

Servant of India

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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE firm stand taken by the Premier in regard to the Turkish settlement will give much-needed relief to the feelings of Indian Moslems. The decision of the Supreme Council in allowing the Turks to remain at Constantinople aroused such an outburst of fanatical frenzy in England, especially in Liberal circles, that all Indians and not merely the Mussulmans were deeply alarmed lest this wise decision should be reversed. The statement made by Mr. Lloyd George, however, ought to be reassuring, so far as that part of the question is concerned. The Premier stated in unequivocal terms that the expulsion of the Turks from Constantinople would be a distinct breach of the pledge given by him in January, 1918, and roundly asked why the aid of Indian Moslems was sought in defeating Turkey if their sentiments were to be so trampled under foot. Even if Turkey's punishment were desired, he declared that it had been terrible enough for the sternest judge, more than half of her possessions being already taken away from her. Those who advocate the old bag and baggage policy know not what a strain the war has imposed upon the feelings of Indian Moslems.

It is unfortunate that the Currency Committee's report has not led to any improvement in the exchange situation which, if anything, has grown worse. The rupee has not been stabilized and its value is fluctuating in response to the sterling-dollar exchange. Government has found it necessary to sell reverse councils from week to week to satisfy the demand of speculative remitters of funds to London. It has indeed been decided by Government that sterling bills will be sold only to bona fide purchasers and arrangements have been made to require cash payment for the

drafts so as to check mere profiteering in exchange. The sale of reverse councils designed to keep up the exchange means the transfer of our funds from London to this country at a loss. The Indian balance of trade is really not adverse and the offer of the sterling bills is not justified. But as the rise in exchange is hampering exports and the demand for remittance is lowering the value of the rupee below its intrinsic value, Government seems to be making an effort to maintain the equilibrium by the sale of reverse bills. And the result is a dislocation of the trade of the country and a disturbance of the exchange market. The remedy that Government has devised to counteract monetary stringency which must be caused by the sales of sterling bills is to invest their proceeds in securities in this country instead of in England. That such measures should have to be taken to prop up the exchange clearly proves that the true solution of our currency problem is as distant as ever.

THE non-inclusion of any Nationalist member of the Indian Legislative Council in the informal advisory committee on rules in connexion with reforms is to be regretted. The Committee no doubt must be small, to be useful, but it could certainly have been made more representative, without increasing its size. The work before the Committee, it is true, does not admit of any appreciable difference of opinion between the different parties in the country, but it is of the utmost importance that no cause for legitimate grievance should remain. It is not in the interest of justice alone, and with a view to giving general satisfaction to the country that the drafting of rules is in right hands, that we urge inclusion of members of all parties, but the help of a veteran leader like Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya would be invaluable. No one could be more earnest than he to make the reforms successful, and no one who cherishes such a desire merits exclusion. Nothing is gained, but much is lost, by the policy which the Government of India is pursuing in this matter of shutting out one big party from participation in a task of great importance.

A PLEASANT function was performed by the Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces on Friday last at Allahabad in inspecting the boy scouts and girl guides of the local Seva Samiti. In presenting an address on behalf of the Boy

Scouts Association, Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru gave a brief history of the Association, saying how it had developed out of the volunteer corps improvised by the Samiti from time to time in connection with fairs and festivals. It now numbered one thousand scouts in the provinces, there being troops at Allahabad, Lucknow, Moradabad, Aligarh, Etawah, Khurja, Hathras and other centres. There were about sixty scout masters. It was hoped to extend the organisation to the whole of the provinces and to bring many thousands of young persons under its influence. Mr. Kunzru also related in what other spheres the Samiti was rendering service to the people. It was maintaining eighteen night schools in Allahabad, conducting charitable dispensaries, carrying on propaganda on health, temperance, &c. His Honour Sir Harcourt Butler expressed satisfaction with the work and consented to be the patron of the Association.

IT is gratifying to learn that the Government of India propose to undertake, if not repeal, a radical revision of the Press Act on lines suggested by Sir Sivaswamy Aiyar in his presidential speech at the Calcutta Liberal Conference. Sir Sivaswamy said on the occasion: "I am inclined to think that the deposit of security should not be demanded in the first instance and should be called for only upon it being shown to the satisfaction of a court that the liberty of the press has been abused. Forfeiture should also be made consequential upon an order of the court to be obtained by the local Government on proof of publication of objectionable matter. The conditions in the Press Act entailing forfeiture are expressed in such wide terms that it has been found that the safeguard of an application to the High Court is practically illusory." The amendment of the Act here suggested substitutes judicial decision for the arbitrary executive decision which now obtains and would thus take away the sting out of the Press Act, which, however, it must be our effort to strike off completely from the statute book.

THE question of provincial contributions to the central Government was raised by the Hon. Mr. Sarma in the Indian Legislative Council in the form of a resolution. Financial arrangements ought to be so made, he urged, that there need be no levy upon the provinces. Indeed, as a permanent arrangement, no other plan is thinkable, the only question being whether from the outset provincial contributions can be dispensed with. The question must be seriously considered and will no doubt be considered in all its details by Lord Meston's Committee, but even if it be found impracticable to do away with the provincial levy at the start, still it is necessary that the levy should be progressively diminished by a certain percentage every year, so that in the course of a few years it will automatically cease. The income-tax and customs will in the near future yield enormously large revenue, thus doing away with the necessity

of laying the provinces under contribution. It was well that the requirements of sound federal finance were brought prominently to the attention of the general public in this way.

WE congratulate the Hon. Mr. Patel on his Inter-caste Marriage Bill being referred to the Select Committee. Some faint opposition was raised to the Bill in the Council, but it was nothing compared to what was to be found out of it. Some of the Radical politicians in the country are its bitterest opponents, and perhaps nowhere is this species of reactionary nationalism to be found in greater abundance than in the Deccan. The Bill, however, being an enabling measure, is certainly not one to be decided by a plebiscite. It only provides relief for those who would avail themselves of it, others having no concern with the measure. Social reformers desire several amendments in the Bill, and we hope the Select Committee will introduce all of them, the most important of them being that the parties to the marriage should come of age and that the marriage should be monogamous.

