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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE Swarajist leaders are at present engaged in a conference with Mahatma Gandhi on the subject of "Non-co-operation and the Councils." It is said that the Swarajists expressed themselves as willing to revise their position in any particular, if such revision would revive the former cordial relations between the two sections of the non-co-operation party and would lead once again to fruitful co-operation between them. But they made one condition: that abstention from the legislatures is absolutely out of the question. Short of resigning their seats from the legislative bodies, they would do anything, they declared, to meet the wishes of orthodox non-co-operators. And it appears they were told by Mahatmaji precisely what we had ventured to tell them in all humility: that there is no intermediate course between boycott of Councils and a policy of responsive co-operation therein. If boycott is ruled out, the next best thing is, according to the tenets of non-co-operation, honestly to use the legislative machinery to promote the constructive programme. To play the part of a wrecker, to oppose everything irrespectively of its merits, is much too vandalistic and unidyllic to pass for non-co operation. Mahatma Gandhi has thus advised the leaders of the Swarajist party to abjure the method of indiscriminate obstruction and, if they cannot come out of the Councils, to extract therefrom the maximum advantage they can for the furthering of all the movements non-co-operators have at heart—Swadeshi, temperance, &c.

THIS advice we hope will sink in the Swarajist mind. If you are to be within the Councils your duty is

to strive your utmost to make the Councils as little harmful and as potent instruments for good as you can possibly make them. The Swarajist policy however proves injurious in whichever of the ways the Government decides to meet it. If the Government accepts the popular vote and decides to act upon it, the result is the closing down of schools, hospitals, &c. If it rejects the vote and decides to continue and develop such public utility institutions, then the result is the substitution of an autocratic for a parliamentary government. Either way the pursuit of Swarajist tactics of wholesale opposition lands us in one kind of mischief or another. Non-co-operation, i. e. standing apart altogether from a machinery which you think is penetrated through and through with satanic quality, has something idealistic and noble about it. Responsive co-operation, i. e. taking what you can get and pressing on to get more till you get all that is due to you, has something of solid worth about it. But the policy of blind opposition in Councils, which the Swarajists favour, has the merit neither of idealism nor of practical beneficence. It is at once sordid and sterile. Their association with Mahatma Gandhi will, we fervently hope, lead the Swarajist party to drop uniform obstruction and to promote the constructive programme. And it is to be hoped that they will not interpret the constructive programme in a too narrow way. Everything that goes to build up the country is part of a constructive programme. The extension of schooling and medical facilities is as much included in it as the promotion of Khaddar and the prohibition of drink. Such a modification in the Swarajist attitude affords the best chance for many a long day for a thorough unity of effort in the attainment of Swaraj.

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IT is reassuring, though nothing less was expected, that Dewan Bahadur Rangachariar declared on landing in England as member of the Crown Colonies Committee that so far as his Committee was concerned, a compromise on general principles was out of the question. Under the Tory Government last year, the India Office fought shy of general principles, such as equality of citizenship, &c. and tried to persuade the Indian deputations not to dwell on them. But they rightly refused to do so and we are glad the same will be the attitude at least of the Indian members of the Crown Colonies Committee. Mr Rangachariar also expressed the true Indian feeling when he said that whether in Kenya, Fiji or anywhere else, Indians did not want in any way to prejudice the interests of the natives—by stealing first their lands and then their limbs, for example. We may in this connection mention that Mr. Sastri sent the following telegram to the Indian members of the Committee when about to sail: "India's hopes and good wishes are with you. Be strong. Our cause is just and must win some day if no ignoble compromise now bars the

way." To which H. H. the Aga Khan replied "Gratefully appreciate your good wishes. Will do utmost." To Mr. Hope Simpson and Sir Benjamin Robertson Mr. Sastri cabled: "India prayerfully trusts you will preserve her self-respect and Britain's honour. The Empire cannot long survive the extension of the colour bar beyond South Africa." Mr. Hope Simpson has cabled back to say that he will do his best.

* * *

A Land Revenue Bill. THE Land Revenue Bill introduced by the Home Member in the Madras Legislative Council was summarily rejected in the first reading by 63 against 18 votes, the Ministerialists and the Opposition joining hands against Government. The reason was this. To give effect to the Parliamentary Joint Committee's recommendation that land revenue settlement should be brought under the purview of the legislature, the Government asked the Board of Revenue to draft a bill. That was ready in 1921 and an influential committee of officials and un-officials wrote a unanimous report on it, making some amendments in the draft bill. As some of the prominent members of the present Council were members of that committee, if the bill had been introduced as recommended by them, it would have had an easy passage. But the Government took upon themselves—under pressure from Delhi, it was freely said—to make a most vital change. The committee had provided that all proposals for introducing re-settlement rates should be brought before the legislature for adoption, amendment or rejection, as it considered fit. The new bill provided instead for such proposals being laid on the table for at least two months while the Council was in session and for the Government passing final orders after taking into consideration any opinions expressed in the Council on the proposals. No wonder the Council grew indignant over the change and gave a most decisive vote, in order that a better bill may be introduced. The indignation was all really against the Government of India, for the former Home Member, Sir Muhammad Habibulla Khan, had signed the committee's report. The new bill was an improvement over the present Revenue Manual only in one respect,—it had fixed the maximum increment at a re-settlement at 3 annas in the rupee instead of the present 4 annas. If the bill had been passed there would have been some immediate relief to a certain number of ryots. But the principle at stake, the right of the legislature to have the final say in the matter of resettlement rates, was much more important than their interest and the Council did well in standing up for it.

