

# THE Servant of India

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## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE solemn observance of Sraddhanand day in all parts of the country and the notable response made for appeals to the memorial fund is evidence of the Hindu community's tribute to the service of the martyred leader and their resolve to carry on his work of social uplift. The best way in which that work can be fulfilled is, as Dr. Rabindranath Tagore pointed out is a message to a Calcutta meeting, by opening our eyes to the evils of our own societies and organising our energies to remove them. "Until the causes of disunion, which are inherent in our social life, through age-long abuses of caste and untouchability are removed," the Poet said, "all our efforts to unite among ourselves and offer adequate resistance to molestation of every kind are sure to meet with failure." We commend these words to the attention of all Hindus.

IT is now fairly certain that we will have diarchy working again in C. P. in a few days. The Swarajists have received their second defeat in the C. P. Council over the question of ministers' salaries, which

have been sanctioned by a decisive majority of 55 against 16. The first trial of strength between the Constitutionalists and the Swarajist wreckers in the C. P. Council which took place on Monday last over the presidential election has resulted in a victory for the former. This was not unexpected but is not for that reason the less welcome. The total elective strength of the Council is 55, of whom only 15 are Swarajists, bound by the Congress mandate to thwart the functioning of dyarchy. Attempts were made to form a strong Opposition which would also include the Swarajists, but they construed the Gauhati resolution as enjoining them to wreck dyarchy by all possible means and, as expected, the negotiations broke down. Those who stood for the working of the reforms for all they are worth then banded themselves together in what has been styled as the Nationalist party which, we are glad to note, is already 30 strong. Sir Shankarrao Chitnavis had the solid support of this party and was elected by 47 votes to 20. His supporters apparently included some nominated members whose total strength on the Council does not exceed 18. Even supposing that every one of these 18 participated in the election to Sir Shankarrao Chitnavis's advantage, which is hardly likely, he had a clear elected majority of 9 over his Swarajist rival. The fact that the new Nationalist party, consisting as it does of a large number of responsivists, did not scruple to back up the only Liberal in the Council gives one more proof that, platform oratory apart, responsivism is only Liberalism under another name. We offer our congratulations to Sir Shankarrao Chitnavis and hope his regime will see a widening of the Council's privileges.

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MADRAS Swarajists, unlike their brethren in C. P., have put a very liberal interpretation on the Gauhati verdict to make Dyarchy unworkable. Judged by the programme of work they have chalked out at their latest party meeting for the coming session they do not seem to be keen on attempting any such foolish task. They are reported to have resolved on concentrating attention on a programme of constructive work. All may not agree on the exact items of work they are going to advance, but the resolve to utilise the much maligned dyarchic machinery for that purpose is a distinct score for con-

stitutionalism. The election of Mr. Swami Venkatchalam Chetti as president of the party within the Council, though by a narrow majority, against Mr. Satyamurti shows that the latter's love for Sinn Fein methods is not yet shared by his party.

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NOTHING succeeds like success. That is the moral of the situation in China to-day.

The Chinese situation.

The nationalists have made their power felt not only on the rebellious Chinese forces but also on the foreign powers. Viscount Grey addressing an English audience recently on the national genius of England observed that the English were an eminently practical people and did not select to do anything "unless they felt it was within the compass of their power to achieve it." Here, in this reading of English character, probably, lies the secret of the surprisingly admirable self-restraint which they have manifested by quietly evacuating the concession at Hankow and handing it over to nationalist control. Britain would not have done this at so much cost to her sense of "prestige" in the East, unless she was convinced of the practical unwisdom and impossibility of pursuing any longer the old policy of bullying the Chinese. The dawn of the new policy of conciliation is due as much to the realisation of the daily growing irresistible strength of the Koumintang as to the failure of Britain to bring into line all the "Powers" for united action. When rogues fall out the victim gets a chance to escape. We hope the nationalists are fully utilising this opportunity to consolidate their gains. The moral support of the civilised world is solidly behind them in spite of the persistent attempts made to discredit them by painting the Koumintang in lurid red colours. The nationalists' task will be made easier if they retain this asset by avoiding all excesses against foreigners.

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THE Kenya Government had proposed, it will be remembered, to levy a Servants' Tax on European settlers and an additional Poll Tax on Indians for the purposing of financing the education of the children of these two communities. At present all non-natives, whether European or Indian, pay 30 sh. a piece by way of poll tax, this being the only direct tax levied on them. In order to raise funds for education it was proposed to impose a duty on wines payable by all communities, and further to impose a Servants' Tax on Europeans and an addition of 20sh. to the poll tax on Indians. It appeared at first sight that the European community was agreeable to bear their part of the burden, but the Indian community was opposed to the new impost, partly because a poll tax was condemned on all hands as a means of raising revenue, but mainly because they were subjected to differential treatment. The differential treatment consisted not only in this, that a different kind of tax was levied on Indians from the one levied on Europeans, but in the fact that Indians were made to

bear a larger burden than Europeans, when their comparative incomes are taken into consideration. But it transpired later on that the Europeans were not all agreed on the desirability of a Servants' Tax as an alternative to the Poll Tax. Thereupon the Kenya Government decided to levy a Poll Tax on Europeans as well as Indians—an additional 30 sh. on every European male and an additional 20 sh. on every Indian male. When a Bill for giving effect to this was brought forward in the Legislative Council of Kenya on the 20th and 21st December last, the European community raised a hue and cry, but the Bill was carried in spite of their opposition. The attitude of the European community is very perverse on this question. It is agreed that the Poll Tax is undesirable; but they are not willing to replace this tax by any other tax such as the Income Tax or the Land Tax, which the leading Indian representatives like Mr. Shams-ud-Daen and Mr. B. S. Varma favoured. Already, far more is being spent on the education of the European children than on that of the Indian, and yet the Europeans oppose every kind of tax. On the other hand, the opposition of the Indians to the Bill is understandable, since they are prepared to make constructive suggestions regarding the right methods of taxation. Eventually, the Bill substituting a Poll Tax of 30 sh. for the Servants' Tax for the European community and levying a further Poll Tax of 20 sh. on the Indian community was passed, and thus happily one discriminatory feature in the present legislation has been removed.

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WITH the article on the League of Nations we publish today, the series of interesting studies on "Europe after the war" from the facile pen of Prof. Spear comes to a close. The conclusion that the Professor comes to is that Europe is fast slipping out of her position of leadership. Among the causes that have led to this fall are the international jealousies within the continent, the overshadowing of America on the one side and the rise of rejuvenated Asia on the other. The Professor points out how the League of Nations cannot serve as a guarantee of permanent world peace. He lays his finger on the right spot when he says: "The root of the evil lies in the nations themselves, still the slaves of the lust for power and wealth, which industrialism has turned into instruments of suicide." The cure that he suggests is more cultural and spiritual than political. "Europe has to emancipate itself from the idea of power as the necessary basis of the State and change its Power-States into cultural societies before there can be any true basis of peace in the world, before the political lamb can lie down with the lion." We look in vain for signs of any such emancipation.

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WE cordially welcome *The Week* into the ranks of Indian journalism to fight the battle "The Week." of freedom. The first issue before us gives evidence of the width of outlook, catholicity of sympathies, and religious devotion which the paper seeks to promote. The leading article which makes a little of political stock-taking tells us: "There is only one issue in India, as elsewhere in contemporary history—Democracy. That issue manifests itself with us in two broad aspects: democracy *versus* oligarchy, and democracy *versus* sectionalism." The Journal is an intelligent espouser of Indian Liberalism.

## INDIAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT.

THE Indian Women's Conference, if the enthusiasm of its delegates is not merely a week's wonder, should help much to quicken the pace of national progress. It was the first of its kind and marked the birth of a movement whose importance for national regeneration cannot be over-estimated. A nation cannot be free so long as the better half of its people are in bondage and darkness. India cannot, certainly, acquire the full measure of its political freedom, or recover her ancient spiritual status, so long as her daughters are weak and helpless—both in body and mind—weighed down by the chains of ignorance, cruel custom and an out-worn system of socio-economic slavery. These shackles have to be removed if our women should cease to be the clog, that they now are, on the wheels of individual and national progress and take their proper place in our struggle for freedom. India's emancipated womanhood, we think, has also a unique contribution to make to the cause of human culture and civilisation. For, its heritage of high ideals and glorious traditions of purity, love and service embodies a message to the blindly drifting west.

Educated Indian men, fully conscious of the crime of their kind in forging the fetters on their sisters' feet, have made some efforts in the past to break them, or at least loosen their hold. But their attempts have been, by their very limited nature and working, naturally not adequate to the magnitude of the task. That these efforts have not, however, been entirely fruitless is evidenced by the Conference itself, which is, in a large measure, the outcome of the self-consciousness roused in our women by their brethren's early activities. The Maharani of Baroda, we are glad to note, gracefully acknowledged this debt in her presidential address. But self-help is the law of adult life and, in human experience, the only safe one. It therefore needs no apology for India's daughters to discuss matters which vitally affect them and go to the very "roots of the nation's rebirth." The Conference proclaims the happy fact that India's womanhood has come into its own, fully aware of its opportunity "to make history," and in the ringing words of its president, "with the challenge to those who would hold us back, an inspiration to co-operation in a victory of freedom and enlightenment over darkness and misery." The opinion expressed in some quarters that there is no need for a separate women's movement in this country is, we think, based on a misunderstanding of its objects. It has no analogy whatever with the militant suffragist or feminist movement in England or other western countries. The problems of Indian womanhood are as unique as the social conditions to which they are subject to. The fear that the movement might tend to create conflict of interests between the two sexes, giving rise to a new problem of unity is, in our view, premature and un-

warranted at the present stage. As for the future, with wisdom within and sympathetic guidance from without, the movement could be steered clear of all dangers along healthy channels and made to strengthen and enrich the nation's life.