THE Privy Council's adverse decision in the appeal of Bugga and others was based, it must be remembered, mainly on the interpretation of Ordinance No. 4. The question was whether it applied, like Ordinance No. 1, to those taken in arms or in the actual commission of an overt act of rebellion, or whether it applied to any person and comprehended within its scope any kind of offence. The Punjab Government's telegram no doubt shows that the ordinance was issued to supply the *lacuna* which it foresaw in the administration of martial law, but whatever the motive may be in the minds of those who promulgated the ordinance, the question before the Privy Council was whether the ordinance admitted of the wider construction sought to be put upon it. Sir John Simon further raised the point whether the Government of India was competent to issue an ordinance conferring upon the special tribunal the power to deal with any kind of criminal offence committed by any British subject within their area so long as it was committed after March 30. No comment on the judgment of the Privy Council is possible at this stage, but considering the technical character of the ground on which alone the convictions have been upheld in appeal, it is to be devoutly hoped that royal clemency will be exercised in the case of the appellants.

MR. N. C. KELKAR, who and the party led by him had till now rested their opposition to the compulsory education of girls on the ground of financial stringency alone has now persuaded himself that on other grounds also it would be improper to take in hand girls' education contemporaneously with boys'. In a letter to the *Bombay Chronicle*, he argues that it would be wrong to introduce compulsory education for girls when no more than

25% of the girls of school-going age attend school. This shows that Mr. Kelkar's objection to making primary education compulsory for girls would remain even if the finances of the municipality were in the most flourishing condition imaginable. As to the objection he now urges, does he seriously apprehend any breach of the public peace on the part of the women if the Compulsory Education Act were applied to girls? The indications are all to the contrary. The resentment felt by the women at their sex being left out from the benefit of compulsory education is possibly a greater danger to the public peace than any unpopularity likely to be caused among the illiterate by girls being brought under the operation of the Act. In a place which is served by such institutions as the Indian Women's University, Seva Sadan, Female Education Society, each unique almost in the whole of India, the objection urged by Mr Kelkar is singularly out of place. If Poona is not yet fitted to embark upon girls compulsory education, we wonder which city in India can be pronounced fit for the task?

THE most commendable feature of the administration report of the Cochin State is the measures taken to extend the education of women and the depressed classes. Last year three new high schools were opened for girls and special steps were taken to push education amongst the Izhuvas and the Pulayas. The State recognises that it will be its duty to provide in the immediate future a system of free and compulsory education. Meanwhile steps are being taken to improve the pay of the secondary teacher, the minimum pay of the primary teacher being now Rs. 15. The demand for compulsory education is particularly strong from the depressed classes, and the State is inclined to regard it with sympathy. Even "the Nambudiris, content for many a long day to pursue the even tenor of their lives unaffected by the rush of modern ideas, are now waking up to the advantages of modern education, and a bill has been drafted to enable them to spend their communal endowment funds on education." Schemes for improving housing conditions of the poor in Ernakulam and Cochin and for improving housing and water-supply conditions of the Pulayas have also been set on foot. The Raja has also ordered all public roads and schools to be thrown open to the members of the depressed classes and those who interfere with the enforcement of these orders are already being proceeded against.

WE are indebted to Lala Jiwan Lall, Inspector of Police in Jammu and Kashmere State for a pamphlet in which he describes the traffic in women, or "barda faroshi" as it is called in Northern India, which is rife in the districts of Dera Ghazi Khan and Dera Ismail Khan, parts of Sind and the Punjab and even the United Provinces. In these parts there is a paucity of women and some wretches make it their business to ab-

duct young low-caste women, though married, and palm them off as high-caste brides and sell them to the highest bidder. This traffic is regularly going on on a large scale, and yet the police officers find it difficult to bring home to the offenders their offence, because all parties to the transaction are gainers and it becomes the interest of all to hush it up. "The seller gets the money, and the purchaser buys the woman at a very small price in comparison with the amount which otherwise he has to defray in obtaining a wife. Above all, the woman is herself content because from a very low and humble life she is transported to a very high life and social position, provided she possesses the knack of keeping her secret."

THE police thus rarely succeed in tracking such offences, and on account of the repeated failures which attend their efforts, are often inclined to abandon the attempt as foredoomed to failure. Without a doubt such an attitude has been engendered in the police department, and that is a great social danger. The failure of the police arises in this way. A charge under section 498, I. P. C., can be brought against the man in whose possession the woman is found; but this offence is not cognisable by the police, and the charge can only be brought at the instance of the original husband whose particulars it is difficult to ascertain. There can be no charge of abduction as the woman is of mature age and a consenting party. Mr. Jiwan Lall therefore earnestly pleads in his pamphlet for a strengthening of the law in this behalf. He points out that under the revised Criminal Procedure Code the police can in certain cases proceed with advantage against "barda faroshis" under section 420 of the Indian Penal Code. But that is not enough; he says there must be a special and preventive law authorising the police to deal more successfully with those who are engaged in this illicit trade in women. We commend this matter to the consideration of the Women's Christian Temperance Union who are promoting a Bill in the Indian Legislative Council penalising all traffic in girls.

ON the question of reforms Lala Lajpat Rai has not yet formed a definite opinion. Still he expressed the following view to a representative of the *Tribune*. "I will advise the country," he said, "to use every opportunity given by the Act in the right spirit. We should do nothing to embarrass the Government, but we shall show no weakness in resisting all attempts to take away what has been given and in demanding what has not been given." On the declaration of rights he said: "To be frank, I do not attach very great importance to a mere 'declaration of rights,' without the power to ensure that the Government does not infringe those rights. A 'declaration of rights' must necessarily imply the right of the people to choose their own Government. Without the latter, the former is a mere skeleton without soul."

