenue, seventy pias are spent on military services while only eight can be spared for education—a state of things, which is the root-cause of the failure of educational administration in this country.

V. B. NAIK.

### THE SANGLI PRAJA PARISHAD.

SPECIAL importance attaches to the third session of the Sangli Praja Parishad that was held at Shirhatti on 29th February and 1st March under the presidency of Mr. Vinayak Rao Mainkar B. A. LL. B. Pleader, Sangli. Sangli is the most senior of the Patwardhan Jagirs in the Southern Maratha Country and its capital is a growing town of commercial and educational importance. The foundation of its prosperity was laid under its first two rulers—Shrimant Appasaheb and Shrimant Tatyasahib Patwardhan. The period of administration that followed the death of Shrimant Tatyasahib witnessed unique progress in every branch of administration, thanks to the zeal and capacity of Capt. Burke. The present ruler, Shrimant Sh. Chintaman Rao, came to the Gad:



in 1910 and he has continued the tradition of good government that was handed down to him by his distinguished predecessors. Then he has done a great deal for secondary and higher education in his State. Two new English High Schools came into existence during his regime, and to the Willingdon College he gave a liberal donation in 1919. In the important branch of judicial administration he set up an independent Bench so as to secure equal justice to all. He has, finally, adopted what might be called the 'Council' form of government in his State. The Diwan and three other members form the Council and the whole administration is carried on with the advice of the Council.

In addition to these progressive elements that exist in the administration, Shrimant Sir Chintaman Rao is known to be an enlightened and sympathetic ruler. His State is parcelled out into five Prants lying in the Satara, Belgaum, Sholapur and Dharwar Districts. A substantial portion of his subjects speak the Kanarese language, and all have come under the full sway of those great political movements and tendencies that mark the awakening of British India. The Chief Sahib is thus confronted with political problems which are as complex as they are delicate, and outsiders are watching with more than passing interest the popular agitation that is going on in the State during the last few years. To judge from the presidential address and from the resolutions adopted at the Conference, the outstanding grievance of the people seems to be the employment of foreigners in State service. The people want all important posts to be held by the subjects of the State and their demand is similar to the demand for the Indianization of the services in British India, and can be justified on the grounds of justice, expediency and economy. Now that there are many competent officers who are his subjects, it is to be hoped that the Chief Sahib will be pleased to discontinue the policy of importing foreigners to fill vacancies as they arise.

The demands of the Conference which are specially interesting are the reform of the *Rajyat Sabha* on a democratic basis and the admission of popular representatives in the Council. Both these demands are the reflex of the political struggle that is going on in British India. The rulers of a number of Native States have anticipated popular agitation by conceding similar rights to their own subjects, and it behoves the Chief Sahib not to lag behind them.

The greatest obstacle to the progress of Native States, especially those of moderate size, is their financial stringency. Not only are the revenues small, but the possible resources for taxation are limited; on the other hand, there is nothing to prevent the prince from spending an increasing proportion of his revenues to satisfy personal ambition or luxury. Unless, therefore, a line is sharply drawn between state-expenditure and the private expenditure of the prince, nothing will be achieved

It may not be proper to allow the subjects to interfere with the prince's private expenditure; but the time has come when they should have an effective voice in the management of a portion of the budget.

At the last session of the Conference that was held at Shahapur, resolutions containing similar demands were passed and later on a deputation was received by the Chief Sahib to hear personally the grievances of his subjects. Misleading reports appeared in the newspapers at that time about the proceedings of the deputation, and the impression was spread abroad that the Chief Sahib was not sympathetic to the demands of his subjects. But the Conference at Shirhatti should be sufficient to remove the wrong impression. The president, in his closing remarks, hotly repudiated the suggestion that the deputation meant to be discourteous to the Chief Sahib and declared that the feeling of loyalty and affection which the subjects of the State felt for Shrimant Appasaheb was as strong now as it was in 1910 when he came to this *Gadi*. It is to be hoped, therefore, that the Chief Sahib will be pleased to give his best consideration to the proceedings of the Conference and take an early opportunity to remove their grievances and satisfy their political aspirations.