It is needless to traverse here the ground so ably covered by Her Highness the Maharani of Baroda in her brief, but forceful and inspiring address, in regard to the many disabilities of our women. Suffice it to note that the Conference has, under the wise guidance of its president, arrived at decisions which go a long way to remove the evils and place the future mothers of the nation on the path of freedom and a fuller life. The resolutions on education and the age of consent are of special importance since they lay the foundations of social regeneration. It is to be hoped that our women's voice of self-determination will receive the respectful attention that it so richly deserves from all builders of the future nation, whether in the official or unofficial fold. But we might early enough warn our just awakened sisters against the dangers of a relapse into lethargy, which is one of the common weaknesses of those who have slept long. It will ultimately depend on their own organised vigilance and sustained action if their voice is heard or not within the Council and Assembly Chambers. They will do well to bear in mind what, with the eminently practical sense of a woman, their president has so wisely reiterated in her address, that it is not enough to come to sound decisions and pass wise resolutions, but that it will require many years of organised action to set things in practice. Success, specially in the sphere of education, demands not only right views, but in her words, "persistent and untiring insistence, in season and out of season, that those responsible for the administration of education shall carry them out." The leaders of the movement will also please to note that for effective social legislation, the home is as important a centre of influence and action as the halls of legislature. There is need to educate and enlist the willing sympathy, support and acquiescence of the members of the one as of the other. Legislation is, in many cases, easier than law enforcement. The latter is hard to practise, particularly in such delicate domestic matters as marriage and the age of consent. It is the more so in a country such as ours, where the sanction of religion runs closely behind all social customs. Therefore the problem is not solely one of legislation. It is possible for a good law to be easily put on the statute book, only to be a dead letter for a long time to come. The history of our social legislation is not quite devoid of such experience. The question is therefore intimately bound up with illuminating our home atmosphere, and shaping public opinion in regard to socio-religious reform. Legislation will no doubt greatly help this task, because in the present stage of our national evolution, public opinion often follows the lead of sound legislation, instead of preceding it, as in democratically advanced

countries. It is therefore unwise to postpone legislation on the ground of insufficient public demand. That will only serve to strengthen the forces of reaction. We hope the Standing Committee form-

ed to carry out the decisions of the Conference will set a better example in propaganda and practical achievement than the masculine Committees of some of our political bodies.

## EUROPE AFTER THE WAR.

By T. G. P. SPEAR.

### VIII.—THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

HITHERTO the record of post-war Europe may have seemed one of almost unrelieved gloom, a tale of bitterness and suspicion, of smouldering passions and ever springing ambitions, "full of sound and fury signifying nothing". But "that bright beacon of the Lord" has not fled altogether from Europe, and it is chiefly enshrined in the League of Nations. Europe has seen many plans for universal peace since she lost it with the fall of the Roman Empire, from the "Truce of God" of the Dark Ages and the "Grand Design" of Henry IV of France, down to the Holy Alliance of post-Napoleonic Europe, and the Hague Court of pre-war days. The present idea originated with President Wilson, who, a prophet in the seat of a King, regarded the war as a "war to make the world safe for democracy" and really believed in the principles with which the other powers cloaked the clash of their interests. The strength of America and the moment of her intervention made her the arbiter of Europe, and President Wilson went to Europe determined to include the constitution of the League of Nations in the Peace Treaty. But there he found that the Allies, relieved of the overmastering fear of Germany, were already inclined to think better of their war time death-bed repentances, and he was soon deep in the game of concessions, rights, vested interests and resonant insincerities as practised by the old school of European diplomatists. His insistence succeeded in including the Covenant of the League in the Versailles Treaty, but Allied suspicions and ambitions involved him in a series of damaging compromises. The tender plant of idealism, sprung from a blood-soaked soil, from its first sprouting began to be choked by the luxuriant growth of the weeds of state selfishness. So Japan was placated by acquiescence in her seizure of Shantung, which caused China to refuse to sign the Treaty, England was conciliated by the delegation of the Freedom of the Seas clause from the Fourteen Points, and France by the temporary exclusion of Germany from the League.

Such as it was, the League came into existence with the Treaty of Versailles. The League has its centre at Geneva, "the home of Reformation" and the birth place of Rousseau and its membership is open to "all nations, peoples and languages." Its principal organ is the Assembly, which meets once a year, on which every member of the League has an equal vote, and which ratifies all decisions of the Council. The executive organ is the Council,

consisting of four permanent members representing the Great Powers—Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan—increased since September by the inclusion of Germany to five, and six temporary members elected annually—increased in September to nine—with a complicated system of one, two and three year mandates. Thirdly, there is the League Secretariat, permanently stationed at Geneva and internationally staffed. The work of the League may be divided into the technical side of organising and co-ordinating international, social and humanitarian projects, and the political side where its function, confessedly advisory, is to promote peace by conciliation, arbitration and the mobilization of world moral opinion.

It is in the technical sphere of humanitarian enterprise that the League has achieved its great success. Here it has rallied to its support all that is best in Europe, and to a lesser extent in the rest of the world, and has achieved many successes. The International Labour Bureau, the attempt to deal with the opium question, the organization of medical relief and health measures, are all parts of this work. Financially, it has achieved the rehabilitation of the Austrian finances by means of an international loan and League supervision, and socially, it conducted under the supervision of Dr. Nansen the exchange of populations decided on by the Treaty of Lausanne.

But the League was meant to be something more than a highly respectable philanthropic institution; it is in the political sphere that its fundamental value must be judged. There, appropriately enough, it has encountered its chief difficulties. The first disappointment was the discovery that Americans, while willing enough, like the Ephesians of old and others ever since, to shout for about two hours "Great is Democracy," were quite unwilling to do anything which might remotely affect their own interests. So Wilson met the fate of prophets in their own country and America withdrew from the League. This, with the exclusion of Germany and the open contempt of Russia, made the League at first little more than a League of victors, and largely crippled it right up to this year. Only in September did Germany come into the League as the result of treaties privately concluded, though registered with the League, and even then her entry caused such an out-burst of jealous rivalry that two States, Spain and Brazil, retired in disgust at not obtaining permanent seats on the Council.

The second disappointment was the discovery that the League could be paralysed by the rivalries of the Great Powers, and was in fact powerless against one of its own leading members. Examples of this were the undue French influence in the League administration of the Saar basin, the Corfu incident between Italy and Greece, the case of England and Egypt in 1924, the Mosul question and the revolts in Syria and Morocco. The inability of the League to control its own stronger members was also seen in the working of the "Mandates system" whereby ex-German and Turkish territories were assigned to various powers to be held in trust to the League and administered for the benefit of the inhabitants. The case of Syria shows the abuses to which the system is liable, and the inability of the League to interfere effectively with any recalcitrant mandatory. On the other hand, the League has succeeded in arbitrating between less powerful States, as in the Bulgaro-Greek incident of 1925 and the Silesian partition after the plebiscite of 1921. It has also carried out plebiscites in East Prussia and elsewhere and administered the free port of Danzig with marked success, and everywhere its officials have gained a reputation for justice and impartiality.

A third disappointment has been its failure to capture the imagination of India and the Far East, the Islamic and Latin American worlds. This is evidenced by such signs as the withdrawal of Brazil from the League, the Angora negotiations between Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan and Russia, and the manifest apathy of the Indian public; and it is caused largely by the suspicion of domination by the Great Powers, a suspicion confirmed by such incidents as Corfu, Egypt and Syria. It seems possible that other Leagues, such as an Islamic and Latin American League, may presently spring up, and the present League may eventually become a world league of regional leagues.

Apart from incidental arbitrations and plebiscites, the chief events in the League's life so far have been the protocol proposals of 1924 and the question of the admission of Germany. The protocol which bound members of the League to armed intervention in case of an act of unprovoked aggression, evoked much enthusiasm amongst the smaller powers, and was blessed by the English Labour Government, but the succeeding Conservative government with French support firmly vetoed the proposals. Instead the Locarno treaties were privately negotiated which provide for European but not world security, thus emphasising the European character of the League and again stressing the omnipotence of the Great powers. Under the terms of Locarno, Germany was admitted to the League last September, after a hitch in March, and Europe is now waiting to see whether this will transform the League of Victors into a League of Europe, or whether it will be one more step in the establishment of a central diplomatic clearing house, where the powers can carry on the old game of inter-

national rivalry by means of personal interviews instead of wearisome diplomatic correspondence.