THE FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

INDIAN finance is at present dominated by considerations arising from the position which our exchange and currency have attained and the heavy military liabilities the country has had to assume as a result of the Afghan War and the frontier operations, as also the high charges entailed by the maintenance of the army on an efficient footing. All our financial calculations have been complicated by the high rate of exchange which has prevailed during a large portion of the current year and the permanent 24d. rate which will be adopted for account purposes from the beginning of the next official year. The change from 16d. to 24d. as the gold value of the rupee will mean a considerable saving on our remittances to England and will, therefore, yield a welcome surplus to the Government of India. But, on the other side, there will be a serious loss on account of depreciation in our sterling holdings in London and the gold in the currency reserve in this country, and this loss will have to be made good out of the surpluses accruing in the Indian treasury as a result of the permanent rise in the exchange value of the rupee. Owing to increased pay and the general increase in the cost of equipment, &c., our army expenditure is expected to be much higher than what it was before the war, and this is an important factor that has to be borne in mind in regard to the immediate future of Indian finance. There is, again, a large amount of floating debt which will have to be liquidated during the next five years. The financial adjustments between the Government of India and the provincial Governments which will make for financial autonomy will likewise demand consideration. And the Government of India has to release the balances which have accumulated to the credit of the provincial Governments for the past few years and at the same time ensure the raising of sufficient funds by means of loans in this country to maintain capital expenditure on a high scale. These are the outstanding features of the financial situation which the Finance Member had to tackle in framing his budget for the next year, and his work lay mainly in the readjustment of his resources and outgoings.

The Hon'ble Mr. Hailey's task was rendered easy to a material extent by the fact that the revenue of Government had already been raised to meet the increased expenditure necessitated by the war, and he had not to look about for additional means to supplement the existing resources. Almost all the heads of revenue have done better during the current year than they were expected to do, and both railways and customs have shown improvement. The net result for the current year, therefore, is that Imperial revenue will amount to 135½ crores against an estimated total of 129½ crores. There was a corresponding excess in ordinary expenditure over the budget figure. In military expenditure, however, the anticipations of the current year's budget were not fulfilled. The

budget provided for a total expenditure of 41½ million, but what with the Afghan War and the frontier operations, that estimate has been exceeded by £15.8 million. As regards the provinces, their total revenues are expected to coincide most exactly with their expenditure, though a deficit of about 3 crores of rupees had been allowed in their case. For the coming year, the total Imperial revenue is taken at £92½ million and the expenditure at £90½ million. There will thus be a surplus of £2 million which the Finance Member has provided with a view to being able to meet unforeseen contingencies and to face the considerable liabilities Government has incurred. The provincial budgets do not really affect the financial position of the Imperial Government, the latter being only a banker of the Governments of the provinces. During the ensuing year, provincial Governments will budget for larger revenues and yet they will draw upon their balances with the Supreme Government to the extent of 5¾ crores. This large draft upon the balances is accounted for by the many schemes of non-recurring expenditure which the provinces will carry out and which were hung up owing to financial stringency during the war.

It will be seen from this brief summary of the position of Indian finance during the current year and the prospects for the year 1920-21 that Mr. Hailey's task was by no means difficult. He had no taxes to remit and no extraordinary means of revenue to devise. His predecessors had already placed the income on a high level to adjust it to the war expenditure which had to be incurred in a time of storm and stress. He had only to continue their policy and he found himself in a position to budget for increases on heads like customs and railways. Customs revenue is thus taken at 25½ crores, an increase of 3 crores over the expected revenue from that head for the current year. Gain on exchange is an extraordinary and extremely fruitful source of revenue which has fallen to the lot of Mr. Hailey who has taken the average rate for the rupee, sterling exchange during the coming year at 2s. 6d. and calculated the total gain on this score at nearly 30¾ crores of rupees. Of this amount it is proposed to credit 12¾ crores to Railway, Irrigation and Delhi Capital accounts, to earmark 12 crores towards meeting the deficiency in the Paper Currency caused by the depreciation of sterling securities held in it and to credit the balance of 6 crores to the revenue account. On the expenditure side, military expenditure will absorb £40 million as against £41½ million of the current year's budget and there will be an excess of 3 crores of rupees in the ordinary expenditure on the other heads. The only change of importance that is proposed is with respect to the existing super-tax which falls upon the undivided profits of companies and firms and which is going to be replaced by a new form of super-tax that will be assessed at the flat rate of one anna in the rupee upon the total income of each company, in excess

of Rs. 50,000. This tax will, of course, be supplementary to the ordinary income tax and no refunds will be allowed in its case, the present super-tax on individuals being retained unchanged. The new super-tax is calculated to yield about Rs. 220 lakhs a year, being Rs. 44 lakhs more than what will be lost. The liabilities on account of the floating debt and short term loans have weighed so heavily with the Finance Member that he has mentioned the idea of remitting and re-adjusting taxation in favour of the common taxpayer only to abandon it.

An important point raised in the financial statement has reference to the instalments of a further contribution India undertook to make to His Majesty's Government for the prosecution of the war, subject to certain conditions. The question which has been left to the legislature to decide is whether the making of this contribution should be reconsidered in view of the fact that India had to incur extraordinary expenditure for a war on her frontiers,—a condition which had been contemplated at the time of making the offer. The offer was undoubtedly conditional and India would not be unjustified if she decided to withdraw it on account of her own extraordinary military expenditure and losses caused by the depreciation of her sterling securities in England. The financial statement closes on a note of optimism. The Finance Member thinks that the financial position of India and future prospects are hopeful, that the revenues are steadily expanding and that the country can, without much difficulty, bear the heavy military burdens which have been inevitably thrown upon it. It is difficult to contemplate without some concern the increase which has taken place in our military expenditure, and one cannot forget that the Finance Member has kept up the war taxes to make the two ends meet without laying down any programme of reform. We do not think that Mr. Hailey's financial statement will be welcomed by the people simply because it does not involve additional taxation. There is little in it over which the country will feel enthusiasm or which will give special satisfaction to the people.