* * *

Mr. Horniman. A VERY curious position has been reached by the Legislative Assembly demanding by a majority vote the rescission of the deportation order against Mr. Horniman and the Bombay Legislative Council voting against it. There is no doubt that the former vote represents the public opinion in the country and the latter flouts it in an outrageous fashion; but it is too much to expect that any Government, having at its back the vote of a popular though unrepresentative body, will set it aside in order to do elementary justice even to a distinguished journalist. It does not require, on the part of one who takes up cudgels in Mr. Horniman's behalf, an identity of political views with him; and so we can only deprecate the red herrings drawn by Sir Maurice Hayward across the path of the legislators in Bombay when he dilated upon the opinions and the charac-

ter of Mr. Horniman. If he mismanaged the *Bombay Chronicle*, it is the *Chronicle's* affair; if he abused Moderates, it is the Moderates' affair. Whether, in the opinion of the public in India, Mr. Horniman's politics was sound or unsound, the public at any rate does not desire that the Government should intervene to set matters right. The Indian people have long overpassed the need of such spoon-feeding at the hands of Government, and are agreed that Mr. Horniman should be restored to liberty.

* * *

The Angora Deputation. IF the Bombay Government declines to admit Mr. Horniman into India in the *Chronicle's* interest, the Government of India refuses leave to the Angora deputation to leave India for Turkey, in the interest of the Ottoman Government. If the deputation is going on a religious mission, it should, says the Government, be exclusively Moslem in its composition: it should undertake to abstain from Turkish politics, &c., &c. But surely these things the Indian Government can leave to the decision of Turkey. Or does it think that because, in the matter of the Khilafat, the deputation takes a view different from that of the Angora Government, the latter will be either so mean and undemocratic as to refuse entry to the deputation or so unimaginative and panic-stricken as to fear any serious mischief from its participation in politics? The Indian Government need not be too solicitous of Angora: the latter knows what it is to its interest and would welcome the opportunity afforded by the deputation to confer with Indian Moslems. The Indian Government is sadly mistaken in thinking that what the Angora deputation wants is British protection in a foreign country. The deputation runs no risk in visiting Angora. It is quite safe there and it only wants that the Government of India should not interfere to prohibit it from leaving the country. Here again it is not necessary that one should entirely support the deputation in its aims in order to advocate its cause. All that we are concerned about is the principle that perfect freedom should be allowed for every legitimate adventure, and by no stretch of imagination can the deputation be regarded as anything but a legitimate venture.

* * *

A true Satyagraha. IT is certainly not creditable to the Hindu States of Travancore and Cochin, which are far ahead of other States and of British India in educational matters, that they should deny the right of way in public roads to low caste Hindus, who would cease to be under any such disability the moment they espoused Christianity or Muhammadanism. Not that we would defend such disability on any class of human beings, but its existence in Hindu States against Hindus is particularly incongruous. If in the portion of Malabar which is under British rule, where social customs are the same as in Travancore and Cochin, this right of way is conceded with the acquiescence of the caste Hindus, surely similar acquiescence may be expected of the caste Hindus in these States, and no breach of the public peace need be feared as the result of the prohibited castes using the roads. We can understand privileged classes wanting the disability to continue but not progressive modern States. We wish the Kerala satyagrahis every success and trust they will continue to court arrest in small batches and resist every provocation to violence, whether offered by caste Hindus or subordinate servants of the States.

INDIA AND THE KHILAFAT.

It was only natural that the deposition of the Khalif and the abolition of the office of Khalif by the Turkish Assembly should have come as an almost unbearable shock to Indian Mussalmans, after the vigorous agitation they had conducted through the Khilafat committees. But now they are gradually recovering from the shock and beginning to appreciate the Turkish view-point. Very little indignation was expressed against the Turks in the resolutions of the recent Khilafat conference at Calcutta. The first resolution asked the Mussalmans 'to act with patience and prudence instead of becoming unduly excited,' believed that the views and objects of the men in authority in Angora were not yet clear and needed further elucidation (!) and until they were 'ascertained beyond a shadow of doubt and in full detail,' the Mussalmans should 'abstain from forming final opinion and refrain from doing any thing likely to disturb unity and jeopardise the solidarity of the Mussalmans of the world'. Another resolution tells the Turks that, whatever might be their own opinion and whatever they might have done to the Khalif, their Government is the central Islamic Government and therefore the true Khilafat, and if the men in authority in Angora at present are unwilling to accept the responsibilities of the Khalif, "then it is the duty of the Muslims of the world to invite the attention of their Turkish brothers to the necessity of reformation and to take all possible steps in this behalf." 'Reformation' is rather vague; perhaps what is intended is that a nominal Khalif should be appointed to satisfy orthodox sentiment—some one whose name could be mentioned in prayers. But as the Turkish Government will not endow him with any political powers, such a Khalif (His Holiness and not His Majesty) would not be acceptable to non-Indian Mussalmans generally. Since no mention is made of a possible non-Turk Khalif, the only interpretation that we can put on these resolutions is that they mark a stage in the transition of opinion towards the acceptance of the Turkish decision—which transition is very welcome indeed.

This movement of opinion is also reflected in the press. The *Muslim Outlook* of Lahore has been publishing articles from a gentleman who has been in Turkey, Egypt, Syria and other Mussalman countries, in which he has strongly defended the action of the Turks. He relates how difficult he found it to defend the idea of common allegiance by all Mussalmans to the Khalif, when in the late war, Mussalman soldiers in Allied armies—Indians, Arabs, Moors—pressed on the then Khalif on every front, though he had declared a *jihad* and called upon all true believers to fight the enemy of Islam under his banner. More vigorous and effective still is defence of the Turks by the Sahibza Aftab Ahmed Khan who was till recently in the India Council, and who is now Vice-Chancellor of the Aligarh University.

He puts the Turkish case very forcibly and points out how the Sultans of Turkey and Khalifs misruled and oppressed the Turkish people, (without admonition or interference from Indian Mussalmans) nor were willing or able to help other Mussalmans against European aggressors—in other words, unable to discharge the functions of the Khalif. The Turkish people believe, says Mr. Aftab, that under the Khilafat they never had and never will have any chance for full national regeneration, without which their free and independent existence in Europe is no longer possible. Regarding the suggestion that has been made by some that Kemal Pasha should himself accept the office of Khalif, Mr. Aftab Ahmed truly observes:

"In this imperfect world the intoxication of temporal power alone is enough to upset the balance of a human being, but when the authority of some spiritual office is also superadded, then the rights and liberties of the people are never safe. It is perfectly true that our holy Prophet and his four immediate successors showed how the two offices can be combined for the benefit of the people, but all subsequent history tells a different tale."