The League, in general, has succeeded when dealing with weak powers and failed when dealing with the strong, a method which may prevent the little wars which do little damage, but will not prevent the big ones which devastate the world. It has mobilised the moral opinion of the world at Geneva and can correct the naughty boys of Europe. It is no guarantee of permanent world peace; it is a palliative and not a cure for the war spirit. Yet, this is not the fault of the League itself nor even of the statesmen who annually repair to Geneva. The root of the evil lies in the nations themselves, still the slaves of the lust for power and wealth, which industrialism has turned into instruments of suicide. Any statesman from China to Chile who sacrificed any national interest, real or imaginary, in the interests of international peace, would at once be repudiated by his country, as America repudiated President Wilson. The present foundation for peace is not international sentiment, or a vision of a better world, but the belief of all the powers that peace for the moment is not only more profitable than war, but is also essential for survival. Europe has to emancipate itself from the idea of power as the necessary basis of the State, and change its Power States into cultural societies, before there can be any true basis of peace in the world, before the political lamb can lie down with the lion. The war may have made the world safe for democracy, but it has left us with a still greater and more perplexing problem—how to make democracy safe for the world.

During the eight years which have passed since the Armistice, we can say that Europe has slowly been emerging from a war-time mentality. The Locarno pacts sealed by the entry of Germany into the League, perhaps, marks the psychological dividing line between war and peace: the powers are now ceasing to think of each other as Allied and enemy States, and are feeling towards new diplomatic groupings in accordance with their varied interests. But the passing of the war-time mentality does not mean, as we have seen, the rise of a new post-war outlook, but rather a return to the pre-war peace outlook. Every nation is once more looking to its own interests, and is prepared to defer to the League just so long as its vital interests are not affected. That body, as we have seen, is steadily approximating to the status of a more dignified Hague Peace Court, with the additional function of a Foreign Secretaries' rest house and an efficient international humanitarian organisation. A cynic might indeed say that the net result of its arbitration arrangements will be to ensure the greatest possible probability that both sides in the next war will feel themselves indisputably in the right. The League to prevent war may turn out to be a society to justify warriors.

The chief hope of peace in Europe lies in its present poverty and the overshadowing power of

America, the threat of whose economic penetration is already tending to draw Europe together in self-defence. In the internal politics of Europe, there are four chief centres of interest. The first is Germany, whose inevitable resurgence proceeds slowly and delicately, and whose contribution to the stability of Europe depends on the tact of France in recognising facts. The second is Russia where the future developments of Bolshevism are still uncertain. Will the Soviet become an industrialising Oligarchy which will be eventually reconciled with the West, or will it continue its present course of semi-communism and its championship of anti-western policies in China and elsewhere? The third is the problem of nationalities in Eastern Europe. Can the policy of safe-guarding minorities be made effective and satisfying, or will the Greco-Turk method in the end be resorted to? The fourth is Italy, whose ruler dreams of glory in the Napoleonic style, and whose people need room for expansion. Will she peacefully acquire colonies in Africa, or will she attack Turkey, or will she try to squeeze Syria or Tunis from France by a policy of pinpricks?

These are the chief problems in Europe to-day. But as the century proceeds, however intricate these problems may become, and however fiercely passions may burn, they will have less interest for the rest of the world. For the position of Europe once

“the brave, the mighty and the wise

who in its morn of youth defied the elements” is now overshadowed, on the one side, by the gigantic figure of America and threatened, on the other, by the rising power of the rejuvenated Far East. For Europe the bright day is done when “she bestrode the narrow world like a colossus,” and it behoves her to beware lest she becomes, as a whole, what Spain and Portugal are already, one who “having not lived purely or stored up riches in her youth, ruefully ponders like a heron by a lake without fish.”

( *Concluded.* )

## TRADE UNIONS IN INDIA.

### II.—A HISTORICAL SURVEY.

THE Trade Union Movement began in India since 1918. Before that date there were hardly any organisations in existence which may be called Trade Unions, except the ‘Printers’ Union’ in Calcutta, now known as the ‘Press Employees Association’ which is said to have been started in 1905. Since 1906 the Postal workers in Bombay and in some district towns had also some organisations in existence. Before that the cause of labour was on some occasions championed by some philanthropic individuals. When the first Factory Act was passed in 1881, Mr. S. S. Bengali, a Parsi, and Mr. Narayan Rao Lokhande, a Maratha, made a protest against the inadequacy of the protective proposals of that Act. In still earlier days there was some agitation regarding the hardships of the Indigo cultivators and also of the workers on the Plantations. But all these were sporadic efforts. In 1918 the Kamgar Hitwardhak Sabha was started in Bombay, made some representations to Government and intervened in

several industrial disputes on behalf of labour in that city. But the body never claimed to be a Trade-Union. The Servants of India Society conducted for two years a Marathi weekly paper in Bombay in the interest of labour. The Social Service League, Bombay, which came into existence in 1911, was consulted from time to time by the Government on questions of labour legislation and did its best to represent the labour point of view.

The real beginning of the Trade Union Movement was made in the year 1918, when Mr. B. P. Wadia started the Madras Labour Union for the workers of the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills in that city. The Indian Seamen’s Union at Calcutta also came into existence that year. The Employees’ Association at Calcutta, which is a Clerks’ Union, the Punjab Press Employees’ Association, the G. I. P. Ry. Workmen’s Union, an association of workers in Bombay Workshops, the M. & S. M. Ry. Employees’ Union and the Indian Seamen’s Union in Bombay were all started in 1919. The year 1920 was still more fruitful. The Ahmedabad Textile Workmen’s Union, the strongest organization in the country, the N. W. Ry. Employees’ Union, now divided into two bodies, the Indian Colliery Employees’ Association, the Jamshedpur (Steel workers) Labour Association, the B. N. W. Ry. Union and the B. B. & C. I. Ry. Employees’ Association (Ahmedabad), the B. B. & C. I. Ry. Employees’ Union (Bombay), consisting of workshop men in Bombay, the E. B. Ry. Indian Employees’ Association, the Wadi Bunder (G. I. P. Ry.) Union and the Bombay Port Trust Employees’ Union, were all established in this year.

It is thus clear that the Trade Union Movement was started in India during the period from 1911 to the end of 1920. There were three main circumstances which favoured the growth of the movement during this period. In the first place, during this period the cost of living in India was steadily rising and the wages did not keep pace proportionately, although the industry and trade were passing through a period of unprecedented boom. The natural labour unrest that prevailed found expression in many strikes, a large number of which were successful. The formation of most of the unions either immediately preceded the strikes, or immediately succeeded them. For some time it was thought that these unions were strike committees, but subsequent events belied this idea. It must, however, be admitted that a few unions started during the period have disappeared.

Another circumstance that helped the growth of the Indian Trade Union movement was the establishment of the International Labour Conference, the first of which was held at Washington. Its constitution gave the right to workers’ organizations to have their delegate nominated by the Government in agreement with their recommendations. This brought out clearly the necessity of not only starting labour organisations, but also of bringing about some sort of coordination amongst them in order that they should be able to make their recommendations with one voice. The result was the holding of the First Session of the All-India Trade Union Congress in 1920. Many unions were the result of the enthusiasm that both preceded and followed the All-India movement. The political ferment in this period had also some share in the development of the movement. It is on account of this circumstance that, for some time, it was thought that the labour movement in India was only a part of the political movement. But events have proved that, although it is true that some politicians did take part in the movement for some time, and perhaps with politi-

cal motives, the movement is mainly economic in its origin and has ultimately kept up its economic character.

The movement thus started is steadily expanding. On account of the effects of trade depression many new unions have not been started, recently; but, still, the movement is gaining ground for the old unions are becoming more solid and their working is being regularised. The Directory of Trade Unions published by Mr. R. R. Bakhale, as Assistant Secretary to the All-India Trade Union Congress, gives a list of 167 Associations. Out of this number about 60 organizations cater for Government servants. Although every Government employee is a wage earner, still, it is doubtful whether all of those organizations may be called Trade Unions. Some of these organizations serve, or at least include in their membership, some persons who belong to the officers' grade who are in the position of masters. They themselves may not like to be classified as labourers and permit the organizations with which they are connected to be regarded as Trade Unions. But those organizations which include only clerks and other subordinate Government servants and the menials may be regarded as Trade Unions. The best of these organizations is that of the Postal employees known as the All-India Postal and R. M. S. Association with a membership of over 30,000. Although some postmen and menials are included in this organization, a separate organization also exists for postmen and menials. There are two organizations for the telegraphists, and two or three for telegraph peons. Of these the Postmen's Union in Bombay and the two Telegraph Peons' organizations, one in Bombay and the other at Lahore, are affiliated to the All-India Trade Union Congress. The total membership of all the organizations of Government servants may be estimated at 50,000.