REORGANISATION OF SECONDARY EDUCATION.—I.

THE present is a period of impending changes in the educational field. Since the time of Gokhale's Primary Education Bill in the Imperial Legislative Council Indian interest in education has become sustained and, to some extent, well-informed. The report of the Sadler Commission dealing with the principles, organisation and policy of education in a most comprehensive manner has again focussed public discussion on matters educational. The Government of India have issued a Resolution on it. The Vice-Chancellors of the various universities of India have hastened to express their opinions. Sir Harcourt Butler, in his numerous speeches on university matters, has dealt with

it for the benefit of the public of the United Provinces. Naturally enough, these discussions have been confined to university education. The need of a clear and intelligent policy in secondary education has been universally ignored.

In any sound system of national education the secondary school ought to be the dominant institution. Even a casual acquaintance with the educational systems in Europe will show that very great emphasis is laid on secondary education. The public schools of England are the most important educational institutions in the country. The lycées in France and the gymnasia of Germany constitute the national educational systems of those countries. Indeed it may safely be said that without a sound and efficient system of secondary schools no great educational reconstruction is possible. Yet this is what we are trying to do. We have actively set ourselves to establish new universities and reorganise old ones without giving a thought to the more important and more fundamental problem of secondary education.

The evils of the present system of secondary education in India are visible even to the superficial observer. They are mainly three. First, secondary education in India is not a complete and independent system in itself, being completely under the domination of colleges, which are affiliated to the university. Secondly, the selective function of secondary education is completely ignored by the insistence on all examinations being in English. Thirdly, it is not sufficiently comprehensive and does not provide for the multiplied needs of modern civilised life.

That our system of secondary education suffers from the domination of university ideals is admitted on all hands. Since the universities in India are conducted exclusively in English our secondary education has become more and more a training in English language only. The courses in the university being limited, our high schools prepare their students only in such subjects as would be useful to them in college courses. The result is that our secondary education is narrowed down to a merely academic training. This system makes provision, therefore, only for those who are able to pass from the school to the college. The majority of students who join an English school do not go in for a college education. A great many of them are dropped in class examinations and a large percentage is shut out of the university by the matriculation examination. It will be admitted that every educational system should make provision as much for those who fail as for those who pass, especially when the percentage of failure is so high. It is all the more necessary in India as the community which suffers by this forms the economic backbone of the country. The present system of secondary education, under the influence of the university, makes provision only for those who pass. The failures are trained to no profession. They are too much of the *literals*

to go back to their ploughs and their fields. They have been unfortunate enough to have an exclusively intellectual outfit such as would fit them in nowhere.

This domination of the university operates in two ways: first, in the medium of instruction, and, secondly, in the selection of subjects to be taught. Though there is considerable difference of opinion as to the desirability of substituting the languages of the country for English in the university, there is a unanimity of opinion as to the urgent necessity of conducting the teaching of non-language subjects in schools through the mother tongue. Indeed this has been the declared policy of the British Government from the very beginning. Unfortunately the influence of the universities has till now stood in the way of its realisation. The Committee of Public Instruction (1836), in their first annual report after the momentous decision of Lord William Bentinck's Government, declared that they were fully convinced of the full importance of school education being given through English. In the famous Despatch of 1851 Sir Charles Wood declared that "the teaching of English language should be combined with a careful attention to the study of the vernacular languages and with such instruction as can be conveyed through those languages." "We look therefore to the *vernacular languages of India together with English* as the media for the diffusion of European knowledge and it is our desire to see them cultivated together." This generous and unexceptionable policy was never given a chance. The establishment of English universities in India compelled the secondary schools to devote more and more attention to the teaching of English.

This education through the medium of a foreign language has impaired the selective function of our secondary education. The difference of aim between primary and secondary schools has been defined as consisting in the function of selection for social and intellectual leadership that the secondary school fulfils. In India, however, the medium of instruction has made such a selection absolutely impossible. It has narrowed ability down to an aptitude to get up a very difficult foreign language. The complaint in India has therefore been, not that our secondary school carries on a very stiff process of social selection, but that the process does not answer the purpose and the selection that is made does not imply the general ability of the candidates or their fitness for new intensive training in any particular subject. A mathematician who in future may become a Fellow of the Royal Society may be kept down because of his inability to express himself in English.

The third evil is equally great. The curriculum in our secondary schools is not sufficiently comprehensive. A six years' course in any ordinary French lycée would give a student a complete and thoroughly efficient course of education

Even in Japan the secondary course, being in the vernacular, is more comprehensive and includes zoology and mineralogy, law, economics and Chinese classics. The multiplied needs of modern civilised life make a diversification of secondary education, with full freedom of personal option, an urgent necessity. But the position in India has reached a deadlock. An improvement in the curriculum, with English as the medium of studies, is hardly possible. It would imply a more varied and intensive study of English on the one hand and a complete abandonment of the vernacular on the other. An early and diversified optional system at the present time would not give time to the students to study any subject well through English. Vocational training, local option and the revision of secondary school curriculum on a broader basis—these are all dependent on the vital question of vernaculars as the media of instruction.

The Calcutta University Commission has recommended that intermediate education should be combined with the secondary system and the whole should be under a separate and independent board. These two principles are unquestionably right. But much depends as to how it is worked. The absorption of intermediate classes by secondary schools (for that is what the proposal for intermediate colleges comes to) would make it possible for them to devise a broader course, more diversified in interests, more comprehensive in range and more intensive in study. It would give an opportunity to make secondary education a system in itself giving the students the necessary training for their careers in life, confining university education to those who have more cultural and academic interests.