Speaking of the fascination which Indian Mussalmans have for the word Khilafat, he says, "There is no tyranny so subtle as that of certain words and phrases which catch imagination, dislodge reason and cause confusion of ideas and expose their victims to influences which lead to ruin and disaster. Such appears to be the fate of Indian Mussalmans in connection with certain phases of this question of the Khilafat." Finally he warns his coreligionists against the interested propaganda of the European nations, particularly the Allies, who have special reasons not to love Kemal Pasha or his victorious and progressive Government overmuch. We believe Indian Mussalmans have already seen through this propaganda, since they have refused to countenance any non-Turk Khalif, though several are in the field, and have not shown the least inclination to take up the suggestion of having an Indian Khalif in the person of H. E. H. the Nizam. Kemal Pasha has explained in his own tactful and inimitable way, how the Turks have transformed the Khilafat into an abstract idea and assimilated it in the Government, so far as Turkey is concerned. That is obviously what the other Mussalman countries also are invited to do, i. e. recognise the due protection of all religions as the function of a secular state and do away with a personal defender of the faith. Turkey has recognised that the world has outgrown a theocratic state or super-state and Indian Mussalmans are beginning to recognise it.

THE WHITE MAN'S TRUST!

MR. J. H. THOMAS, the Colonial Secretary in the Labour Cabinet, speaks often enough about "native trusteeship", but to him apparently it is but an empty phrase. He has been plied in Parliament with questions regarding the Master and Servants Ordinance, the Registration of Natives Ordinance, & c. which spell for the East African wards of the

whites a form of semi-slavery, but Mr. Thomas apparently regards all such pleas for humanitarianism as inspired by a mawkish sentimentality, to which only imbeciles would pay any heed. If on cardinal labour principles he is so utterly unsound, it is hardly a matter for surprise that, where his information is derived exclusively from official sources, he is altogether engulfed by the bureaucratic spirit. On March 6 Mr. Morel endeavoured to expose in the Commons some of the monstrosities inherent in the system of taxation which obtains in Kenya. By this system the whites who are best able to pay make the least contribution to the public revenues, while natives who just live on the borderland of starvation are made to bear, over and above the cost of the native services, the largest share in the cost of the development of the country in the white interest. What percentage of the receipts from native taxation is in fact devoted to European requirements, the Kenya officials have not yet made public, and will perhaps never do, but occasionally you get an official or two to tell you privately but plainly that a considerable part of the money derived from native sources is really expended on European interests. I have seen many leaflets recommending Kenya for white settlement, in which the most seductive feature of this modern Arcadia is made out to be the absence of an income tax and a land tax. The absence of these two taxes is no doubt a very great scandal, but the full measure of the iniquity of this system of taxation will not be apparent until one is further told that the deficiency in revenue is made up by clapping on the natives a tax which makes a large proportion of them work on European farms for nearly three months in a year. The gross partiality of this arrangement Mr. Morel tried to bring out by asking the following question in the House of Commons:—

Will the Secretary of State for the Colonies take steps to review the incidence of direct taxation upon the native population of Kenya, which in effect involves the able-bodied male population in work upon European farms and plantations for three months out of the year; and will he take steps to secure that the principle be adopted that at least one-fifth of the direct taxes paid by the natives shall be returned to them in technical education, medical service and agricultural instruction?

To this Mr. Thomas returned the following answer:—

I cannot accept the suggestion that a native cannot pay his tax by working on his own account. Active steps are being taken to extend native education and increase native agricultural production, but I do not think any fixed percentage can be laid down. The proportion suggested by my Hon. friend was very nearly reached in 1922 and if veterinary services are included, was exceeded.

As to the effect increased native taxation has on the native labour supply, it is hardly worth while to engage in a controversy with the Colonial Secretary: it is writ large in the official Labour Commission's Report of 1912—13, to which it is enough to refer him. But on the latter portion of

Mr. Thomas' answer, it is necessary to dwell for a few minutes. Before proceeding, however, to examine its accuracy, I must mention two facts. First, that the native pays not only in the form of the hut and the poll taxes, which Mr. Morel apparently had in mind when he put the question, but in two other ways—through customs duties on imports for native consumption (and it must not be supposed that their incidence is at all light) and through the tax in the shape of free labour in the Reserves, a part of which, e. g., on motor roads, is really for the benefit of the Europeans. The second fact to be borne in mind is that the test which Mr. Morel applies here is too easy, viz. that one-fifth of the proceeds of direct taxes from the native should be applied to the education and medical services in the Reserves. The real principle of allocation of revenues that ought to be applied is the one embodied in "A Plan for Government by Mandate in Africa" published by the League of Nations Union. As the Kenya Government professes to be conducted on the trusteeship plan, like countries administered under the League of Nations' mandate, there is no reason why Article XVII on Revenue therein should not apply to Kenya: "The Mandatory should, so far as possible, allocate all revenues derived from direct taxation of Africans to the native Government, to be spent by them subject to advice and approval of the Resident Advisers. The whole of the revenue of the Mandatory, from whatever source arising, should be expended for the sole advantage of the inhabitants of the territory." The principle therefore that should govern the Kenya Government's policy is not that one-fifth of direct taxes should be applied to education and medical help, but that all the revenue should be applied solely to native interests and that the whole proceeds from direct taxation should be spent by the natives as they desire. But the Kenya Government does not come up even to the low standard mentioned by Mr. Morel. Mr. Thomas affirms that it does, but I propose to show below that it falls far short of it.