The railway employees are organized into 25 organizations with a total membership of about 50,000. Generally, there is one Union for one line of railway, but there are cases of there being two or three organizations on the same line, but except in one case, namely, the N. W. Railway, the separate Unions on one line do not compete with each other for membership. Most of the Railwaymen's Unions are affiliated to the All-India Railwaymen's Federation which came into existence in the beginning of the year 1925. There are six Unions for seamen, two in Bombay and the remaining in Bengal. Their total membership may be estimated at 20,000. One special feature of these Unions is that, besides trying to protect the interests of their members generally, they also help them to find employment. The subscription is not generally collected monthly, but is collected when a member returns from a voyage. There are two or three Unions for Port Trust employees, with a membership of about 3000. There are two Tramwaymen's Unions struggling for existence, one in Calcutta and the other in Madras, and four Unions for motor-drivers and hackney coach-drivers with a total membership of about 2000. Taking together all the Transport Workers, including railwaymen, seamen, tramwaymen, dock-workers, motor and hackney carriage drivers, the total of all organized workers in these industries is about 75000.

The textile workers are organized into 20 Unions with a total membership of about 32,000. There are 18 Unions for cotton textile workers, with a membership of about 30,000 workers, and two for jute textile workers in Bengal with a membership of about 2,000. The Ahmedabad

Cotton Textile Workers' Union with a membership of 14,000, divided into 5 craft Unions, but generally working together as one Union, is the strongest trade union in the country. Next comes the Bombay Textile Labour Union with a paying membership of about 6000. The Girni Kamgar Maha Mandal is another Union in Bombay with a membership of about 3,500 which competes with the above-mentioned Union for membership. Madras, Nagpur, Cawnpore and Coimbatore are other centres of textile workers' organizations.

In the printing trade there are four or five Unions with a membership of about 6,000. Workers in the Jamshedpur Steel Works have a fairly good organization with a membership of about 9,000. In the mining area, in Bihar, there is one small Union with a membership of about 1,500. It is a great pity that the miners in India should not yet have a stronger organization. There are 5 or 6 organizations for clerks and assistants in commercial bodies, with a membership of about 5,000. There are also some miscellaneous organizations. The only one of them which deserves special mention is the Burma Labour Union. It is said to have a membership of over 10,000.

To sum up, the result of labour organising work during the last seven years is that, excluding the Government employees' organizations with a membership of 50,000, there are about 160 Trade Unions in India with a membership of about 45,000.

The All-India Trade Union Congress stated in the year 1920 is the central organization of the Trade Union movement in India. As stated above, this organization has really preceded the establishment of its constituent units. Although this is somewhat contrary to what is generally expected, there is nothing surprising in this course. The necessity of the Trade Union movement as an integral part of industrial development is now recognised all over the world, and the countries that come under its influence need not and cannot go through the same slow process which had to be gone through by those which had been industrially developed earlier. About 52 Unions with a membership of about 1,00,000 are affiliated to the Trade Union Congress. It has so far held six annual sessions for propaganda organization work. The Congress has also formed in some provinces Provincial Committees.

N. M. JOSHI

(To be continued.)

## AGRICULTURE AND THE ROYAL COMMISSION.

### IV

TURNING to the evidence tendered at Poona and Bombay, one finds a striking contrast. With regard to the question of general administration and the relation between the different departments, it has been suggested that it would be desirable to have all the allied departments such as Agriculture, Veterinary, and Irrigation under the control of one minister so that greater coordination may exist between them. The importance of having efficient means of communication has been pointed out and it may be a good thing to have 'Communications' also under the same minister. It has to be admitted that Agriculture is such that it has intimate connection with almost all other departments, and it is obviously too much to expect any one man to look after all of them. We have therefore to be

content to give the few most closely related departments into the control of one minister and hope that all the ministers will work in close co-operation so that any help that may be desired by one minister or councillor of another may be readily forthcoming.

While considering research work in a previous article it has been made abundantly clear that there is no call for centralising it. On the other hand, it has been emphasized that it must be localised, and further that such work is better done without any control from outside. The means suggested for co-ordination of work in different provinces are similar to those mentioned in a previous article and they are therefore not repeated here. So far as the personnel for such work is concerned, it has been definitely stated by Dr. Mann "that the Bombay Presidency was not in need of any help from the Government of India in the direction of supply of officers of the right calibre." This may be taken to be generally true of most other provinces. He also stated that "research officers in his department were, with a few exceptions, all Indians, and they were capable of carrying out any line of research work that they were put on." All this merely goes to strengthen the view that, given proper facilities, Indians are at least quite as capable of forming efficient research workers as any others, and as such there is no necessity for the importation of officers from abroad at enormous cost to the country. The money saved by giving up the practice that now obtains of employing large numbers of people from outside, could very well be utilised for the furtherance of research work in the country. While so much is being said about the importance, nay, the absolute necessity, of foreign education and training, and while such training is being valued at a high premium, it is refreshing to be told that training in local colleges is preferable to degrees in England or America: This should open the eyes of those who make almost a fetish of foreign training to the extent of always giving undue preference to people so trained, irrespective of all other considerations. As has been said previously, foreign training has its value, and there is room here for experts from outside, but the thing to be remembered is that these should not be given a disproportionate value.

The difficulties met with in the course of propaganda work have been well brought out, and the need for keeping the official people in the background emphasized. The necessity, in some cases, for guaranteeing people against loss has also been mentioned. It is thus made clear that for disseminating the knowledge gained on Experimental Farms, a non-official body is to be preferred, and Government should be prepared to make good the loss due to following the methods advocated. We have not reached a stage when such organisations would spring up spontaneously all over the countryside, but an impetus would be given to their formation if the two points mentioned above are

made known to the cultivators in a definite manner. Government officers have to take the lead in these matters and, keeping themselves in the background, encourage the formation of these organisations by the more intelligent of the cultivators. It is interesting to note in this connection, that an organisation of this kind, with its headquarters at Bangalore, has been working for the last nine years, its operations extending to all parts of the Mysore State. The progress has been slow, but considering the novelty of the organisation, very satisfactory. That the work of this "Mysore Agricultural and Experimental Union" has been appreciated is patent from the fact that another organisation on similar lines has been recently started for more intensive work in a smaller area. These organisations, while helping to spread accurate information and increase the value of Experimental Farms, would also help considerably when action has to be taken, not by individual farmers, but by whole villages, as in the case of fencing against pigs for example. In these cases, however, it may be better to encourage the village Panchayets to take up this kind of work. When it is demonstrated to the satisfaction of the village elders that the object is to help the cultivators in all possible ways, it will not be very difficult to make the whole village consent to some common course of action.

Emphasis was laid on the provision of specialised agricultural education in the vernacular to agriculturists. The point about this is that most of those who are likely to profit directly by such an education, would not know enough of English to take advantage of education given in colleges, and young men from the countryside who know enough of English for this purpose would not generally take kindly to practical farming. More centres of vernacular education are called for in the rural areas, and in this connection it should be remembered that in rural parts even youngsters are taken on work on the farms during busy seasons, so that any system of education should take note of this and so arrange the course that the boys will be free to help in farm work when necessary. The question of the utilisation of the long vacation in colleges was raised and it was urged that the idea of inducing agricultural students to get into close contact with farmers during these holidays was commendable. It is only one step further to systematise such practice and introduce 'part time work' explained in a previous article, regularly into our colleges of agriculture. We should not stop short at 'inducing' students to take up this kind of work. It was also said that an agricultural bias should be given to the education of rural boys as soon as they became literate. "Catch them early and catch them young" should be the motto.

Many problems of an economic nature were discussed, among which may be noticed two, that of Rural Indebtedness and that of Co-operation. Both these are more or less bound up with one



another and discussion of one naturally leads to discussion of the other. Everybody accepts that the indebtedness of the farmer is very great, and almost everybody has his own idea of solving this problem. Loans by Government have been suggested, but the working of the system of Takavi Loans does not encourage one to suppose that the cultivator will rid himself of his debts by this means. Indebtedness has almost become a habit with the farmer, and like all other habits seems rather hard to get rid of. Attacking the problem from different angles, we converge on "Co-operation" as the most likely means of overcoming indebtedness. Even here it is very often found that money meant for the liquidation of loans is spent in other ways, the co-operative credit society now acting as another source for loans, and the result very often is that either instead of one loan there are two loans, or that the sowcar is merely displaced by the society. In neither case is the farmer relieved of his debt.

This leads up to a discussion of co-operative societies and the role they have to play in rural economy. The bulk of the societies now existing are purely credit societies or banks. There seems to be a need for the existence of co-operative societies undertaking a very comprehensive range of rural work, banking being merely one of the items. The number of people sufficiently educated to realise the need of such an institution, and capable of starting and managing them are so few that it seems doubtful if such societies will come into existence spontaneously. The few people who can appreciate the need for these societies and who can work them satisfactorily, can find other ways of financing their work and therefore many of them are not prepared to take the trouble necessary for running these societies. Although it is admitted that co-operative societies are the outcome of the efforts of all the people concerned, we must realise that under the existing conditions, the few educated men in the rural areas must take the lead and work the societies for the benefit of those less educated than themselves. Since the work demands a good deal of close attention, it comes to this, that we must have a certain number of educated men who will be prepared to put in the background their own immediate needs and wholeheartedly work for the good of the ignorant peasants. A spirit of service is essential if this kind of work is expected to yield the best results. Mention has been made in a previous article, how the village panchayet could help in demonstration work. A co-operative society of this kind can help in this work by supplying the panchayet with the requisite materials like implements, manures, seed, etc.

