

AN
INTRODUCTION
TO
INDIAN CITIZENSHIP
AND
CIVILISATION

(Historical Background and Modern Problems)

BY

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VOLUME I

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सुराज्य

प्रहृष्टमुदितो लोकस्तुष्टः पुष्टः सुधार्मिकः ।
निरामयो ह्यरोगश्च दुर्मिच्छक्षयः * वर्जितः ॥
न पुत्रमरणं केचिद्द्रक्ष्यन्ति पुरुषाः क्वचित् ।
नार्यश्चाविधवा नित्यं भविष्यन्ति पतिव्रताः ॥
न चाग्निजं भयं किञ्चिन्नाप्सु मज्जन्ति जन्तवः ।
न वातजं भयं किञ्चिन्नापि ज्वरकृतं तथा ॥
न चापि क्षुद्भयं तत्र न तस्करभयं तथा ॥
नगराणि च राष्ट्राणि धनधान्ययुतानि च ।
नित्यं प्रमुदिताः सर्वे यथा कृतयुगे तथा ॥

रामायण बालकांड सर्ग १

(श्लोक ५८—६१)

FOREWORD.

It gives me very great pleasure to contribute a brief Foreword to this valuable little book of my friend and colleague, Professor S. V. Puntambekar, dealing with a subject which represents an essential feature of the Benares Hindu University. While the utilitarian side of Education has not been neglected in the educational system of this University, or, rather, has been assiduously cultivated in response to the crying material needs of Modern India, it has been always recognised that the *raison d'être* of the Benares Hindu University is the discovery and re-thinking of Ancient Indian Culture. With this end in view, my friend, Professor Telang—whose resignation of the chair of History owing to ill-health we all regret, and whom we should like to see in our midst once again as soon as he is better—and I inaugurated in 1923 the studies of Civics, General and Indian, and Ancient Indian History and Culture in the University courses, and it is gratifying to see that the Departments are growing from year to year and doing much valuable work. Professor Puntambekar's two books—"Introduction to Civics and Politics" and "Introduction to Indian Citizenship and Civilisation" are a sign of the vitality of the subject of Civics as taught in the Benares Hindu University.

The author has placed himself at the right point of view when he says: "We must study Indian

citizen in his own surroundings, moulds or institutions, and also as he was in the past, as he is now and as he wishes to be in the future"; and the subsequent treatment of the subject, though necessarily brief owing to the exigencies of space, is sufficiently thoughtful to "stimulate thought in the mind of the student. He has, moreover, seized hold of certain essential features of Hindu Civilisation: *First*, that it is dynamic as well as static, the Hindu being unconsciously liberal even when he is consciously conservative; *secondly*, the attitude of the Hindu towards his neighbour is that of 'to live and to let live'; and yet, *thirdly*, it is not one of indifference or entire aloofness, but one of silent and liberal assimilation of all that is best in the life of his neighbour, in its essentials.

The great problem of Ancient Indian History and Culture is to distinguish between the ideal and the real life of the ancient Hindus, and consequently doubt has been cast on the reality of the ideal as presented in ancient books. For example, it has been questioned whether the life of the *Asramas* was ever a real life, and whether there were any such kings as the great hero of the Ramayana. While one may recognise the importance of the distinction between the real and the ideal, there are ample and trustworthy tests by which he can determine the extent to which the ideal may be taken as the *real*. In no society, any more than in the individual, the *real* can be entirely coincident with the *ideal*; and yet the *ideal* may be sufficiently *realised* to be regarded as the *real*. Thus the institution of the *Asramas*

very nearly approximated to the ideal, and the ideal of the king was not without illustrious examples of its realisation.' Professor Puntambekar has consequently taken care to base his statements upon real history, but has, at the same time, endeavoured to read the spirit which enlivens that history. He is thus true to the kindred points of History and Philosophy.

I commend his two books to the attention of every Indian who cares to *know* and *understand* the Civic side of Hindu Civilisation.

BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY,	}	A. B. DHRUVA.
18th November, 1928.		