The Hut Tax and the Poll Tax were estimated to produce in 1923 £500,365; leaving the cost of labour on roads &c. which natives are liable to supply out of the reckoning for the moment, the question is whether on native education and medical relief one-fifth of £500,000 or £100,000 is expended. It is most surprising that Mr. Thomas should have answered the question in the affirmative, whereas the fact is that to these two services only a quarter of this amount is devoted for the benefit of the native. In 1922 the Kenya Government spent 270,478 shillings on Arab and native education through its own agency, and it gave 217,920 shillings by way of grants to Missions. Now, of the 2014 children in attendance in Arab and native schools, about 400 are Arabs; so we may take it that of the 270,478 shillings disbursed by it through its own agency, 216,380 shillings were spent on the natives, which with the 217,920 shg.

grant makes a total of 431,300 shgs. or £31,715. So much the Kenya Government spent on native education (not only technical and agricultural education but literary education as well) in 1922. And how much did it spend on medical facilities for the natives? It is difficult to give exact figures, but in 1921 only £6,666 was spent on medical work in Native Reserves (£2,372 for the subsidizing of Missions and £4,294 spent by the Medical Department itself). Thus to these two services of the most vital importance to the natives it would appear that only £28,381 was spent, which bears a proportion, not of 20%, but 5.7%, to the proceeds of the Hut and Poll Taxes. Mr. Thomas says that if veterinary services are included, the expenditure would exceed 20%. The amount spent on veterinary services in Native Reserves in 1922 (including the salaries of European veterinary officers) was £10,374. Thus the inclusion of these services would bring up the total of expenditure in the native interest to £38,755 and raise the percentage of direct taxation applied to these purposes from 5.7 to 7.7. The amount that is actually spent on the three services mentioned is thus little over one-third of what Mr. Thomas says is being spent. It would be well if the Colonial Secretary would explain his figures in detail. I feel certain that his arithmetic is very seriously at fault somewhere. These bald figures perhaps convey to the reader a very imperfect idea of the Kenya Government's grave neglect of the native. He will have a better idea of the medical and sanitary condition of the native when I put before him just two facts, that of every 1,000 children born 40 die within the first twelve months of life (whereas the infant mortality rate for England for the year 1921 was 83 per 1,000), and that when army recruitment went on, the Government had an average of about 33% absolute wrecks among natives. One cannot too strongly censure the utter callousness with which the Government of Kenya has treated these three subjects of the utmost advantage to the native: education, medical help and veterinary work. It is best to adduce the evidence of the whites themselves. On May 4, 1920, C. W. R. Laues said in the Kenya Legislative Council: "With regard to the first (education), beyond the grant of a few rupees by Government nothing was done to educate the natives in the Reserves. With regard to the second (medical relief), the Nyanza Province consisted of five districts. The whole Province had only one Medical Officer whose time was taken up with the European community in Kisumu. It naturally fell that the native got very little medical attention, if at all. The five districts mentioned were visited at frequent periods by small pox, plague, &c., which naturally carried off thousands of natives. Thousands of pounds were spent annually in combating the diseases of animals outside the Native Reserves and as far as he was aware not a penny was spent on combating the disease of human beings inside the Reserves!"

Another European member, A. C. Hoey, added "The Elgsi Reserve was visited occasionally by an officer, and then only for the collection of taxes or to see what labour he could get."

I would repeat here a suggestion which has been made before. For administrative purposes the Government has separated native from non-native areas: why should not the Government effect a similar separation in the native and non-native budget? Why does it not decide that all the money raised from native reserves should be spent therein? There is nothing impracticable in this suggestion; it has been put forward, not by visionaries but by practical administrators. Then it will be easy to find out whether the native gets a proper share in the contribution he makes to the country's finances. As it is, the manner in which huge amounts are wrung from him for the purpose of devoting them to European interests redounds to the unspeakable shame of England.

S. G. VAZE.

THE RETROCESSION OF BERAR.

AS an old Berari revisiting the province of my birth, I have been interviewing old friends and other persons, including well-known Non-co-operators, Swarajists, Liberals and Moderates, on the subject of retrocession—a subject in which I naturally have a keen interest. I have, besides, talked with many plain people, merchants, farmers, labourers, etc., who have nothing to do with politics; and all with whom I have talked with one voice agree that a return to the old Moghalai under which Berar was for so long is wholly undesirable, not to say disastrous: that it would very seriously affect the prosperity of the province, and disturb the present sense of commercial security, which has brought about a large increase in production and trade since the cession of Berar in 1902.

Moreover, every one of all these people declared that no one has a word to say in favour of retrocession except a few Muhammadans who feel it their duty to uphold the Nizam as a cor-religionist; and an occasional Hindu who rejoices in perverse eccentricity, or else, having nothing himself to lose, may even be able to roast his brinjals in the burning houses of his neighbours. And whenever I have mentioned Mr. D. K. Thakur's and Mr. Saiyyad M. Rahman's blithe letters of espousal to the *Chronicle*, I have been met with cynical smiles and told that such letters are too patently an easy bid for notoriety as well as for more solid favours; while in Mr. Rahman's case there might also be mingled a very natural zeal for Islam.

Every one agrees that the Nizam's offer of autonomy is in itself proof that he has no hope of the Berar people consenting to the change without some such honeyed bait—if it is left to their self-determination, as of course it must be, since the time is past when one ruler may present another with several millions of human beings, as he might

present a herd of cattle or a day's shikar. As to the offer of autonomy, it is considered rather as a good joke and one not to be considered seriously, as it is on the face of it patently absurd, and too transparently "thin." There is a Marathi proverb which may be translated: *Our boy is a darling, but the neighbour's boy is a little wretch!* In this case it is the neighbour's boy who is to be the pampered pet and he naturally feels a little suspicious of a promise of sweetmeats which the son of the house has never enjoyed. When little Haidarali has been given some *gulabjamuns*, then little Berari Lal may feel more confident that he too may get a share.