The question of subsidiary industries has been mentioned. The farmer of the present day has gradually come to be more and more dependent upon materials purchased in towns. In the matter of ordinary clothing, ropes, baskets and various

other small things, each village used to be self-sufficing. In many parts of the country, the farmer has got a considerable amount of leisure during the off seasons. This time could very well be utilised in various home industries and the yearly income increased. Here again the co-operative societies could help in supplying the necessary raw materials and in finding suitable markets for surplus production.

Animal husbandry was another question discussed here. It was definitely stated that the cross bred cattle was generally a failure and also that there was a very great demand abroad for Indian cattle. So far as one can see at present, there does not seem to be any likelihood that Indian agriculture will dispense with cattle for work purposes. There is thus the utmost necessity for encouraging the breeding of cattle of the proper type all over the country. Some conclusion has to be arrived at about the suitability of one type of animal to one particular part of the country, and the breeding of pure stock of that type vigorously and steadfastly pursued. Closely associated with this is the problem of the dairy industry. Here, again, there has not been that definite line of action that is so necessary for success. It is accepted that the dairy industry is one of great promise and as such every means must be adopted to put it on a solid basis.

GUNDAPPA S. KURPAD.

#### THE MUSLIM QUESTION.

By the Rt. Hon. V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI, P. C.

THE way to Nationalism, it is contended, lies through Communalism. In other words, it is admitted that Nationalism is the goal, but as the suspicion and fear of Muhammadans prevent its being attained now, it is necessary to overcome these feelings, and they can be overcome only by completely gratifying them. The hope is exactly similar to the hope that the reign of peace will be firmly established when the war-spirit is fully glutted. Experience so far belies it. But the advocates of separatism are new every time it is re-examined and argue that, somehow, in "their" hands the experience will be reversed. What actually happens is that, at each stage, a demand for extension of separatism is made, under threat of permanent estrangement between the communities, and every time it is conceded, either wholly or partially. Those who resist it first end by surrendering. In loose language it is often described as a compromise, but the word is wholly out of place where all the gain is on one side, and all the loss on the other. To take one instance; when the Dacca University was incorporated, the "necessary evil" was, for the first time, introduced in the sphere of education. Some of us, who happened to be in the Imperial Legislative Council at the time, opposed it under the lead of Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee. Some negotiation took place behind the scenes, and we were surprised at one sitting when it was announced with a flourish of trumpets that

a happy compromise had been made. Mr. Surendra Nath had surrendered, that was all. When the principle is assailed and put upon its trial, the defence is made to rest on the equity that minorities must be protected. As soon as the victory is won, the principle is made to apply even where the Muhammadans are in a majority and do not need to be protected. For some reasons, when you are in a minority, for other reasons, when you are in a majority, but always and everywhere, separatism.

Is anything being done by the apologists of separatism to diminish its hold? Let the years after 1909 answer. Every change has been in the same direction. No serious proposal in the contrary direction has ever been so much as made to the Muslim community by its leaders. After all these years, a prominent Mussalman, whose patriotism is beyond cavil, suggests that the two communities should study each other's culture. Surely we have done this all along. Suppose we did this even more thoroughly, are we sure of a good result? The Brahmanas and the Non-Brahmanas of Madras and the Deccan understand each other's culture through and through. In fact, they have the same culture. Yet the Non-Brahmanas, though they were in an overpowering majority, cried for their own electorates in order to be protected against the minority of Brahmanas. Some Muslim leaders have recently stated that one motive for their separatism is the existence of caste among Hindus. It is difficult to understand this reason. Do they fear the caste infection? Does the disunion produced by caste disadvantage the Muhammadans in electoral contests? Or, is it the idea that those whom caste has made familiar with suspicion should not be surprised at the suspicion of Muhammadans? The South African Whites bring up caste against us in defending their racial policy; do our Muslim brethren adopt this obvious fallacy?

Study of each other's culture, sympathetic understanding, willingness to appreciate the other side—these necessary elements of good citizenship are dreaded by those who advocate separate electorates. The objection to reservation of seats on general electorates is that the successful Muslim candidates would be those who best understood their Hindu voters. The present separatist system ensures the return of those who make it a point to remain strangers to Hindu culture and Hindu sentiment. Is not the main objection to democracy in India based on the fact that the various communities do not confine their separateness to religious and social institutions, where it may be legitimate, but extend it to subjects of universal concern, where it is illegitimate and even harmful? How can we better engender the habit of common thought and common action than by affording opportunities for its exercise at election times? The political education of the people at large is most intense and most practical during election contests. To allow Muhammadans to discuss matters

of general concern among themselves, as though there was a Muhammadan way of looking at them, and to allow Indian Christians and Europeans and Anglo-Indians and Hindus to do likewise, as though they had their separate ways of looking at them, is to deny them all the best fruits of political education and ensure their separateness for all time. If, through the ignorance and mutual distrust of the communities, we have to tolerate the wrong habit of considering common questions in separate organisations, must we not at least provide a corrective and foster the right habit of discussing common questions on a platform? When once we give the right habit a chance, there is some hope that it will prevail one day and oust the wrong habit altogether from the field. To provide such a chance for the right habit, I would suggest that, having agreed on the number of representatives of the Muhammadan community in a Legislature, we should raise one half of the number through separate electorates and the other half by the method of reservation of seats on general electorates. On this two-fold plan, the extreme Muslim element in the Legislature would be diluted by the conciliatory half, and there would be material for judging which of the two methods conducted better to the common good. When the Morley-Minto Reforms were under discussion, a two-fold plan, somewhat similar to this, was suggested; but did not even receive adequate consideration. It was to the effect that, after the result of the general elections on a common electoral register had been declared, the deficiency in the representation due to Muslims, should be supplied by means of a supplementary election confined to that community. The device here proposed does not leave the proportion indeterminate, or wait on the chances of one mode of election. Should, however, the half-and-half division fail to commend itself, let it be two-thirds for the extreme Muslim element and one-third for the diluted Muslim element. The essential thing is to teach that community the fundamental lesson of a democratic election, *viz.* that a member represents the people as a whole, not merely one part of them.

Another proposal which I would make to prepare the ground for the true democratic system, is to allow a member of a community for which a special electoral register is made, the option to enrol himself in the separate register and in the common national register. In every community there must be people of correct political views who would elect to belong to the nation rather than to a smaller entity. It is not proper to compel them to narrow their outlook and starve their higher citizenship. Their example would point the better way and be a valuable political education, while at the same time it would not cause a serious disturbance of the political equilibrium. The State too stands to gain by every single addition to the ranks of those who have learned to obey the larger loyalty and adopt the national standpoint in judging great issues. No State, that knew its business,

would hand over to sects and factions those that were best fitted to serve the people and make a franchise law that crippled its own strength. We must end a system which constitutes a double wrong—wrong to the individual citizen and wrong to the state. Fancy what the moral effect would be if a man like Mr. Jinnah or Dr. Dutta stood for a general electorate and was elected!

These two proposals will not, at least in the beginning, make a violent change in the relative strength of the communities from a political point of view, and need not be viewed with alarm by any party. It merely gives a foothold for, what is by common consent, the right method, so that, when circumstances are propitious, it may grow in strength and general acceptableness. I take it for granted that Hindus and Muslims are alike agreed as to which is the right franchise system and which is the wrong, from an abstract standpoint. I take it for granted, further, they are alike agreed that they must endeavor to get out of the wrong and get into the right system, at the pace which conditions permit. I take it likewise for granted that they will agree not to countenance any extension of the wrong system, even if it be found impossible to curtail its operation.

One has seen it argued that law merely reflects the thoughts and wishes of a people, and that no great benefits will follow a change in the law unless it be based on a change in those thoughts and wishes. This is only a partial truth, even in countries where public opinion is supposed to make the law. In India, law is often in advance of public opinion, and sometimes runs counter to it. In matters relating to the political constitution and administration, as well as those institutions which involved social justice and equity, law in this country is a great educative agency and generally moulds public opinion, instead of being moulded by it. And rightly so. A democratic polity is new here, and the franchise which supports it must be framed on the lines approved by experience. For the British Nation to embody a vicious principle in our first franchise system, on the ground that the peculiar conditions of the country require it, is to mislead our people grievously and fail in their noble mission of teaching them democracy both by example and by precept.—*Indian Daily Mail Annual.*

#### "THE STORY OF MY ADMISSION."

By the Rt. Hon. V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI P. C.