A. B. C.

## THE DELHI SESSION.

(BY OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT.)

DELHI, 3th MARCH 1924.

THE parliamentary week was devoted by both Chambers to the general discussion of the budget for 1924-25. But one is hardly impressed with that fact; for there was not much of the budget in what honourable members addressed themselves to. The main topic was certainly political and constitutional—the present constitution of the Government of the country was bad. It looked very much like the continuation of the debates on Mr. Rangachari's resolution on Dominion government for India. What may be said to be more relevant to the budget was the universal complaint that the military expenditure was excessive and that the salt duty should be reduced to its former level. Other points relevant to the budget were few and far between. This poverty of budget discussion is due to more causes than one. First of all, it is a general discussion. But old traditions die hard. Individuals attempt to survey the whole field of administration as they used to do of yore in the old unreformed councils. This tendency receives some excuse from the fact that the number of days available for non-official resolutions are not adequate, and members feel tempted to take advantage of the range of liberty allowed on the general discussion to roam far and wide. But with a party organisation, so well knit as the Swaraj party is at present, it would have been possible to entrust certain members with the study of certain departments of the budget, and combine

division of labour with effective study and criticism. But that is expecting too much from the Swaraj party, at any rate at the present time when they are out to bring about a change in the constitution rather than study and pass a budget of a Government they are out to displace. The Independents are much too independent to work in team. Further among the Indian members, knowledge of finance is not strongly represented.

Even so, the discussions were not without interest. The opinion is unanimous among the Indian members that the salt tax should be reduced to Rs. 1-4-0 per maund, come what may. The prospect of the reduction of financial contributions from certain provinces would not tempt even those provinces to give up the "irrevocable financial heresy"—as Sir Basil Blackett called the Indian disinclination to increase the salt tax. Lord Olivier's statement in the Lords that the salt tax was a "horrible and iniquitous" tax which brought about the French Revolution was a bit too inconvenient for the Government of India to be able to ask the Legislature to give up the heresy. So the Government got Lord Olivier himself to drop and disown the heresy. Sir Basil refused to publish the cable which Government sent to Lord Olivier and which brought such prompt disclaimer. Once again the power of the local bureaucrats and the impotence, however, benevolent, of the Labour Secretary of State have received deplorable confirmation.

Equally unanimous is the opinion among the Indian members that the military expenditure is still too high and no arguments, statistics and protestations to the contrary would convince the Legislature that all possible economy has been achieved or that the Government is anxious for it either. "Expenditure was dependent on policy" and Government's policy, based on distrust, could not be made considerably cheaper. Lord Rawlinson in a speech, characterised by the sincerity of a soldier and the suavity of the trained politician, firmly refused to contemplate any further reduction in the strength of the fighting units, which have been reduced by as many as 37 thousand men already. He would, however, attempt economy in other directions, though he was not confident of a reduction of the military budget to 50 crores. The discussion brought to light a new and ingenious explanation of Col. Guinness's statement in the Commons that reduction in the reserves in India would mean an eventual further cost being thrown on the British Budget. This was understood in India to mean that a part of the army in India was being maintained for Imperial purposes at the cost of the Indian taxpayer. Mr. Burdon now interprets the statement to mean that His Majesty's Government maintained in England a larger army than they would otherwise maintain but for the necessity to rush to the rescue of India in an emergency. Thus, the position is reversed. It is the British taxpayer that is being victimised to the relief of the Indian taxpayer! But Mr. Jinnah cruelly pricked the bubble by hurling at the devoted head of the

ingenious Army Secretary an inconvenient quotation from Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's book that half the army in India was for Imperial purposes.

The Assembly received with ironical laughter the Commander-in-Chief's reference to the rapid Indianisation in the Army—Indianisation of the motor drivers, gunners and artificers and in the signal services! Evidently even these places were shut out to Indians hitherto. We should be thankful even for such small mercies. Turning to the Indianisation of commissioned ranks, His Excellency emphasised that the only way for it lay through education and he gave a bright picture of the College in Dehra Dun, the accommodation in which was being raised from 70 to 100. Two Military Schools are also being started in the Punjab.