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

The present book is a result of the study of the problems of Indian Citizenship and Civilisation during the teaching work done in the Hindu University at Benares. The aims and ideals of the University stand for a synthesis of the best in the land inherited and studied traditionally and imbibed and assimilated environmentally, and at the same time the best in the world pursued and studied consciously and critically in a spirit of reverence, response and reception. Hindus have always been ambitious and aspired to the highest in the world of intellect. Their history is a process of synthesis of complexities and varieties of life in all its departments and aspects. Therefore their religious and social organisation is based on a system of Voluntary group formation which was originally in harmony with the natural aptitude of the people, and their educational system upon private efforts and association. They allow freedom to external varieties of life and try to synthesise them for an internal unity of life. The book which is issued in two parts is more or less an elementary one meant to give a mere outline of the historical manifestations of a citizen's life in the past in its various aspects and aims, and the changes which occurred in some of them at its various stages.

There is an element of growth and there are new adjustments, balances, and harmonies observable at

every stage. There is not only an element of order but also that of progress visible in the long course of this civilisation. It is this fact which makes its story not only interesting but also valuable.

History of India also brings out another fact of importance, namely, that the foreigner of one age has become the citizen of the next. This all-inclusive or assimilative aspect, this territorialising of the foreigner, and this humanising of the native of the soil in that process are the great facts of Indian citizenship in the past. The foreigner need not give up his essential ideas or liberties, and at the same time can enter into the territorial group and enjoy its security and protection and gain its tolerance.

This attitude towards neighbours, the attitude of "to live and to let live," is a greatly human attitude and will help India in the creation of her new citizenship of nationalism and humanism.

I have dealt with some of these problems in the following pages, emphasising the permanent values and needs of Indian Citizenship and Civilization.

Whatever little inspiration have I had in writing this book is due to the great intellectual, cultural and traditional environment which this great City of old and this ideal University of to-day have created round about me in my teaching work. I acknowledge the debt with all the reverence and humility that I feel in the presence of the mighty Rishis, present and past, who dominate that environment.

I have made this wide survey in order that students may get a larger outlook by knowing the various

aspects of a great and growing civilization which shows itself to be at once static and dynamic in its long career. I hope it will help to widen their vision, to deepen their thought, and to ennoble their heart in the service of their Motherland at the hour of her greatest need and intellectual conflict.

Vande-Mataram.

HINDU UNIVERSITY, BENARES; <i>18th January, 1928.</i>	}	S. V. PUNTAMBEKAR.
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Indian Citizenship and Civilization.

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CHAPTER I. ECONOMIC LIFE.

1.—GENERAL FEATURES.

The population of the world in 1921 was estimated to be about 185 crores, out of which 32 crores were according to the census of 1921 the inhabitants of India, that is, roughly 17 per cent. of the world's population. The economic welfare of these people is a great problem before the country. A contented material life is the primary basis of a higher life, civilised and spiritual. A good material environment exerts a powerful influence on the life, thought and character of a people. Therefore we must study the economic factors and material resources of a nation in order to understand its economic capacity and possibilities largely as a self-sufficing and also as a progressive social and political unit.

A good economic life results largely from man's exploitation of his physical environment, that is, land and the natural forces which are found in it, and the help which that environment gives to man and his various capacities. Therefore a knowledge of—

(1) The material resources and the underlying forces of the country which help or affect man in his acquisition of the goods of material life is necessary. In this the influence of the climate, the soil, and its products on the energy and character of man should also be studied, because environment moulds man as,

man moulds his environment, and also a knowledge of the—

(2) Man and his innate capacities which create material goods or utilities out of the raw products which are available round about him or which he secures by his efforts is required. In this his physical power, his art and craftsmanship, and his scientific knowledge which enable him to utilise his available material resources and forces are to be studied.

We have already noted that India possesses vast India's vast re- material resources which are rich and sources. useful in their qualities. A fertile soil, a helpful climate, a great mineral wealth embedded in the earth, a plentiful supply of water given by rivers and monsoons, a good growth of wood and a large quantity of coal and metal, and an abundance of domestic cattle, are variously distributed in the country. The natural forces in the shape of water-power coal-power, oil-power, and steam and electricity generated with the help of scientific knowledge are available in different parts. Natural harbours on a large coastline exist in different directions which make an easy contact with foreign countries possible for commerce. Great forests supply some of the needs or raw material for domestic life and industries, and also wild animals, like elephants, and medicinal herbs and plants for man's use. Great and navigable rivers have always helped the progress of internal commerce and civilisation in different parts of the country in pre-road and pre-railway days, and also now serve the same purpose where other or new means of communication are absent or more costly.