We may also hope that the constitution of an independent Secondary Education Board would get the system out of the clutches of university interests. Unless that is possible secondary education would remain narrow and ineffective. All reform in this field depends entirely on the independent character of the Board. Unfortunately the authorities to whose hands is entrusted the problem of reconstruction do not seem to recognise this. Sir Harcourt Butler, who more than any other provincial ruler has made education his own subject, definitely said in his speech to the Allahabad University Committee that the university will be strongly represented on the Secondary Education Board. Such strong representation, I beg to suggest, would make all real reform in secondary education absolutely impossible. It matters little whether the intermediate classes are attached to high schools or colleges. The thing that matters is whether intermediate classes are to form a superstructure on a wide and comprehensive system of secondary education or whether they are going to be exactly like the matriculation class of the present day, a mere training ground for college work. The educationists in India have all looked at it from the point

of view of the university. I beg to suggest that this is wrong. The real and more important point of view is that of the secondary school. Unless this point is insisted upon the base of our educational structure will be neglected. That is the danger in India to-day.

K. M. PANIKKAR.

MR. LAJPAT RAI ON INDIA'S FUTURE.

IF Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's "Government of India" suffers somewhat in interest by its being published after the Reform Bill, more so does Lala Lajpat Rai's "Political Future of India," written as it was subsequent to the former and after the publication of the M.-C. proposals for reform. One's disappointment becomes all the keener, for there is nothing like a critical examination of these proposals in this book; all that one finds is a juxtaposition of the criticisms passed on the reform scheme by the National Congress and the Moderates' Conference. The author has not committed himself to any view on the reforms; though his general estimate can be inferred from the fact that in the preface he betrays an anxiety to save them in their integrity. "The question, however, is," he says, "Will the Cabinet stand by these recommendations or will they allow them to be whittled down?" He will find that the recommendations have not been cut down, but have been amplified in some important respects. His chief concern in the matter of constitutional reform seems to be to secure control over the departments of education and industries, and, in order that the latter may be developed to the full, to have complete fiscal freedom. Now, the fiscal autonomy that India will enjoy in the new régime will be subject to one serious qualification, *viz.*, that the central Government must agree with its legislature in regard to any tariff arrangements that may be proposed, but otherwise the one reform on which Mr. Lajpat Rai lays the greatest emphasis is fully conceded to us. It is, therefore, to be expected that Lalaji's valuation of the reforms will be more favourable than that of most Radicals. So far as the present book is concerned it affords little more clue than what we have indicated above. One caution Mr. Lajpat Rai has entered to those to whom it will fall to work the reforms—and this caution was urgently needed. We must guard against too much power being wielded ultimately by the "profiteering" class—be they the landlords of Bengal and Oudh, or the millionaires of Bombay. There is a fear that after all it would turn out that all these reforms inure to the exclusive advantage of the richer classes who would dominate the new councils. One does not know yet that the electorates to be formed will be sufficiently mindful of their interests; it is quite likely that they will be servile to the money-lending and land-holding classes. This is a result which must be guarded against by all well-wishers of the country. It is no remedy against this to carry the franchise still

lower down; that would only accentuate the helplessness of the average voter. The remedy consists in educating the electorates in their duties—that is the most urgent and gigantic task before the educated classes now. Lala Lajpat Rai also cautions against a repetition of those conditions in India which arose in England at the time of the industrial revolution. Side by side with the expansion of industries, there was there a tremendous aggravation of the misery of the poor, and unless we took measures in this country to prevent the same thing happening, we should be in for an era of great hardship and suffering for the toiling masses. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald has also given the same warning, and it behoves the leaders of India to avoid by prevision what happened in western countries.

The chapter on the public services is perhaps the most useful in the book. Mr. Lajpat Rai acknowledges without reserve the high integrity and the self-devotion of the services, and particularly the I.C.S., and it is only against the system and not against the personnel that his attack is levelled. Among the many reasons in favour of the immediate Indianisation of the services, the one on which he lays perhaps the greatest emphasis is the reduction of the cost of administration which will result therefrom. Every office which could be filled by an Indian should be so filled, and the incumbents paid on an Indian scale of salary. Where foreigners are required, they should be entertained temporarily on salaries that may be determined by the conditions of the market. "The *cadre* of services to which the rule of percentage is to apply must be reduced in strength, and if Europeans are required for posts outside these they should be employed for short periods and from an open market. For example, it seems inconceivable to us why professional men like doctors, engineers, and professors should be recruited for permanent service. Nor is there any reason why the recruitment should be confined to persons of British domicile. The Government of India must be run on business principles. With the exception, perhaps, of the highest posts in the I.C.S. and in the Army, all other offices should be filled by taking the supply on the best available terms for short periods and from open market. . . . The strength of the different permanent services should be reduced as much as possible by the appointment of the best persons available at the price which the administration may be willing to pay, whether such persons be European, Indian or American. Take the Indian Educational Service, for example. The members start with a salary of 6000 Rs. a year (\$2000) and rise to about 24,000 Rs. a year (\$8000). In the United States, to the best of our knowledge, few professors, if any, get a salary higher than \$7000 or 21,000 Rs. a year. High-class graduates of Harvard, Yale and Columbia start their tutorial careers at \$2000 to \$3000 a year, many at \$1500 a year. These men would refuse to go India on a similar salary. On the other hand, if a salary of \$4000 to \$10,000 were offered to a select few, the

services of the men at the top might be had for a short period. Surely, in the best interests of education, it is much better to get first-class men on high salaries for short periods than permanently to have third-class men beginning with smaller salaries and eventually rising to high salaries and ensuring to themselves life-long pensions." Thus, Mr. Lajpat Rai hopes for a sweeping curtailment of the charges of administration. Still, he does not wish that the existing covenants made with the public services should be disturbed. "No sensible Indian desires that the present incumbents should be interfered with, except where it is possible to retire them under the terms of their service." He has quoted comparative figures of the scales of salary prevailing in India, Japan and America to show the unparalleled burdensomeness of the salaries in India. The secretaries for instance in the State Department of the Federal Government in the U. S. are paid from \$2000 to \$5000. The secretaries in the Government of India, however, get from \$12,000 to \$10,000. Mr. Lajpat Rai has quoted long lists of such figures, which are all very telling. And yet enormous increments are being made in all these salaries.