TWENTY years ago I was a happy man. My health was excellent. The blessing of domestic love I had in abundance. In the school where I taught I had won the attachment of my pupils and the confidence and respect of my colleagues. In the middle of 1905, however, my contentment was upset by a small pamphlet marked "Confidential," which Mr. G. A. Natesan lent me. It was the Prospectus and Rules of the Servants of India Society which had been just started. The lan-

guage and sentiments, no less than the ideals set forth in it, made a special appeal to me. When noble thoughts are united to noble words they have a way of seeming to simple minds as their own. Again and again I would ask myself: Have I not been reaching out for something like this, though I could never have given it clear expression? So I took a copy of the pamphlet when I went to Benares in the December of that year to attend the Indian National Congress. My companions were Professors Ramanathan and Lakshminarasu of Pachaiyappa's College, with whom I had a great deal in common, and whose judgment I had learned to trust. To Mr. Ramanathan I have always looked up for advice in difficult matters. He closely approaches the ideal of dispassion and impartiality which we associate with the true scholar. He is the last person to disavow his responsibility, but he has never abetted me in any evil, while he has aided me in much of my good. They both read the pamphlet, praised it warmly and said what a fine thing it would be if Madras could send a fit member to the Servants of India Society. I did not declare my intention to them, but felt that it had stiffened into a resolution.

During the Congress session, I wrote my application. The important passage ran:

"I am a schoolmaster in Triplicane with about 17 years' service. I graduated B. A. in 1888 and am now 37 years old. My age, I fear, may be against me, as I may not have many years more to give to the service of my country. Nor have I the confidence that I can do very much in the few years that lie before me. Such as I am, however, I offer myself and hope to be accepted. I don't write this letter under an impulse of the moment, but the idea has been long in my mind, and it was for this purpose chiefly that I made up my mind to come here as delegate."

Within a few days of returning to Madras, I asked for the good offices of Mr. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar, who wrote to his friend, Mr. Gokhale: "A friend of mine, a man of deep earnestness, high character, marked ability, author of your life in Natesan's *Indian Review*, offers himself for enrolment among your Servants of India. It seems he wrote to you while at Benares and has had no reply. I can confidently recommend him, for he is sure to prove one of your trusted lieutenants." In the second week of February, I received a letter from Mr. Gokhale. A good half of it was devoted to explaining the delay in acknowledging my application. This, I discovered later, was habitual with him. He invited me to go to Poona and stay with him a few days so that I might learn the nature and full consequence of the step that I proposed to take.

Accordingly I went in the first week of March. Of this visit I have once before given an account. Suffice it to say now that Gokhale made an easy conquest, and I promised definitely to join the Society. The following note was made at the time by Mr. Dravid:

"Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, Headmaster of the Hindu High School, Madras, had come here to see our First Member, and I am glad to announce that he has finally given his word to join us in the month of September, when our First Member returns from England. As we are at present constituted, I think we may well congratulate ourselves on the new recruit we have secured to our ranks."

In the event the managers of my school would not let me leave in the middle of a term, and I had to postpone my resignation till the end of the year. From my experience of these months I would not advise any one to remain long in the status of 'mortgaged member,' to use Mr. Dravid's expressive phrase. Friends and relations know that time is a valuable ally in the work of wearing your resolution away, and, without betraying at any moment an anxiety to bring the matter to an issue, quietly take it for granted in a hundred ways that you cannot be serious as to the contemplated change, and that you are not going to be such a heartless person as to frustrate the expectations uniformly entertained on all sides. It was from students that I got some approbation, but it was mostly of the silent kind. One political leader wondered why, while he and others were at hand, I should go to Poona for guidance in public affairs. Another reminded me that 37 was not the age prescribed in our books for becoming a *vanaprastha*. A third admonished me that one who left a large family unprovided for was not likely to do much good to the community. "Was not teaching noble enough service to the public?" asked another, and went on to point out that my salary was so small in proportion to my ability as to make it a self-sacrifice, if that was the glory I sought, to continue in the teaching profession. Others drew the future in the sombre colors of uncertainty and, probably, failure and even danger. I cannot remember that I received active sympathy or positive incitement from any friend. If some applauded my action, they took care not to let me know of it. My friend Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyar was in this class.

The story that it was on his persuasion that I changed from schoolmaster to Servant of India is entirely baseless. Long afterwards, he told me of altercations with his wife during which she had blamed him for bidding others do that which he was unwilling to do himself. When she desired him to use his influence and save me for my family, he said, in self-defence: "It is more than I can do. It is hard enough, when a noble deed is done, not to cry *shabash*: to try to dissuade the doer is a crime of which I will not be guilty."

Some one started the fable that when Mr. Gokhale's call came I was slow to respond on account of my poverty, and that, to overcome my scruples, Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyar paid me a sum of ten thousand rupees. In the then state of Madras the fable gained some currency. If it was denied and denounced with earnestness, the calumniator was not silenced, he only said: "Wait and see.

Mr. K.'s will contains a provision to that effect." He had been dead ten years when this yarn was revived and published in the press on the eve of my departure to London for the Imperial Conference of 1921. If a prompt repudiation could have established the truth, it should not have proceeded from me, or from any one intimately connected with me. At this distance of time I confess to a feeling of mild surprise and sorrow that so many should have been willing to credit a story obviously meant to besmirch a fraternity of three men, one of whom was ready to sell himself, another to buy him up, and the third to take unto his bosom an article so sold and bought.

I am proud to say that my mother and my wife made no scenes and took the separation in a resigned spirit. They knew that my resolve was fixed and had no hope of breaking it. The worst they feared was that I was going to become a sort of ascetic and renounce all association with the family. To satisfy them that such was not the case I undertook to take my wife to Poona and live with her there. This softened the edge of their grief. The farewell demonstration in the School was touching in the extreme. I was moved as I never had been before, and for a moment doubted the wisdom in forsaking the pupils and friends whose love was so deep and so unaffected. I faltered in my speech and can now recall only two circumstances vividly. Referring to the unfavourable criticism which had been made in certain quarters of my action, I described my supposed malady as a hypertrophy of the patriotic conscience. At this an influential editor in the audience nodded significantly, as if to say: "Exactly, that's my sentiment" That threw me out completely, and it was after much hesitation that I picked myself up again. I then alluded to the novelty of political *sannyas* and the trials and tribulations which it might bring. Against these my only shield was my faith in the righteousness of the cause. Here I quoted the famous verse from Valmiki in which Kausalya pronounces a parting benediction on her son:

Yam-palasyasi dharmam thwam dritya cha niyamena cha

Sawai raghava sardula dharmā sthwam abhirakshathu.  
(Let *dharmā* keep thee from harm, the same *Dharma* that thou followest with such steadfastness and self-denial.)

Many are the occasions since then on which I have invoked this sloka for the comfort of my soul. When the world fails and doubt lays siege to the heart, there is nothing for it but to fall back on your conscience, if you have been true.

Mr. Gokhale desired me to attend the famous Dadabhai Naoroji Congress of Calcutta in December, 1906. I wrote back: "I shall certainly attend the next sitting of the Congress—if only to look on our G. O. M. It would be the greatest misfortune of one's life to have missed a sight of him when he was so near." I not only saw and heard him in Congress, but had the exceeding good fortune of

being presented by Gokhale to him along with others as belonging to the Servants of India Society.

This was immediately after the close of the Congress, but it was not till the 15th of January of the new year that I was actually admitted as member. The place was the upper storey of a house in Rowland Road, Ballygunge, and the time early morning. I had been enjoined to bathe and not to break my fast till the ceremony was over. I remember being in a highly chastened mood, although there had been no vigil or prayer the preceding night. Gokhale's deportment was solemn and inspired me with something like awe. As I pronounced the phrases of each vow after him, I was ceased with terrible misgivings as to my being able to keep them in a tolerable degree. But the trial was quickly over. Next day I started on my travels in East Bengal, which was then only beginning to recover from the effects of the first Partition agitation. The political interest, profound as it was, did not affect my young and untravelled hearts so much as the varied charms of that fascinating country. I long to revisit those scenes again. Who could forget the warm welcome and the hot food of Bengali homes, the broad and limitless waters of the Padma so liable to heavy mists, the sweet and attractive personality of Asvini Kumar Dutt, who had not yet ceased to be 'king' of Barisal, the undulating streets and glorious sunsets of Chittagong, the buxom beauty of Manipuri women who sang and danced even as the *gopis* of Vraj did to the magic flute of Shri Krishna, the odoriferous gardens of Fejpur and the seven holy lakes where lovely Usha lived of old, and the romantic traditions that hang like gossamer over the Hill of the Weary Horse across the Brahmaputra near Gauhati? *The Hindu Annual Supplement.*

### REVIEWS.

#### THE PROBLEM IN CHINA.

THE VANISHED EMPIRE. By PUTNAM WEALE.  
(Macmillan & Co., London) 1926. 9 x 5¾ pp.  
379. 15 s.

THIS new volume by the well-known writer on China, who writes under the *nom de plume* of Putnam Weale, is a *rechauffé* of materials published by him either in previous books or articles in the newspapers. It pretends to be a prophecy that 'the control of all non-Chinese instrumentalities must be vested in a new agency during an interregnum which will last until a new philosophy and a new rule of life shall have been evolved or that the monarchy will be reintegrated.'