The various food grains, plants and fruits which the soil produces serve and suffice for the various tastes and necessities of the people. Rice, wheat, barley, millets, pulses, oilseed-plants (tila, castor, mustard, mahua, cocoanut), cotton, linen, jute, sugarcane, spices (pepper, cloves, cardamom, cinnamon, safron, ginger, turmeric), colour-plants (indigo), sandalwood, mangoes, jackfruit, plums, apples, nuts, palms, plantains, grapes, oranges, citrons, lemons and guavas are the most important. Kinds of vegetables and roots for food purposes are too various and too numerous to be enumerated. Silk and lac are also largely produced.

Animals of domestic use abound in large numbers. Wild animals give some useful products. Their use for pastoral and agricultural purposes is very great. Draught cattle, milk cattle, wool-bearing cattle, meat cattle, riding and burden-bearing cattle are all there. Sheep, goats, bulls, cows, buffaloes, horses, camels, asses, elephants are very useful in times of peace and war. Skins of wild animals like lions, tigers, bears, deers and boars are serviceable. Tusks of elephants have been of enormous use from very old times. Musks of the musk-deer, and chauries from the tail of the yak are well-known. Fish and some birds are plentiful and serve as food. Oyster-fish makes the pearl industry profitable.

In mineral wealth India is quite rich. Large quantities of gold, copper and iron, coal, manganese and mica abound in the country, and therefore industrial development is possible to a very large extent. There are also found other useful metals like silver in various quantities.

India also abounds in precious stones-diamonds, sapphires, etc. There are salt mines and also salt is extracted from sea water.

India being in the middle of Asia and in the south *Its sea and land* surrounded by sea on three sides had connection and easy access by sea to civilised countries communication. on the west and the east and also to the numerous islands lying in the Indian ocean. Consequently maritime trade routes developed from early times and the art of navigation reached an advanced stage. The natural resources and products of man's skill found a large demand and were easily transported by indigenous and foreign merchants to various parts of the adjacent world.

India's land routes and mountain passes connecting it with northwestern, northeastern, and northern countries have been less of economic or commercial and more of cultural and military value. Still they introduced some new arts and crafts of economic importance.

The past history and the present ethnography of *The genius of her* India show that the country is inhabited by a variety of races of different capabilities and craftsmanship and of different intellectual acumen and physical strength and aptitude. They have developed a high level of skill and aptitude, organisation and technique in various arts and crafts, industries and trades. The qualities of head, heart and hand are found suitable for various professions industrial, commercial, agricultural, artistic and literary amongst them. If their skill and efficiency are maintained and developed, there will not be any dearth

of trained hands or heads suitable for various vocations. It will be the fault only of their internal quarrels, religious outlook, political checks, and unfair foreign competition that will deprive them of their economic opportunities and retard their material progress. Their present economic misery is more due to these causes than to any natural economic defect. Most of the arts and crafts and methods of pastoral, agricultural, industrial and commercial life have been prevalent in the country in a high degree. It is only the new methods of Industrial Revolution and Co-operation that have not had time to develop and materialise in a prosperous and profitable way. But the pre-revolution industrial and mechanical systems of organisation, and technique and marketing, namely, domestic or cottage manufacturing and commercial and banking methods were fully prevalent in the country. Various arts and crafts such as spinning and weaving, pottery-making, vessel-making, smithy, gold and silver work, wood and metal work, sculptural, carving and architectural work, weapon manufacture, and a number of others engaged the industrial population of India and their products were sought for largely even in foreign countries.