Mr. Lajpat Rai's views on Native States deserve close attention at the hands of all publicists. He laughs to scorn the idea started by some of carving out more Native States and thus increasing the area of 'native rule!' "The present rule of any Indian Maharaja may be as good or as bad as that of a British Governor or Lieutenant Governor, but the latter has in it greater democratic potentialities than the former, for the mere fact, if for no other, that while the British are more or less amenable to world opinion, the rulers of Native States are not. It is inhuman, and not in accord with modern ideas of right and wrong to reward somebody's loyalty by giving him power of life and death over numerous fellow-beings, otherwise than in due course of law. Even the mighty British Government is not the owner of the bodies and souls of its subjects in India. How then can it assume the right of abandoning them to the absolute rule of a single individual, however worthy or loyal he may be?" I may here note that Lalaji has quoted with approval the greater portion of the article in the SERVANT OF INDIA of February 6, 1919, in which the question of the readjustment of the treaty rights has been discussed. Mr. Lajpat Rai also pleads for an aggregation of smaller Native States into large ones. "We do hope some method will be found by which, with the consent of the parties interested, the smaller principalities scattered all over the country may, for administrative purposes, be merged either in the British area or in the bigger Native States which possess full power of autonomy over their internal affairs. In the long run it will be comparatively easy to convert the latter to an acceptance of the modern principles of government if the number of Native States is reduced and their people achieve that

solidarity which comes by community of interests and ideas."

A CRITIC.

MILL LABOUR IN BOMBAY.—II.

WHEN the mill-hands strike for higher wages the mill-owners contend that the Indian mill-hand is an inefficient workman and therefore not entitled to any higher wages, what he already gets being much more than he really deserves. In order to prove their contention the mill-owners cite figures showing the productive capacity of the English, German and American workman and compare their output with that of that Indian mill-hand. It cannot be denied that the Indian mill-hand is far backward in efficiency as compared with his western comrade, and also it may be that Indian labour is only superficially cheap, the total cost of production being far out of proportion with the rates at which each individual operative is paid his wages. Let us, therefore, briefly examine this question of efficiency. Even in western countries the productive capacity of an individual workman is not the same. It has been found that the most costly labour is in the long run the cheapest. The wages of the British operative are higher than those of the Indian operative, and the former is more efficient than the latter. The American workman has to be paid still higher wages, and, so far as efficiency is concerned, he is superior to his British comrade. Ford, the American motor-car manufacturer, pays much higher wages than those which are paid to the workmen of the same class in Britain, but he can easily undersell the British manufacturer. The American workman's standard of life is higher than that of the British workman, and the secret of the former's higher efficiency lies in that fact. Now, it would not be unfair to ask what the Indian mill-owners who complain of the inefficiency of the operatives have done to raise their employees' standard of life and thus to increase their efficiency? The Indian workman's physique is, no doubt, inferior to that of the British or American workman and the conditions of labour in a tropical climate may not be so conducive to strenuous labour. All the same, efficiency is not merely a natural quality, but requires to be carefully cultivated. Speaking in the Reichstag in 1906, Count Posadowsky, the Imperial Minister of the Interior, said: "If Germany has just experienced a vast industrial expansion equalled by no other country in the world during the same time, it is chiefly due to the efficiency of its workers. But this efficiency must inevitably have suffered had we not secured to our working classes, by the social legislation of recent years, a tolerable standard of life, and had we not, so far as was possible, guaranteed their physical health." We have here little social legislation of the sort referred to in the Count's speech and the indifference displayed by our Government in that matter deserves

to be strongly condemned. The capitalists cannot however, be absolved from blame. They cannot plead that it is not their business to provide congenial conditions for labour and that their duty ends with the payment of wages at the market rate. It is in their own interests to improve the present conditions of labour. Only, they must learn to take long views and to look beyond the annual dividends.

How many of our industrial magnates have given serious consideration to the question of increasing the efficiency of Indian labour? Can they claim that they did their best to improve the standard of life of their employees, but that the latter proved to be beyond redemption? The British workman is more efficient than the Indian workman. But was it not the British manufacturer who took the first step in improving his operative's efficiency? In England, in the matter of factory legislation, those who led the way were some of the best employers. England owes the idea of her Factory Act to Robert Owen. Some of the employers in England were agitators and legislators too. The legislation regarding the hours of work was initiated by some employers who were actuated by philanthropic motives and who had also found by experiments that shorter hours did not mean less output. These far-seeing employers appealed to Parliament to enact measures so that they might be protected against the indifference of unscrupulous employers. This reform of shorter hours of work was, it should be specially noted, opposed by the so-called patriots who were only anxious to beat the rival nations in industrial competition. Also in other respects the experiments made by humane employers paved the way for legislation and supplied new ideas to the Factory Inspectors. The Home Office experts have derived much of their knowledge and not a few ideas from such experiments. Have our mill-owners such a record to show in their favour? Have they produced their Owens, Woods, Oastlers, Fieldens and Peels?