It is divided into three books, of which Books I and II are historical. Book III is a diary of events from October 26, 1925 to July 1926, in the author's best mood and style, exhibiting his journalness to great advantage with some aphorisms that are wise, and with some that are otherwise. In the historical *resumé*, a very interesting synopsis of Chinese history is presented, covering a very wide field of study and research. But, throughout, the author indulges in wild generalities that border upon absurdity or exaggeration, e. g., when he

writes: "The intelligenzia of the country was converted into a submissive class which knew no literature excepting 200 books officially sanctioned by the Emperor and wrote no essays except in praise of the throne." This is utterly untrue and ridiculous. Not to mention anything else, treatises on the classics and history reach to many thousands, well known to all scholars. The essays of Kang Yu Wei and his school, and the writings of Dr. Sun Yat Sen and his followers, not to mention any one else, give the lie direct to this amazing travesty of the position of the Chinese intelligenzia in the last hundred years.

While the author is generally exact in his historical references, the identification of the 'Zaytoun of the Arabs' with Foochow is a serious mistake. The name Zaytoun occurs in Marco Polo, and is mentioned in the writings of Rashid Uddin, Ibn Batuta Abulfeda, Friar Odoric, Bishop Andrew and the Papal nuncio Mariquolli. It was one of the greatest ports of the middle ages. It is the Arabic form of Chi-tong the Chinese name of a species of arithrina ('the flame of the forest' of India), from which the city was named. It refers to the modern town of Chuanchow, or Chinchew, a port about three hours by steamer from Amoy. In this city, there are many relics of the Arab trading community, which flourished up till about three centuries ago. Even now the mosques still exist. There was also a Nestorian community.

It is very doubtful also if the author is quite correct in pronouncing definitely that the Chinese junk came from India simply because in the famous temple of Ajanta, the picture of ships is very similar to that of the Chinese craft with eyes on the bows. Why could it not have been the other way, because the fame of China had reached India in the remotest epoch? Or, perhaps, the similarity is due to a coincidence. What about Egypt?

In brief, the summary of Chinese history shows the early disappearance of the Feudal System, and its replacement by a benevolent patriarchy, frequently disturbed by rebellions, invasions, and civil wars. "Revolution" is sanctified by "the Gospel" of Confucius, when it is started by a people to secure freedom and justice. The Chinese have been always tolerant of all peoples, and creeds, except when "the interests" of their country or culture were at stake. The story is frequently enlivened by many anecdotes recounted in the author's interesting manner. The cyclic changes of dynasties come and go. During the last two thousand years, China has been steadily, though slowly, evolving. But one gathers a dismal feeling as one reads between the lines of this book, that to the author, Ah Sin remains the eternal sphynx, and also the incorrigible, while everything else has changed. The truth, however, is not so. China has made enormous strides. Up to the time of the Boxer revolution, the people as a whole, were still steeped in the narcosis of the middle ages.

It is not possible for the millions to drop all at once the customs, beliefs and ideals of five thousand years of culture. Still the honest student sees, in fact, China has steadily moved towards a higher and more humane civilization all the time, with only occasional set-backs. If we compare the Middle Ages with the Manchu régime that has just passed away, we must acknowledge that real progress had been made. When we again contrast the conditions under the Taipings, with the chaos and confusion now ruling, we shall realise that an immense improvement has taken place. No doubt one hears now and again of atrocities; but were these not known during the European War?

One feels also that the author has not helped the reader to understand the Young China problem with his aphorisms. He evidently shares the general opinion of most European writers on the subject. An account is given of the alliance between the Soviet, and the extremist section of the Sun Yat Sen Party. He demonstrates that the British fail, whereas the Soviet succeeds!

There is a serious and widespread anti-British feeling throughout China. Books like the one under review are not likely to help in relieving the situation, by bringing about a common understanding. The British do not need the gratuitous advice given in this volume. It is to use force to back up "reason," since only force, according to the author, seems to have any effect. Incidents like the Shameen, Shanghai, and Wansien affairs are easily manipulated by extremists. When it is stated that for the outrages committed by General Yang, about seven British fatalities resulted, while those on the Chinese side mounted up to thousands, the absurdity of militarism would be clear. It is this staggering disproportion which the Chinese are not able to appreciate. After all, the real culprits escape and the only result is increasing animosity towards the British. No doubt, at times, force is the last resort of the law, but it is quite another thing to preach that in China force is the only "good reason." The Chinese certainly have come to recognize this as the British attitude. The students of China have become persuaded that the Powers have meant to use force, and they feel driven by the general and prevailing European opinion in China, to resort to such alliance as they could secure.

The Soviet has been ready to welcome the Chinese with open arms. The late Dr. Sun Yet Sen clearly pointed out that the Chinese did not require the Russian plan of communism and nothing has happened to prove that Dr. Sun was wrong. The Canton Government accepted the help of the Russians, because the Hongkong authorities adopted a policy that threatened to upset the work it was planning. Of course, Hongkong had its own difficulties. Between the two attitudes, there was ample room for gross mistakes and misunderstandings. But it is really quite unnecessary to use force in China as far as the great British are concerned. Of course, if the policy advocated here is followed, cheap victories may be gained at any time, but there will grow up bad feeling, which, in these days of keen commercial competition, is not exactly what England wants.

The British having the greatest interests in the country have suffered the most. The anti-British agitation is fanned by an interested agency; though, as already stated, there is an undercurrent of dislike of the British owing to many causes. Individual Englishmen are liked and loved by their Chinese friends. But in both cases, the "rationals," as groups, entertain feelings of dislike or antipathy for one another. Largely, this is the result of want of intercourse, and the great divergence of language and customs. The English are outspoken and blunt, unceremonious and punctilious in certain things; consequently, their simple actions are often misunderstood and misinterpreted. Then they have many trade competitors in China, always "doing them down," and attributing everything base to England. The Japanese, although much feared and really disliked, are managing to sugar-coat the bitter pills which their active commercial expansion must compel the prostrate country to swallow. In the end, however, truth will be out, and then the British policy will prove

right and those impatient critics, who expect Great Britain to wield her strength to "smash" the Christian and other generals for their extravagant actions, will discover that, after all, the diplomacy of reason and reasonableness has its own glories, no less in fact than those brought about by human slaughter!

There is an interesting chronicle in the book of the progress of commerce from the earliest times. In contrast with the land routes by means of caravans, and the west, is the communication by sea, with the advent of the sea-faring nations and the resulting consequences that are still in active operation. The kaleidoscopic changes in the influence and trade of the European nations from the sixteenth century onwards are cleverly and interestingly described. It seems that the British through some incomprehensible fatuity are letting golden opportunities to escape, and are failing to benefit themselves and the Chinese, while the Russians and Japanese are scoring well all the time. Such is the impression left upon the reader's mind.

The author appears to have overlooked the rise and growth of Nationalism after the Russo-Japanese War. Before this any one power could apply the old rule *divide et impera*; now the country would move and respond as a whole. The Soviet knows this, and now the Powers are beginning to realise the fact, although, strange to say, "the men on the spot" are usually blinded by old prejudice and are still harping on the old cry "wire for the gunboat!" *Apropos* of this, it may be interesting to add, that the British Consul in Amoy in 1925, wired to the naval authorities—not to send any gunboat! He was able to avoid all troubles and also to miss the decorations, distributed by the British Government to most of the consuls where troubles broke out!

There is no reason today for any pessimism concerning China, although she seems to be in a state of hopeless confusion. Things could be a hundred times worse. As compared with the horrors of the Taiping rebellion the present troubles are as nothing. The bubble will burst, when all extreme valuations will vanish, and China will come back for the 1001th time to sanity and recuperation. The truth is that the Chinese people will not be fooled all the time. This is the best reason for our optimism.

The point, however, is that the author wishes to hint that the Chinese State is doomed to extinction; unless another Empire makes its appearance. "The Vanished Empire" refers to the Republic of course. Although everywhere there's apparent chaos, yet one is not authorised to state categorically that there is no hope at all for the Republic. In fact, the Republic is firmly founded upon the will of the people; yet, owing to various circumstances, the will of the people is not yet easy to make effective. China is one of the oldest states, and still cherishes her past with good hopes of the future.

If survival of the fittest is a law of nature, which Evolution has helped us to understand, then surely the Chinese may claim that their civilization which has survived all its contemporaries, has eminent qualities which will prevent "the empire" from vanishing. Therefore, despite the author's dyspeptic pessimism on China, he will probably discover, if he lives long enough, that in the end this "vanished" phantom will be found returning very much alive! The whirligig of time flies fast! While nations rise and fall, China with all her helplessness and uncouthness manages to muddle along, till somehow, darkness passes away, and the dawn of another renaissance is at hand!