What will be the fate of the budget next Monday? The Nationalist Party has been meeting almost every day to confirm their decision to throw out the budget *en bloc*. The fact that the decision needs to be confirmed everyday is rather suspicious. It is an open secret that the decision was only by a majority and the minority includes several of the most prominent Independents, who are bound, by their pledge, to vote with the majority in the Assembly. It is said that the acute legal intelligence of some of the Independents is being strained to the full to interpret the pledge in such a way as to leave them a technical opening for escape from the dilemma in which they find themselves. The Independents fondly hoped that the joint demand would receive a favourable response from Government and that there would be no occasion for obstruction to be resorted to. All the same they were careful enough so to word the pledge that the key to the situation lay effectively in the hands of the Independents. For it was laid down that obstruction would be brought into operation only by a majority of three-fourths. Now the Swarajists are about 48 and Independents 28 and 9 of the latter held the key. At the meeting when the decision was taken, it is said that the Swarajists mustered strong while the Independents did not attend in their full strength. Only 51 members attended the meeting and the motion was carried by 40 to 11. Now the former number is certainly more than three fourths of the members present at the meeting but not of the total strength of the Nationalist party. They are now quibbling over whether the majority to be binding is three fourths of the members present at a meeting specially invited for the purpose or of the total strength of the party. If only the Independents had mustered strong at the meeting, they would have easily carried the day instead of having to fall back on quibbling for an escape. But as I said in my last letter, the Independents are in a fix. They cannot say that Government response is satisfactory. If they admit that it is unsatisfactory, they are pledged to obstruction automatically. Some ingenious members have invented and advocated discriminate obstruction; throw out certain items in the budget

and not wholesale! At the bottom, there is the fundamental struggle in the minds of the Independents: which pays, co-operation or non-co-operation? Is the British Government responsive to trouble or persuasion? The Swarajists have made up their mind, but not so the Independents. Sir Malcolm Hailey and Pandit Motilal were closeted and it is said that the former is arranging an interview between the Pandit and the Viceroy. God is on the side of big battalions and Governments are usually willing to treat with those that command a majority of the votes of the Assembly.

### A LETTER FROM THE PUNJAB,

LAHORE. 8th March, 1924.

Since I wrote my last letter, things have been developing fast. A provincial Hindu conference met at Lahore in the third week of February. Under the guidance of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and with the support of all sections of Hindus it decided to boycott municipal elections in the province. A sub-committee was also appointed to supervise the movement and otherwise to decide on any other plan. Immediately came the municipal elections at Lahore, and it was demonstrated that this boycott movement had the support of all sections of people, when all the Hindu candidates withdrew their candidatures. Whether this will have any effect in changing the policy of the Education Minister remains to be seen. Backed as he now is not only by the majority of the Council but by his fellow Minister, it is not easy to indulge in that hope.

The Sikh situation has rather deteriorated. The Jaito fiasco has roused a storm of indignation all over the province, though a veil of mystery still seems to hang over the affair. The attempts to discuss the matter in the Legislative Assembly were frustrated by the Government's adherence to a too technical interpretation of the rules. The S. G. P. C. is banned as before and it is unfortunate that permission could not be given to discuss its proclamation in the Legislative Council. The affairs in the Khalsa College also seem to have reached a crisis. The Principal wants to have almost complete control over the staff, which naturally the managing committee, though it is composed of a large number of quasi-official representatives, is not prepared to concede. Hitherto the Principal has been an I. E. S. officer, but it is understood that the Government declines to depute any other such officer unless the powers asked for are granted. Before long the affair bids to produce much confusion.

The local Legislative Council has been doing a good deal to justify its communal character. A resolution moved to resist the officialisation of education by shutting out private enterprise was negatived and there was the curious spectacle of the president of the Muhammadan educational conference opposing this resolution in the Council when he had himself moved a protest against the proposed measure in the conference. Similarly

other matters have been treated. The Finance Member presented a deficit budget which is largely due to the fact that no attempt has been made to effect fundamental economies in the province. It remains to be seen whether the Council swallows the bait that has been thrown.

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