Mr. Raghavendra Rao's visit to Akola week before last was the occasion of a big meeting of protest against retrocession at which the offer of autonomy (especially in the light of Mr. Raghavendra Rao's recent experience of the beautiful state of autonomy existing in Haiderabad itself) was repudiated as an impossibility. An apposition meeting called in Akola was attended by a bare two hundred, most of whom were Mohammedan schoolboys. At the Yeotmal meeting a vote of distrust was passed, but at the meeting held in Khamgaon, it was decided after much discussion to take no action until the Viceroy replied to H. E. H. the Nizam's letter, and then only if his reply were at all favourable to retrocession. Influential Non-co-operators and Swarajists felt it would be *infra dig.* to appear to cling to the skirts of a nurse the need of whom they daily repudiate, and to cry out before they were hurt. If a tiger is securely locked in a strong steel cage, it were surely previous to be disturbed at his roaring for release as long as the keeper shows no inclination to open the door—especially if one is not on good terms with the keeper and has been urgently pressing his discharge as a useless and oppressive interloper. He might altogether misunderstand a premature protest, smile in his sleeve, or get conceited. It would be time enough to make an outcry if he began fitting the key into the lock, and that—every one is convinced—he is much too shrewd to do.

The Government is not such a fool, they say, as to hand over a crore and a half of good revenue for the asking. "Would I refund a rupee of my profits to a customer because he wanted it?" said a shrewd old Marwari friend, "I would not give up four annas! And is the Sarkar mad enough to give up 150 good lakhs, when it need pay only a 25 lakhs lease, only because the Nizam Sahib would like it? Will even a fish give back a ruby he has swallowed? No, no, the world is of quite another sort, and we need not be anxious." "And why would Moghalai be such a calamity?" I asked. "Too many royal birthdays, too many royal visits, too, too many *nazaranas!*" He laughed, "How should we poor Marwaris make a living?" I well remember hearing old Berar Kunbis tell of the old days before the cession of Berar and say how they, or their fathers, dare not

show any sign of prosperity lest their taxes be increased. To swagger abroad in a Paithani turban, with a fat gold *bali* in the right ear and silver anklets and bracelets on, would have been disastrous. "It is only now we dare to dress like that," they would say. "In the days under the Moghalai we always had to pretend we were poor even if we did well, or we were troubled by all sorts of bloodsuckers."

But people fond of bashing the Government are most of all apprehensive of the curtailment of their freedom of speech, which would be inevitable on retrocession. A well-known Non-co-operator assured me that the day after the retrocession was accomplished would infallibly find him in prison, since his only alternatives would be to shut his mouth (a temperamental impossibility), or to sell his property and leave the province, which would entail heavy loss since the emigration, which certainly follow retrocession, would bring down would land values—unless indeed the editors of the *Chronicle* would be sporting enough to make good their promise to move into Berar, and buy up the lands and houses of the departing! It is worth remarking, by the way, that ever since 1902 there has been a steady if slow immigration from Haiderabad State into Berar, indeed even since 1853 when Berar came partially under British control.

Mr. G. B. Bapat, editor of the *Prajapaksha*, a tart and peppery little Swarajist weekly, told me he had written several times to the *Chronicle* strongly contradicting their airy-fairy declarations of the fond eagerness of all Berar to re-enter the Moghalai, but that, so far, not the slightest notice had been taken of his letters. He therefore took pains to collect and publish in his double issue of March 2nd, the opinions, unanimously against retrocession, that appeared in the *Kesari*, *Karmavir*, *Manvantar*, *Mauz*, *Udaya*, *Dnyanprakash*, *Jagriti*, *Nava Kal*, *Lokamanya*, *Maharashtra*, *Hitavada*, *Voice of India*, the *Swarajya* of Madras, the *Searchlight* of Patna and the *Tribune*. For lack of space he was unable to quote the opinions, similarly unfavourable, of still many more Indian newspapers of very differing political stripes. But the *Chronicle*, happily chronicling in the simple obscurity of Bombay, has never heard of any of all these. How great must be the tranquillity of Medows Street! Not so great, unfortunately, can be either the obscurity or tranquillity of Haiderabad, and H. E. H. the Nizam must be rather sad at the distrust and dissent with which his offers have been met. At least it must comfort him that the offer of any other Indian prince would meet with the same response, since all are agreed that they would no more willingly consider a cession with any other Indian State, even the most advanced, since what they want is democracy, not a change of masters. Dr. M. N. Parasnis, a prominent Non-co-operator of Khamgaon, said to me that the British Government was an evil also as well as the Nizam Sarkar, but that since it was without doubt a much lesser evil, it

became necessary, in a world so unideal, for Berar, however reluctantly, to choose it in preference to Moghalai until self-government become possible.

BERARI.

SOME GOKHALE LETTERS.

BY C. F. ANDREWS.

WHEN I was in England, last Christmas, I spent the Christmas season with my brothers and sisters in Birmingham, near to the settlement of the Society of Friends called 'The Selly Oak Colleges.' This settlement owes very much indeed to those of the Quaker families, who have been connected with Birmingham for some generations past. They are the Cadburys, the Hoylands, and the Sturges. It was a great joy to me to meet members of these families, and to share their hospitality at the Christmas season of peace and good-will. Of all the communities in the west, who have endeavoured to bring peace and good-will back to mankind, both during the horror of the war, and afterwards during the Armistice and the Peace, these members of the Society of Friends have done the most. I think that it should be also known, that they have instinctively felt the saintliness of Mahatma Gandhi and in no way misunderstood him. From the very first, they were eager to secure his release; and letters have come pouring in to me since his release was announced in the papers, telling me of their joy at the good news.

I had no idea that Mr. Gokhale had ever come closely into touch with these good people in Birmingham. One day, however, at a meeting which I addressed, an elderly gentleman got up to thank me and told the audience that he and his sister had been intimate friends of Mr. Gokhale, and that the latter had stayed at their house while he was in England, and had also corresponded with them. This old man was a member of the Sturge family. He and his sister were each of them nearly eighty. They had never married. Every day of their lives had been given to good works; and in the course of doing good they had not forgotten for one moment the counsel of the Sermon on the Mount, that the left hand should not know what the right hand did. It was a happiness at Christmas time to me to go and visit them in their home, where Mr. Gokhale himself had been, and we talked a long while about him.