Various systems of agriculture and irrigation, the Her economic advanced art of mining, and purifying advance, metals, the use of minerals raw and refined, the domestication and breeding of cattle, preparation of chemical and pharmaceutical products, preservation of pickles and fruits and a large number of other economic activities which supplied and satisfied the wants of the people were regularly known and

practised. The country presented all the aspects of man's economic work, pastoral, agricultural, industrial, commercial and banking. Many followed the profession of merchants and bankers and carried on and controlled the internal and foreign trade. The caravan and trade routes of India constantly flowed with the articles of import and export and gave access to different parts of the country. Foreign trade generally followed the sea routes, and maritime merchants braved the dangers of the ocean and early perils of contact with pirates and foreigners. The art of navigation, the banks and the system of bills of exchange, the study of foreign languages, the study of markets, weights and measures, the system of tariffs and customs were fully familiar to them. Kautilya's Arthashastra gives a full picture of the various economic activities which the people followed, and the organisation which the State set up for helping, regulating and controlling them. Manu gives the various activities of a Vaisya. Later literature fully endorses the varied character of the economic advance and activities of the people. Man in India has not been idle nor passive nor non-economic. He fully developed the material aspects and arts of social life and took a real part in economic work. In order to carry on agriculture, industry and commerce well, a certain amount of capital and its organised use and help are necessary. This want was met by the habit of saving of the people which developed a class of capitalists and bankers who financed agriculturists, industrialists, merchants, and the state. Their banks, their bills of exchange, their rates of interest were used and recognised by the

people and the state. Religion did not condemn them as usurists. Industries were organised in craft-guilds and commerce in merchant-guilds whose economic independence largely helped to maintain the quality and the weight and the measure of the articles produced. They checked unlimited competition in the market and helped to preserve the skill and technique which was traditional. Technical education in these vocations was given on the apprentice system in an actual factory. The workshop was also the school.

The methods of organisation and technique were
Technique. of small scale or manufacturing type where individual skill of hand, and individual conceptions of work or art found scope and development. It was not a mass and machinery production of absolutely standardised patterns. The industrial work was largely a personal product. The work was largely done at home or in a small factory. Man and not the machine dominated, and man was an economic being taking full advantage of the material resources of the country.

The economic man in India was not a mere conservative being who held fast to the old order of economic ideas and systems. He was not an immobile being. There were daring and enterprising merchants and industrialists who employed their knowledge and capital in undertaking risks in business and new industries. In times of political insecurity and troubles they maintained their own guards and followed the course of their trade at large risks under their own system of protection and adventure both by sea and land. Merchant adventurers were a great factor in those times.

Thus man and his material resources were fully developed and were active factors in the economic life of pre-British India.

Moreover it is important to note that the conception of the functions of the state was not merely protective. It was not of a neutral state. It recognised promotive or welfare functions as one of its duties. Its economic strength and prosperity depended on that of the people, and in helping the people in their economic welfare it helped them in their security. On the prosperity of the people depended largely the preservation of peace amongst them. Economic security and advance ensured also political peace and good government.

Kautilya's enumeration of the various economic activities of the state in its various well organised departments are a standing monument to the economic conception of the Hindu state, and its definite economic policy. Departments of Agriculture, Industry, Commerce, and a number of subsidiary departments of weights and measures, mining and metallurgy, spinning and weaving, tariffs and customs, gold and jewels, forests and cattle, and others testify to this side of state's activities in people's interests. It was a sort of state control on national economic activity. It attempted to nationalise certain industries and to create monopolies in some of them. It regulated the working of crafts, commerce and their guilds by controlling the prices of their articles, their profits, and the wages of artisans and labourers. It helped agriculture by giving loans and advances of corn to cultivators, and granted

them some other privileges and certain exemptions. It encouraged home and foreign merchants to live and settle in different parts of the country. It established state factories under the supervision of royal officials which must have served as models to the public.

Akbar had a similar conception of the state. During Akbar's Ayeen-i-Akbari enumerates the economic period. activities of the state. It maintained a number of Karkhanas or workshops for various industries and thus encouraged the production of best articles which served as models to the public. Its aid and protection to the people in economic matters is well-known. Tariffs, trade and transport were regulated with the idea of fostering the economic life of the country. The state was not neutral or inactive in these matters. It had no foreign interests to preserve and to promote at the cost of indigenous interests. Thus the various factors which contribute to and continue an advance economic life in a country have been always present in India. India had been famous as the land of wealth and arts from ancient times. Foreigners were attracted by her products and gold, and were always envious of her wealth. India lost her freedom because of her high state of material prosperity and civilisation which attracted marauders and freebooters from neighbouring and distant countries. Her skill and products were unequalled and her prosperity was envied. The vicissitudes of her political history are largely the results of her economic attraction and of the desire for the continued possession of her riches.