The Bombay mill-owner who has his office in the Fort and his bungalow on the Malabar Hill or at Walkeshwar knows not how his operatives live in the slums at Parel. There is no personal touch between employer and employee. The capitalist deals with figures and not with men. A joint stock company is an impersonal thing. The relations of employer and employee are not those between man and man and thus the element of human relationship is lacking. In the words of President Wilson, "The employer is generally a corporation or a huge company of some kind; the employee is one of hundreds or of thousands brought together, not by individual masters whom they know and with whom they have personal relations, but by agents of one sort or another. . . . You never saw a corporation any more than you ever saw a government. Many a working-man to-day never saw the body of men who are conducting the industry in which he is employed. And they

never saw him. . . . He is a long way off from them." Sir Narayan Chandavarkar has pointed this out in his recent article on the subject and has lamented the absence of personal touch between employer and employee. He has given the instance of a Sheth who, though in the land of the living, was for all intents and purposes dead to his employees. Personal relations will, no doubt, help much to remove misunderstandings by enabling both the parties to appreciate each other's point of view. But we must remember that a new economic society is springing up and the complexity of its structure must inevitably render personal relationship more and more impossible. It is not, however, impossible for the impersonal concerns and their promoters in their corporate capacity to take a more enlightened and humane view of their responsibilities towards labour. Enlightened self-interest alone is sufficient to awaken capital to its sense of duty. But that is yet to be.

PARELWALLA.

A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, JANUARY 29.

MR. LAJPAT RAI'S RETURN.

OUR friend, Mr. N. M. Joshi, is due to return here from America to-morrow, and I am looking forward to an interesting account of his experiences in Washington and other American cities and of the true inwardness of the proceedings of the International Labour Conference. I am confident that, like Lala Lajpat Rai whom I had the pleasure of meeting at the National Liberal Club the other day, after his return from a long and unjust exile, he will have become much broadened by his observation in the west. Lalaji will return to India a much bigger man than he left it, and he ought to be a driving force of great value in these days when little dilettante politicians and stump-orators have apparently captured the public imagination.

I do not think that there is any need for alarm or anxiety regarding Mr. Montagu's temporary retirement from the India Office. Mr. Fisher's re-entry is of a purely formal character, I understand. Some time before Christmas Mr. Montagu had begun to feel the heavy strain of the preceding year's work carried on in circumstances calculated to produce the gravest anxiety, and it was then known privately to a few people that he hoped immediately to retire for about three weeks to the privacy of a nursing home, where he would be free from official worries and would have leisure for the rest and recreation that he so badly needed. Fortune, however, was not kind to him, for when Mr. Lloyd George went to Paris early in the month to continue the discussions on the future of Turkey and the conditions of the settlement, it became of the highest importance that Mr. Montagu should accompany him, and all who have observed Mr. Montagu's work there have given it the highest praise. The result, however, has been

that he has not been given the chance to recuperate and he has hastened to take advantage of his return here a week or so ago to go into temporary retirement. By the way, it seems that an injustice is being done to him in the matter of the appointment of Sir Michael O'Dwyer to the Indian Army Commission, the responsibility for which is alleged against him. I have excellent authority for saying that he had no responsibility at all in the matter, the appointment having been made over his head and without his knowledge by the Army Council.

THE INDIAN REFORM COMMITTEE.

Your readers must have been gratified to learn of the establishment here of the Indian Reform Committee to co-operate generally with the Liberal Party in India and place its views on current matters before the India Office, Parliament and the Press. Such a body has become necessary in view of the practical severance from the Congress of the Moderates and the vagaries of the British Committee here since the split. It is impossible, as the latter has sought to do, to make a present of India to the Labour party, than which no stupider error is conceivable. Indian constitutional reform and affairs generally ought not to be party matters, and that this is the view taken by the new Committee is clear from its composition. Lord Clwyd is the Chairman and Mr. H. E. A. Cotton is the Honorary Secretary, the other members being Lord Carmichael, Major W. Ormsby-Gore, M. P., Major the Hon. Edward Wood, M. P., Sir J. D. Rees, M. P., Mr. T. J. Bennett, M. P., Sir William Meyer, Sir Archdale Earle, Sir Charles Ollivant, Sir Michael Sadler, Mr. Charles Roberts, Sir M. M. Bhowagree, and Mr. A. Yusuf Ali. Some of the omissions require explanation, and this will doubtless be forthcoming in due course. Mr. W. Douglas Hall, who rendered such excellent service for many years as secretary of the British Committee is the General Secretary. Mr. Gokhale and Sir William Wedderburn knew well the worth of his work. Not unnaturally, Mr. Montagu has welcomed the new body and has addressed to it a letter in the following terms: "I am very glad to hear of the institution of the new Committee, and need not assure you of my best wishes for its success in the work that lies before it. I think you are heartily to be congratulated on obtaining such a personnel, with its guarantee of the living and instructed interest in Indian development which is one of India's first needs to secure to-day."

THE NON-BRAHMAN QUESTION.

The "Non-Brahman Federation of India"—what is this body and when and where was it born—has sent the *Spectator* a communication about the meeting of Brahmans and non-Brahmans convened by the Lord Willingdon to arrive at an agreement upon the distribution of seats according to the recommendation of the Selborne Committee. Lord Willingdon, it is alleged, ruled out any discussion of communal electorates. The non-Brahmans are said to have protested against this and

to have quoted in support Lord Sinha's "guarantee" and the recommendation of the Committee. Lord Willingdon is said to have explained that he was acting upon Mr. Montagu's "private telegraphic instructions" directing that the reservation of seats for non-Brahmans should be disallowed. The Brahmans refused to move an inch further than the reservation of thirty out of sixty seats for the non-Brahmans, the figure originally recommended (for Madras) by the Government of India in their dispatch of March 5. Negotiations having broken down, we are informed that the matter has now been referred to an arbitrator to be appointed by the Government of India, and the non-Brahmans are represented as being "naturally extremely anxious" regarding the "impartiality" of the arbitrator. There seems to be a bad mix-up somewhere and it will be for the Indian leaders to unravel the tangle.

SIR M. SADLER'S NOTABLE SPEECH.