On my departure, I asked Miss Sturge, if she had any letters still left, which Mr. Gokhale had written to her. Among many which were only of a personal interest, she chose three, which dealt with public affairs, and very kindly gave me leave to publish them in India.

It is clear to me, that the *Servant of India* is the rightful paper for their publication. One of them is actually addressed from the Servants of India Society, Poona, the house where I am sitting at the present moment while I write this introduction to the three letters which now follow:—

(i)

September 10th 1909.

"I was laid up with malaria fever. This fever clung to me obstinately till the end of August, and it is only during the last ten days that I have been again able to attend to work or correspondence. The Curzon-Wyllie murder has no doubt done considerable injury to our cause; but it has, I find, shocked back many of our extremists into a greater sanity of judgment. Our problem is indeed an enormously difficult one,—I sometimes think that no country in the world was ever called upon to face such a problem as ours. Endless divisions and sub-divisions in the country; the bulk of the population ignorant and clinging, with a tenacity of which only those who are of them can have an adequate conception, to old modes of thought and sentiment; which are averse from all change and which do not understand change; seventy millions of Mahomedans more or less hostile to national aspirations, and all power lodged in the hands of a fleeting body of foreign officials, most of whom generally represent your Tory principles at their worst,—this is the situation to-day.

Out of this mass, an India has to be evolved, strong, free, united, democratic and qualified to take her proper place among the nations of the world. It is a task that may well appall, and I don't know if it will ever be accomplished, but we can all work towards that end and after all there is much in the words of one of your most beautiful hymns—"One step enough for me."

(ii)

Servants of India Society, Poona City.
December 9th, 1910.

"The present year has been a tremendous rush for some of us in this country, and my health too, all the while, has not been of the best. The new Councils and their enlarged functions have led to a considerable increase in the work and responsibilities of unofficial members; and till these new things attain their proper level, a few of us must be prepared to bear more than their proper share of the burden. Then, too, my Society has this year made exceptionally heavy demands on my time, which I have been barely able to meet. The new Councils are now in fair working order throughout the country, and despite many and obvious defects, I think they will enable us to put the bureaucracy repeatedly on its defence and to introduce the light of public criticism into places where it has been till now all darkness.

I think this is an important step in advance at our present stage and is bound to lead to others more important than this before long. In any case I am content to make the best we can of these Councils and then prepare the ground for what must follow.

The year has seen three important publications on India. Ramsay MacDonald's book, Valentine Chirol's letters in the *Times*, and Monsieur Chailley's book in two volumes. Of these Mr

MacDonald's book shows the most understanding of the Indian problem; the other two books are also suggestive in their way, however much we may disagree with them. I don't think anything of permanent interest has been published in this country in this field, which it would be worth your while to read.

My Society is doing very well indeed. Two months ago, a branch consisting of six members, was opened at Madras for work in Madras Presidency. This week another has been opened for work in the Bombay Presidency and the Central provinces. It consists of seven members and four permanent assistants. I now feel quite assured of a career of great usefulness for the Society".

(iii)

63, Ballygunge Circular Road, Calcutta,
January 25, 1912.

"The King's visit, about the wisdom of which there were serious misgivings at one time in several quarters, has proved a big and unqualified success. There is no doubt that he has the rare and happy knack of saying the right thing in the right place, and in a country governed as India is at present, the utterances of a Sovereign have exceptional importance. His speech on Education in reply to an address from Calcutta University has given great satisfaction throughout the country and many regard it as a new educational charter for the people. The reversal of the partition has been a master stroke of policy; and though the officials in India have nothing higher in view, when they speak of provincial autonomy, than freedom from control of the Government of India for themselves, the policy of decentralization announced is bound to have far-reaching results. It places us in a position of considerable strength for working for provincial self-government for the people. The educational grant, too, though not large, is a source of much satisfaction.

I am glad to say I have decided to pay a brief visit to England this year. My object in going this year is to secure parliamentary support to a Bill, which I have introduced in the Viceroy's Legislative Council, aiming at making Elementary Education in this country gradually free and compulsory. The Bill has been enthusiastically supported by the public in all parts of the country, but the bulk of the officials are against it, and I fear the Council will throw out the Bill next March. We will then raise the question in Parliament, and after that I intend re-introducing the Bill here next year and at the same time have a big agitation in its favour in the country."

THE DELHI SESSION.

(BY OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT.)

DELHI, 26th MARCH.

"EMASCULATED" by the Government and spurned and rejected by the hot-tempered Assembly, the Finance Bill sought haven in the house of correc-

tion, the elderly Council of State, who extended an almost unanimous welcome to it in soft words of sympathy. Nothing was to be done to the bill, no amendments pressed, which might compel a second surgical operation from the certifying powers of the Governor-General. Instead, every effort was made to wash off the effects of the cruel conduct of the Assembly and nurse the bill back to comparative health. The offender was suitably taken to task, but in cautions and sometimes in almost apologetic terms. The Assembly had received provocation, but its rejoinder was much too precipitate. The Labour Government was entitled to great consideration and time. Government thought the conduct of Pandit Motilal inconsistent. Both he and Lord Olivier offered to co-operate with each other and the latter expressly asked for time to consult the Government of India and yet the Pandit refused to hold his hand from striking down the Finance Bill.

So the Council indicated its entire disapproval of the conduct of the Assembly by passing the Finance Bill, with only one dissentient and thereby assuring the British politicians and financiers that there was wisdom, statemanship and friendliness to England, at least to the Labour party, left in India still, which it will be well advised to conserve and promote.