But the present position of her economic life is not at all satisfactory. A large number of her people are on the verge of economic starvation. The primary wants of the people as regards food, clothing, dwelling, medicine, and recreation are not satisfied. The minima of subsistence are wanting in a large number of homes. There is no staying power during times of economic adversities such as famines, epidemics, fires and floods. There are hardly any elements of a civilised economic life visible in thousands of families. There is no fixed standard of living which is considered essential for good material life and bodily preservation and growth of individuals. The old industries and crafts have died under foreign economic pressure and unfair competition which are being helped by Government. A regular campaign of their destruction has been followed in the past in order to favour foreign products, their interests and profits. The new industries and arts have not taken root because of the state inactivity or hostility. No fostering care has been at all bestowed on them. Foreign merchants, bankers, and industrialists have opposed successfully the indigenous economic enterprise and advance in various trades, industries and transport systems. The carrying trade of the country, internal and external, managed by railways and steamships is completely in their hands and is worked through a system of import and export tariffs regulated to advance their commercial and industrial interests. India is at present held completely in the economic grip of the foreigner. The state is not anxious to help in loosening that strangle-hold which

it helped in creating by following a policy of laissez faire and preference and tariff and custom regulation. Consequently the economic strength of the people is fully ruined. The only resources left to the people are to work on the heavily congested land and in a few factories and mills as labourers, and in a few trades and professions as subordinate clerks or middlemen. Their creative power has no scope nor encouragement. The economic octopus and the political rule of foreigners have destroyed this power, and the present economic position of the people is very deplorable. To get out of it is the chief economic problem of India.

The average income of an Indian is variously enumerated. But even the optimistic calculations do not leave any doubt about the economic misery and ruin wrought amongst the people owing to their economic unemployment and want of opportunities.

Average income per head of the population in other countries.

	Per year.	Per month.
	Rs.	Rs. a. p.
U. S A	... 1,080	90 0 0
Australia	... 810	67 8 0
Great Britain	... 750	62 8 0
Canada	... 600	50 0 0

List of Estimates of Wealth and Income of India.

12

INDIAN CITIZENSHIP AND CIVILIZATION

Name of publication.	Area dealt with.	The year for which the estimates made	Total income in crores of rupees.	Income per head per annum in rupees.
			Rs.	Rs
1. Poverty and un-British Rule in India by Dadabhai Nowroji (1871).	British India	1867-68	940	20
2. Financial statement for 1882	Ditto ..	1881	525	27
3. 'Prosperous British India' by William Digby (1901).	Ditto ..	1898	429	17.5
4. Financial statement for 1901-02. (H. E. Lord Curzon's speech on the Budget)	Ditto ..	1901	675	30
5. 'Industrial Decline of India' by Dr. Balkrishna.	Whole of India ...	1911-12	(a) 1,078 (b) 539 (c) 481.2	21 16'
6. 'The wealth of India' by Prof. P. A. Wadia and G. N. Joshi (1924).	British India	1913-14	1,210	44
7. 'Happy India' by Arnold Lupton (1922).	Ditto ...	1919-20	2,854.5	114
8. 'Wealth and Taxable capacity of India' by Prof. K. T. Shah and Mr. Khambata (1924).	Whole of India	1900-14 1914-22 1900-22 1921-22	1,106 1,862 1,380 2,364	36 58.5 44.5 74