Sir Michael Sadler, the Vice-Chancellor of the Leeds University, is a great intellectual force in this country. He delivered an address on "The Outlook in India" a few days ago, in the course of which he spoke highly of the intellectual capacity of the educated Indian (it is still apparently necessary to make these explanations in this country!) and recognised the "enormous influence" that the educated class had upon the mass of the people. Proceeding, he said: "Young India finds in nationality a new religion. You have to respect that point of view, as if it were a religion. It is a desire for self-expression. It is a longing that the spiritual unity of India shall be recognised in the affairs of the British Commonwealth and the League of Nations. It is an aspiration, because in living memory India has been woefully divided and still contains conflicting religions. The important task of statesmanship is to help India to give her the opportunity to exercise real responsibility in the task of self-government. Whether we want it or not, we are bound in honour to give such government."

Sir Michael pointed out that, in his opinion, the Government of India Act badly spatchcocked a responsible government into a system which still remained in respect to certain fundamental things European, and that the Act must remain in force for ten years. He looked forward with hope to complete self-government for India being accomplished. He referred to the many problems to be solved in India, and notably the Hindu-Mussulman one. We should, he urged, show the utmost regard for the religious susceptibilities of the Indian people, and specially referred, in this regard, to the Turkish settlement as to which he suggested that Stamboul and the mosque of Saint Sophia should be left under Moslem sway.

On the subject of social reform the mind of young India was groping for life. The questions interesting it included the uplifting of the "despised" classes, foreign travel, art, science, and literature. Among Hindus caste was the cement

of India, but on its malign side the curse. It was still very strong, although weakening a little among educated classes, but two things were lessening its force. One was the spirit of compassion; the other a candid historical inquiry into origins, but that inquiry had not penetrated into Indian education. The heart of the whole matter was education, but education on a proper basis from the primary school to the university. When they were extending primary education, however, they must extend adult education, so that there should be no chasm between the young and the old generation. The general system of education in the future should not be divided up among authorities. It should be handed over as a whole to the Indian Ministers in the provinces, with proper safeguards.

The *Times* correspondent at Bombay cables a forecast of the Hunter Committee's report. He suggests that it will declare (whether by a majority or unanimously he does not say) that the proclamation of martial law was necessary and justifiable, but it will severely condemn the actions of certain of the officers administering it. It would seem that the net effect will be to leave Sir Michael O'Dwyer untouched. But this ex-satrap has already been condemned beyond redemption by all India, and he will descend to posterity as one of Britain's and India's worst enemies.

TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

IT is an encouraging sign of the times that our Native States are being stirred into some activity by the movement for constitutional reforms which has been vigorously going on in British India. The latest indication of this tendency is furnished by the firman issued by the Nizam of Hyderabad foreshadowing certain reforms which are contemplated in the legislative council of the premier Native State of India. The firman breathes a desire to give the people of the Hyderabad State representative political institutions and opportunities gradually to participate in the control of the administration of the Dominions. It is to be hoped that the generous wishes of His Exalted Highness will be carried out in the highest measure practicable by the officials of the State who have been entrusted with the task of formulating a scheme based upon the principles enunciated in the firman. The subjects of the Hyderabad State have likewise a clear duty to perform in this respect and the success of the idea of constitutional reform started by their ruler will depend upon the spirit of co-operation and sincerity in which officials and non-officials will work to usher in a new era of political development.

COMMENTING upon the reactionary attitude of the Poona Nationalists in regard to female education, the *Dnyanodaya* is moved to wonder what the Labour party in England, with whom the Nationalists were coquetting last year, would think about their line of reasoning for limiting compulsory education to boys. The *Mahratta*, justifying this discrimination, had said: "The course which they proposed for Poona was exactly the course which had been in effect followed in even the most advanced nations of the west; and Poona

could not claim to be more advanced than London or New York in the matter of female education." As to the example of the west, the *Dnyanodaya* observes: "We could desire no better fun than that the Poona Nationalists who adopt it would do so on a platform in either of the places they mention, viz., 'London or New York.' But those who take this line in India know full well that they dare not do so either in England or in America, where equal educational opportunities are given to girls and boys." The fact is that the example of the west is all against the discrimination which the Poona extremists wish to practise to the disadvantage of girls. Nowhere in the west was compulsory education made applicable to boys alone; when the principle of compulsion came to be accepted, it was invariably applied to boys and girls simultaneously.

THE Nationalist organ also maintains that the boys have a superior claim to be educated. On this our esteemed contemporary of the *Dnyanodaya* quotes the following from Sir Narayan Chndavarkar's speech to a gathering of ladies in Bombay: "Remember that it is our duty to uphold the cause of girls' education, on which the future of the country depends even more on that of the boys. Manu, in spite of some very hard things he said about women, recognised that essential fact of a people's progress when he laid down that the influence of one mother was more than equal to the influence of a thousand fathers. Why is the education of girls more essential to progress and the primary need of the country than that of boys? The reason is obvious. In the words of a quotation which the Sadler Commission in their report emphasised: 'The education of a girl means the elevation of the whole family, whereas the education of a boy is often no more than the 'equipment of an individual to beat down his competitor in life.' The late Miss Manning, who after Miss Carpenter did much to promote the cause of Indian women, used to advocate their education on the strength of a remark of a great man that 'if only one of two parents were to be educated that one had far better be the mother.'"

COMMENTING upon the Government of India's repudiation of the charge that they were unwilling to grant amnesty which was forced upon them by the Secretary of State, the *Bombay Chronicle* remarks that if the Government of India were in favour of amnesty, they insisted that in that case the inquiry into the disturbances should be secretly conducted. We do not know whether this information is correct, but whatever the Government of India's attitude may have been, the leaders of the Congress deputation gave their consent, when negotiations were afoot on this matter, to a secret and restricted inquiry and most unwisely surrendered the open and comprehensive inquiry on which they ought to have insisted, because hope was held out to them of some amount of amnesty. We think it is now universally agreed that it was wrong not to have insisted upon a full inquiry in open daylight.

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