The representatives of the Powers have to be patient, since brute force is no longer of much value as a means of pacification. The use of force drives the despairing people to the Soviet, which is always ready to sympathise. Had Hongkong in 1922 shown some interest in the advances of Canton, Dr. Sun would never have accepted the help of the extremist section and its Soviet alliance. The book under review shows the perplexities and dilemmas of the politicians in endeavouring to keep safe between two extremes. One thing is clear that, often, the Powers seem to have backed, so to speak, the wrong horse. In the meantime, as we write, Canton is winning all along, quite contrary to what one might expect from the prognostications of the author. On the other hand, his advice to the would-be Nelsons in the China Squadron has been followed again at Wansien with terrific results, as already stated. Legally, politically and militarily considered, reprisal was fully justified, but from the point of view of bringing about better understanding, and of ushering a belief in the League of Nations, the naval action has perhaps done irreparable damage for a century. The opium war is not yet forgotten, and yet we know opium was not the sole cause of the War. So with Wansien, "the fiendish cruelty of British Imperialism" will be remembered, and the contrast of the casualties on the Chinese side will be brought to the notice of the inflamed patriots. Already the feelings of the populations in different parts of west and north China, have been estranged. Therefore, it seems, a pin-prick policy of retaliation is unworthy of Great Britain. Two wrongs have never made a right in solving any problem of justice, however justifiable the retaliation, and however wicked the provocation. Times have changed. Never again will it be possible to bully the Chinese people to submit tamely to dictation. The only way is to discover a *modus vivendi* by which the Powers may receive satisfaction. They may indicate the conditions and if they will show a united front and the terms are fair and honourable to all parties, there is no fear of any real refusal.

LIM BOON KENG.

### THE CURRENCY QUESTION.

AN EXAMINATION OF THE CURRENCY COMMISSION REPORT. BY P. B. JUNNARKAR. (Thakooly, Dacca) 1926. 7×4¾. pp. 121. Rs. 1-4-0.

THE appearance of this booklet is timely, as a dispassionate survey of the proposals of the Royal Commission is needed at this time when mutual recrimination and angry protests are the order of the day in Currency discussions, and we must say that Prof. Junnarkar does give us an impartial survey. At times he is outspoken, but it is clear that his object is not to revile but to arrive at truth. The author discusses the proposals of the Commission under three heads: (1) The ratio, (2) The Gold Bullion Standard, (3) Central Bank.

With regard to the ratio of stabilisation he deplors the fact that no door is left open for future adjustment if the rupee showed a tendency to recede to a lower level and believes that the ratio of 18d. has come into existence under artificial conditions produced by a definite monetary policy pursued by the Government. The case for 18d. is based on the adjustment of internal prices to external prices at this rate of exchange. Comparing prices in 1922 with those in 1926, he thinks that the general adjustment of prices to the 18d. level must be admitted

to be still due. After examining the index numbers in various countries he arrives at the conclusion that the tendency of prices in all countries except France is downward and beyond this it is not possible to speak of the world price level in terms of a single index number; therefore the adjustment of prices to the 18d rate cannot be proven. This shatters the whole basis of the argument in the Report based on the adjustment of prices. With regard to the adjustment of wages, the author regards it as an extravagant assumption and cites evidence to prove that wages have not fallen in any centre.

Next a rejoinder is given to the Finance Member who cited the large amount of capital seeking investment in Government loans and the large reserves of the Imperial Bank as signs that a policy of deflation has not led to tight money. The author has proved by quoting the prices of stocks of industrial concerns that all these have gone down. The investment in Government securities and large Reserves in the Bank are due to the fact that industrial investment has been brought into serious disrepute on account of trade depression. The low bank rate during the last two years is not a matter for congratulation because it indicates that very little capital is needed for industrial development. The strongest condemnation of the present policy, however, lies in the fact that it would lead to a weakening of reserves in England and thus delay the main recommendation of the Commission, viz. the introduction of a Gold Standard.

The Bullion Standard is next examined. The author believes that when the present issue of notes ceases to be legal tender, the new notes of the Reserve Bank will be unpopular, because the metallic backing in terms of gold will not be tangible and visible as in the case of the present issue of notes. Here we do not agree with the author; even if notes below the figure of Rs. 23,000 cannot be converted for gold bullion, the very fact that they can be converted by somebody somewhere is enough to give the necessary assurance. In this connection the author makes a novel suggestion which is worthy of serious consideration and it is this: instead of paying the notes in Gold Bullion they should be paid in coins valued at Rs. 50. This would ensure the object of the Commission that gold shall not circulate as ordinary currency. This would make the bank-note 'as good as gold' and would utilize the hoards of the people for the benefit of trade and industry. With regard to the system of buying and selling gold given in schedule 1 of the report, we agree with the author that "the system recommended is neither simple nor certain and the actual results may be just the opposite of what the Commissioners themselves contemplated." The retort given by the author on page 57 "that in the absence of a gold coin the rate at which the currency authority is prepared to redeem the currency fixes the par; if this is indefinite, the par also becomes indefinite," is very telling.

Coming to the question of the proposed Reserve Banks, the author admits the need of a strong central institution with a right of note-issue and co-ordinating currency and credit regulation. His complaint, however, is that the scheme came to the public as a surprise and that they had no time to offer a considered criticism on it. After giving an admirable account of the United States Banking system he arrives at the conclusion that the system would not suit Indian conditions as the banking development of India has run on different lines and shows a marked predilection for Mr. Keynes' scheme outlined in the appendix to the report of

the Chamberlain Commission. Any banking system which suppresses indigenous banking institutions would be a failure; the Imperial Bank with its many branches would establish the necessary contact with indigenous banks. It is therefore indispensable, in his opinion, that the Imperial Bank should be a bank of issue. We do not however see the logical necessity of the right of issue in order to function well as a bank popularising the banking habit. Even if the Reserve Bank has the right of issuing notes the Imperial Bank can have as many notes as it wants for its purposes. We don't think the usefulness of the Imperial Bank would be restricted by its failure to become a bank of issue.

The author, however, has an apprehension that if the Imperial Bank is freed from its present restrictions, on account of the new Reserve Bank taking over its functions, it will be so powerful that it will suppress all other joint-stock banks as well as indigenous bankers. This he regards as a disaster. We are not, however, sure that this rout of the other banks is a certain or a very probable phenomenon. If the existing joint stock banks have any grit in them they would not allow themselves to be easily wiped out.

The book has a freshness about it which prevents it from being dull. The author's grasp of general principles and his patient application of them to practical problems are both remarkable. We heartily commend the book to all students of currency and banking.

V. N. GODBOLE.

#### A NOTABLE CONTROVERSY.

**MR. BELLOC OBJECTS:** By H. G. WELLS. 1926. (London, Watts and Co.) pp. 55 1s.

This little book consists of a highly entertaining rebuttal by Mr. Wells of an onslaught made upon his interpretation of history by Mr. Belloc in some articles published in certain Catholic periodicals. If we must have controversy, then let it be conducted in this fashion; for, it certainly gives rise both to amusement and to enlightenment.

"His next still more damaging exposure is that I am an Englishman of the Home Counties and London Suburbs—Mr. Belloc, it seems, was born all over Europe": "Mr. Belloc has come to believe that there is a vast 'modern European' culture of which the English-speaking world knows nothing, of which the non-Catholic world knows nothing, and with which he is familiar. It is on his side. It is simply and purely Bellocian. He certainly believes it is there. It sustains his faith. It assuages the gnawing attacks of self-criticism that must come to him in the night".

An interesting quotation is made from one of Mr. Belloc's onslaughts upon the doctrine of natural selection; and in this case Mr. Belloc's judgment is accepted:—"If natural selection be true, then what we call a pig, is but a fleeting vision; all the past he has been becoming a pig, and all the future he will spend evolving out of Pigdom, and pig is but a moment's phase in the external flux".

The main thesis of the book (and it is a very interesting one) is contained in the following sentences:—"There is set out, as the main form of the *Outline of History*, a progressive development of conscious will in life.....The immense increase of light and knowledge during the past century is imposing a new realisation of the quality and

depth and import of life upon us both, and I am acquiescent and Mr. Belloc is recalcitrant. I judge his faith by the new history, and he judges the new history by his faith".

The contrast between the new vision of the meaning behind racial history and the old dogmatism is well brought out in what Mr. Wells says regarding those who are pinned to "this dogma of the fixity of man and thereby to a denial of progress. This vale of tears, they maintain, is as a whole a stagnant lake of tears, and there is no meaning to it beyond the spiritual adventures of its individual lives. Go back in time or forward, so long as man has been or will be, it is all the same. You will find a world generally damned, with a select few, like Mr. Belloc, on their way to eternal beatitude. That is all there is to the spectacle".

The modern outlook is well summed up as follows:—"Man is a creature changing very rapidly from the life of a rare and solitary great ape to the life of a social and economic animal. He has traversed most of this tremendous change of phase in something in the nature of a million years. His whole being, mind and body alike, betrays the transition. We can trace the mitigations of his egotism through the development of religious and customary restraints... Man has accommodated his originally fierce and narrow egotism to the needs of an ever wider and more co-operative social life, very largely through the complex self-subjugations that religion has made possible."

After this profound judgment it is surprising to find Mr. Wells so ignorant of present-day Christian thought as to declare that 'the whole scheme of Christian salvation and the entire fabric of the Christian faith' rest upon the traditional doctrines of the Creation and the Fall.

The book contains two admirable caricatures of the protagonists in this illuminating controversy.

J. S. H.

#### BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE AWAKENING OF CHINA.** By JAMES H. DOLSEN. (The Daily Worker Publishing Company, Chicago.) 1926. 7½ × 5¼. pp. 267.
- IN CHINA.** By ABEL BONNARD. (George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., London.) 1926. 8¾ × 5¼. pp. viii + 361. 15s.

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