9. 'The Science of Public Finance' by Findlay Shirras (1924).	British India ..	1921	2,598	107
		1922	2,866	116
10. Dr. Gilbert Slater's estimate 1922.	Madras Presidency	1919-20	(d) 434	102
			(e) 475	112
				Rs. a p.
11. 'Land and Labor in a Deccan Village' by Dr Mann. No 1	The village of Pimpri Saudagar (Poona District)	1917	---	43 3 0
'Land and Labor in a Deccan Village' by Dr. Mann. No. 2)	The village of Jategaon Badruk (Poona District)	1921	...	33 12 0
12. Economic life of a Bengal District by J C Jack.	District of Faridpur (Bengal).	1915	...	52 0 0
13. 'Some South Indian Villages' by Dr Gilbert Slater.	Some Madras villages.	1918	..	78 0 0 (no regular calculation).
14. Agricultural Department of Madras Presidency.	Madras Presidency	...	...	73 0 0
15. 'Indian Economics' by Prof. V. G. Kale.	British India ...	..	..	40 to 80
16. 'The Average Income of India' by Prafulla Chandra Ghose. (1925).	Ditto ..	1922	...	(Gross 51.3) (Net 46.6)
17. Mr. Atkinson (Journal of the Statistical Society).	Ditto ..	1895	...	27.3
		1875	...	35.2
18. Mr. Horne (Bengal Economic Journal)	Ditto ..	...	...	46
19. 'Reconstructing of India' by Sir M. Vishweshwar Ayya. (1920).	...	1911	..	36 gross
		1919	...	45 do.
20. Sir George Lloyd Governor of Bombay.	...	1923	...	49

- (a) Gross value of agricultural produce.
- (b) Net value allowing 50 per cent. for cost of production.
- (c) Net value allowing 50 per cent. for cost of production.
- (d) The non-agricultural income being taken at 40 per cent. of that from agriculture.
- (e) The non-agricultural income being calculated at 50 per cent. of that from agriculture for purpose of comparison with former enquiries which have been calculated at that rate.

The Famine Commission, 1880, says, " At the root of much of the poverty of the people of India and the risk to which they are exposed in seasons of scarcity lies the unfortunate circumstance that agriculture alone forms almost the sole occupation of the mass of the population and no remedy for present evils can be complete which does not include the introduction of a diversity of occupation "

The chief causes of poverty in India seem to be :—

- 1. A steady growth of population.
- 2. Want of a variety of industries and other employment.
- 3. Agriculture as the sole source of livelihood.
- 4. The prevalence of famines and pestilences.
- 5. The yield of land not increasing and land deteriorating.
- 6. Difficulties of emigration.
- 7. Deterioration of skill and productive power of the people, owing to want of employment and occupation.

8. Rise in prices of food-stuffs.
9. Irresponsible land revenue policy.
10. Very little scope for internal migration.
11. A large number of people underemployed.

It will easily be seen that poverty is a grim fact The fact of in India. It is not confined to a class, poverty. and is not the result of unequal distribution arising out of a capitalistic system as is in the European countries. It is due to a very small amount of production and income per head. Even if we take the higher estimate of 100 rupees per year per head, it means four and a half annas per day. How is this going to suffice for food which requires practically the most of it, and also for clothing, housing, education, medical aid, religious festivals and observances, charities, conventional necessities, such as tobacco, betel, ornaments, and the state demands.

But this is the highest estimate. Then the rise of prices which has taken place has to be taken into Large indebted- account. The average income is really ness, two annas or so per day. One can just imagine the economic capacity of the people. Their purchasing power is the lowest possible. The half starved population whose number is very large dies early owing to vital exhaustion and easy amenability to diseases. Sir William Hunter said in 1880 "There remain 40 millions of people who go through life on insufficient food". Mr. Darling to-day writes about the Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt, "The first and most obvious conclusion is that the bulk of the cultivators in the Punjab are born in debt, live in debt and die in debt." This is the condition

of a province where the irrigation system has progressed the most. He says about the whole of India. "So far as the rest of India and its 300 millions are concerned, no one can doubt that the supreme need of the country is food, more food, and still more food." Three-fourths of the agricultural population of India is burdened with debt. Everywhere the struggle for existence is terrible. There is no state organisation to look after the unemployed who want work. There is no poor law system or insurance system which will relieve the dire wants of the very poor. The very poor depend upon the poor for charity and thus eke out their miserable lives. It is like blind leading the blind. There is no conscious, systematic and scientific effort made by the state to improve and organise the economic life of the country. The state takes but does not give. The state does not give the necessary education, medical help, charity nor relief. It only provides a Justice of the Peace, a court, a prison-house and a wineshop, and exacts sometimes compulsory labour.