On Monday last, Dr. Gour unsuccessfully moved an adjournment of the Assembly to discuss the Class Areas Bill in South Africa, the progress of which seems to be unhampered by the eloquent pleadings Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. On Tuesday, Dr. Gour took another step in his efforts at the codification of Hindu law, by successfully referring to a select committee his bill to define the liability of a Hindu coparcener, but his most important achievement of the day was his motion for leave to introduce a bill for the repeal of the much detested Criminal Law Amendment Act, which was carried, despite strenuous Government opposition, by 58 votes to 39, and this when Pandit Motilal had left Delhi, after warning that the motion should not be exposed to the risk of being defeated, owing to the absence from Delhi of a number of Nationalists. The moral significance of this appalling defeat of the Government cannot be exaggerated.

The Assembly wound up its first session by carrying against the Government a motion for the adjournment of the house to censure the Government for imposing certain conditions for the grant of pass-ports to the Indian Khilafat delegation to Turkey and other Islamic countries. The conditions would prevent the Ali brothers and Pandit Motilal from joining the deputation. Government were charged with antipathy towards Islam, the Khilafat and Turkey in thus refusing passports. It was contended on the other hand that no Government need undertake the responsibility of protecting such of its citizens abroad who were guilty of preaching insubordination to troops at home. The non-co-operators who refused to acknowledge the State were now asking the very same State to

protect them abroad! Sir Malcolm denied that the Government were actuated by anti-Muslim motives in placing such restrictions on the Ali brothers and others. The motion, however, was carried, Government not challenging a division.

A bird's eye view of the whole session reveals certain outstanding features. Party discipline among non-officials was one of them. Never before was such party organisation, cohesion, and party loyalty under the most trying circumstances witnessed in the annals of the Indian Legislature, old or new. It may be doubted whether party organisation is itself good, in which individual members do not keep themselves open to persuasion but vote under party mandates. But in India, where the irremovable executive does go in for a Government party of officials and some nominated non-officials, kept solidly together by official discipline, tradition or patronage, the non-officials have no alternative but to band themselves into a party and vote as a party. The second feature was that, within the four walls of the Assembly chamber, the business was entirely controlled by the non-official party. The Nationalists could pass or turn down any measure in spite of Government opposition. The third feature is that the Executive Government have been unable to secure the co-operation and consent of the Legislature for their administration. If the Government had been able to add just a dozen more members to their present supporters, they would have commanded a majority, but that they could not. They have forfeited the support even of such Liberals as Messrs. Ramachandra Rao and Venkatapathi Raju. It is impossible now to profess that the Government has the Legislature behind it; rather it has to shoulder the whole responsibility of administration despite an adverse Legislature.

In spite of the preoccupation of the Assembly with the question of constitutional advance and the disinclination of the Swarajists to consider any other topic, the Independents, with the voting assistance of the Swarajists have rendered a good account of themselves in matters of administrative policy. The problem of the 'age of consent' have been satisfactorily solved. Resolutions were adopted to remedy the grievances of the Sikh community, of railway passengers, of the Indian coal industry, and of Indians against the composition, duties and privileges of the Auxilliary and Territorial forces. Resolutions were also passed to secure that the Assembly is consulted before Government place large contracts and that tenders for the purchase of stores for Governmental purposes are called in India.

The question of constitutional advance has, however, overshadowed every other topic. And where does the last session leave us in this matter? One cannot help feeling that the cause of Indian constitutional advance has received a set-back from the action of the Assembly, who refused to give Lord Olivier the time he asked for. With the power to reject the budget secure in their hands

the Nationalists might have stayed their hand and given the new Labour Government a chance. After Lord Olivier's statement, two courses were open to the Nationalists. They could throw out the budget, display their obstructive policy and thus claim to have kept their election pledges, but thereby weakening, nay even antagonising the Labour party in England. On the other hand, they could have refrained from the display, perhaps displeased their constituents but facilitated the constitutional advance, on which they had set their heart. They chose the worse alternative.

I must not forget the last function in the Council of State. Sir Alexander Muddiman, the first President of the Council, occupied his place there for the last time. He received very warm and high appreciation of his conduct in the chair, which was all very well deserved. Before parting he shook hands with every member of the house. Sir Alexander bade them au revoir only to meet them again in a different capacity as Home Member of the Government of India. My commission as your special Parliamentary correspondent has also come to a close and let me bid you, dear Editor, au revoir.

CONTINENTAL LETTER.

BRESLAU, 5th MARCH.

IT is a curious thing about the 'debut' of socialism on the governmental stage. In Germany, when the socialists had absolute power after the revolution to carry their ideas into practice they have let slip every opportunity of making a start with the nationalisation of the means of production even in certain industries where circumstances seemed to be decidedly favourable to such plans. That means they have dropped the most important points of their programme under the governmental table. After the eight hour working-day, their only achievement, has been done away with too, as is to be feared, the whole socialist episode will in future be looked upon in German history almost as a long looked-for thunderstorm on a burning June day which did not bring rain and left the air as close as it was before. In Italy the socialists have turned out a greater failure still. Under the ministry of Signor Nitti they were offered an opportunity of throwing over the whole old system, including monarchy, and of taking the reins of government into their hands. There seems to be little doubt that Nitti himself favoured this scheme and would have put his great energy, experience and intelligence at the service of the new movement. But the Italian socialists recoiled from it. They preferred to go on in their humdrum way until Signor Mussolini took the wind out of their sails and finally upset their boat altogether. In England things seemed to take a better turn. There some of the most advanced of political thinkers belonged to the Labour party, the flower of the left wing of the Liberal party had passed over to them, people had joined the

who have the immortal merit to have remained sober and unshakable in those very days of the autumn of 1914 when almost all the rest of Europe had lost its reasoning faculties altogether and given way to the chauvinistic intoxication brought about by the declaration of the war. One of these people was Ramsay Macdonald. His premiership then seemed to promise for Europe almost as much as if Mr. Morel himself had taken things in hand.

The first socialist leader of the British empire! A new chapter of history seemed to begin. It is true that nobody expected him to call the millennium into existence at once, he would not be able—so much appeared clear—to start a new chronology like the great French revolution that gave up counting the years after the birth of Christ and commenced counting anew with the first year of the liberation of mankind. But what everybody seemed to have a right to expect was a thorough change of political methods. Has it come to pass? The newspapers have just been publishing a correspondence between M. Poincaré and Mr. Macdonald which answers this question in the negative. It is true that Mr. Macdonald is somewhat more outspoken than his predecessors. He leaves no doubt as to the true opinions of his countrymen. But this after all is only a question of formulation. His predecessors may have couched their notes in more "diplomatical" terms (in the old sense) but there can be no doubt that they meant the same things. And M. Poincaré answers exactly in the same way as he used to. Although there is scarcely anybody in Europe who does not know of the Franco-Russian treaty of 1916 which decided on the partition of Germany and the complete deletion of big commercial and economic power—in spite too of the Dariac report and numerous other proofs for the real plans of France—he denies categorically that any reasonable Frenchman had ever had the idea in his mind to take away one acre of the German soil, he shuts both his eyes to what is going on in the occupied district and affirms his good faith and sense of justice. Now it is difficult to see what Mr. Macdonald promises himself in exchanging letters of this sort with the French Premier. The newspapers say: a cleansing of the atmosphere. But it is curious, and it seems to remain unnoticed, that this or a very similar sort of cleansing the atmosphere has gone on for more than four years already and that M. Poincaré never objected to it because it did not prevent him in the least from pursuing his imperialist ways. There have been tried in reality much more efficient means already to cleanse the atmosphere, like Mr. Lloyd George's Conference of Genoa, without M. Poincaré denying them his blessing.

For there is, no doubt, only one thing which he dreads—we should know it by now—as the devil dreads the crucifix in the medieval legends, and that is the open discussion of the reparations question and the Versailles treaty in an international conference. This he has always resisted and will resist, because the whole weak-

ness of the moral position of France would become obvious on such an occasion. Everything else is of minor importance to him. This—and this only—would mean the beginning of the end of French imperialist policy. To write letters to the British premier is an agreeable pastime to him, to hold conferences with him cannot spoil his quietness of mind. For meanwhile he pursues his aim. He counts with the possibility that he can protract the negotiations with his English adversaries long enough to reach it. What value then, one feels inclined to ask, has this supposed cleansing of the atmosphere, as long as there are not the slightest signs to be observed that the silent war that is carried on against Germany and the endeavours to Frenchify the Rhineland, the Palatinate and the Saar-district have come to a standstill?

As a matter of fact, this war rages as cruel as ever. An example may serve to show it. The "Reich" has succeeded in making an end of the terrible inflation and creating a new currency. But the success of this "Rentenmark" is more than doubtful if the Reich does not achieve the balancing of the Budget. To reach the balance, however, heavy rates and taxes are necessary. Now to raise them in the occupied district has been forbidden by the French authorities. The same people that were untiring in telling the world that the Germans had created the inflation on purpose in order to escape the incurred obligations, prevent her with an obvious cynicism from collecting her taxes in her richest provinces, which she wants in order to regain her economic health. At the same time Germany is charged with gigantic sums for the occupation troops there. If this is not a sign of malafides it is impossible to find one. But Mr. Macdonald thinks that people who act like this, might be advised and brought to their senses like irritated children. As a matter of fact, there seems, as indicated above, to be only one way left—to convoke an international conference to discuss all those questions freely that France has hitherto forbidden to discuss in public. That this would lead to a crisis is undoubtedly true, but it would be a crisis of recovery. It is not true that it would lead to a war. The nations of the world are thoroughly tired of making war, to-day perhaps more so than ten years hence. Mr. Macdonald appears like a man who tries to cure an ulcer with warm water. But there are ulcers that must be lanced.

LEVIN L. SCHÜCKING.

REVIEW.

LABOUR IN INDIAN INDUSTRIES. By G. M. BROUGHTON, O. B. E., M. A. Oxford University Press, London. Pp. 214. Rs. 6.

By publishing a small monograph on the subject of 'Labour in Indian Industries' by Miss G. M. Broughton, the Oxford University Press have supplied a

long-felt want. The conclusions of the book are, indeed, hardly likely to take any student of Indian Economics by surprise. To few such, for example, can it be a piece of news that to Bombay belongs the unenviable distinction of having probably the worst slums in the world; (though a few, at least, will be shocked at the revelations made by Dr. Barnes, which the author refers to on p. 120, and according to which a room of the size of 15 x 12 ft. 'was the home of six families; no less than 30 persons occupied the room and three of the women were expecting to be delivered'). It is also common knowledge that the density of population of Bombay is higher than that of London; that its infantile death rate stands at the appalling figure of 55.6 per cent; that as a result, its labour is unstable, discontented and difficult to manage. Nevertheless, the book before us is a very careful piece of work; it brings together in one convenient place information which the student would otherwise have to seek in various reports and official publications; and in spite of some repetitions, the arrangement of the material is excellent. The book has earned for its author the D. Sc. degree of the University of London.

The author devotes the first chapter to a general survey of her subject, and the whole of the remaining part of the book may be said to be a commentary on this chapter. The great question with regard to Indian industrial labour is, she points out, how to secure stability and efficiency. In England and other countries the Industrial Revolution produced an industrial class; in India labour is amphibious; it lives partly on industry and partly on agriculture. The reason for this state of things is to be sought partly in the love of the Indian labourer for his ancestral land, partly in the unhealthy and repulsive conditions of factory life; its results are inefficiency, and lack of combination. The efficiency of labour cannot be great when the entire staff of a factory changes hands once every eighteen months (see p. 18). Nor can one expect a solid Trade Union movement to grow out of such fluid elements. As the author says, powerful organisations of employers have come into being in India, but there is as yet nothing comparable to them in the labour world.

The solution of the question obviously lies in improving the conditions of labour so as to make it worth the labourer's while to stick to his work, and the author devotes an interesting chapter to the ameliorative measures pursued by the state, the employers, labour organisations and social agencies. She describes how much has been done, but how much more still remains to be done. This part, and indeed the whole book, deserves the attention of our legislators and all who are interested in labour problems.

R. P. P.

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