The Moral and Material Progress Report of 1922 states that "the masses of the Indian population are beset with poverty of a kind which finds no parallel in the more exigent, because less tropical, countries of Europe". Mr. Darling says "The money-lender is everywhere the evil genius of the cultivator, exploiting him when he is prosperous and enslaving him when he is poor". Unless his power is broken there is no economic freedom possible to the cultivator. His rates of interest are very high from 15 to 50 per cent. compound interest, his business honesty is very little, his

accounts of debts and receipts given are often fraudulent, his advances of capital are often in lesser amounts than stipulated, his purchases and sales are disastrous to the cultivator. There is no way in which he does not deceive or tyrannise over him. The disastrous effect of this state of things is seen during time of famine and epidemics. People die in millions. The absolute want of food, employment, and purchasing and staying power and the lowering of vitality and easy succumbing to fell diseases have made these occurrences and havocs a national characteristic and calamity in India. Mr. Digby who made a careful study of the causes of famines, their influence on the conditions of

the people and their extent gives the following figures :—

Famines in India.

Period.	Numbers.	Deaths (estimated or recorded).
1800—1825	5	1,000, 000.
1826—1850	2	500, 000.
1851—1875	6	5,000, 000.
1876—1900	18	26,000, 000.
1900—1925	no figures available.	

The government evolved and followed a new Government's famine policy and famine code since Famine Policy. 1880. But the famine has stayed in India for long. In spite of the efforts of the government of India by way of direct famine work and the introduction of irrigation in different parts of the country, the growth of communications, and temporary exemptions, the people's power to face it has not increased. Though there is food in the country,

there is no purchasing power amongst the famine-stricken. Large quantities of food are exported out of the country even in times of famine. This emphasizes clearly the fact of the poverty of the people and the myth of their hoarded wealth.

2. THE CONDITION OF AGRICULTURE.

India contains 2,316 towns, and 6,85,665 villages. Out of 32 crores of inhabitants 89·8 per cent. or 28·64 crores live in villages and only 10·2 per cent. or 3·24 crores in towns. 71 per cent. or 23 crores or three out of every four directly depend on pasture and agriculture proper, and 6 crores indirectly helping it in a subsidiary way. Only three crores depend on industries, trade and other professions. India has thus essentially and mainly become an agricultural country. Consequently the pressure of population on land is very great. The old adjusting balance and proportion between agricultural and industrial economy is lost, and the economic helplessness of the people is now very deplorable. The quantity of land available for an economic holding is scanty. Man cannot subsist on the income of the average acreage he gets. The average amount per head of the people is estimated not to be above 1·5 to 2 acres even if the cultivable waste is taken into consideration. The total cultivated area to-day is roughly 225 million acres and the Rural population of India is 286 millions. This means the average quantity of land per head will be about $\frac{3}{4}$ of an acre.

Over the whole of India the average per mile of population is 117. During 1911-1921 it has increased

by 1·2 per cent. Since 1872 the average increase is 5·5 per cent per decade. For 1901-1911 it was 7·1 per cent.

The average number of person per house in India is about 4 to 5. The average birth rate in British India during 1911-1920 was about 36·5 per mille, and death rate about 31 per mille, and thus the survival rate about 5·5 per mille.

The population of females born per 1,000 males averaged 933 in 1911-1921.

The hill and forest tribes numbered about 16 millions in 1921.

Classification of rural society in 1911 in British India according to Pillai.

Land lords,...8 millions (principals and dependents).

Persons cultivating their own lands or rented land, ...167 millions (principals and dependents).

Farm servants and field labourers,...41 millions (principals and dependents).

Estate agents, managers and their employees,... 1 million (principals and agents).

Total population supported by ordinary cultivation is thus 217 millions.

This shows that poorer sections of the community possess still less. An average family of four or five members will possess about three or four acres. This is hardly a family economic holding which can hope to suffice for and satisfy the primary wants of man's existence and much less of any civilised subsistence.

There are not now any large quantities of uncultivated land available in the country to be brought under the plough.

Classification of land.

Kind.		Acres.	Percentage of Total area.	
Forest	...	88,323,000	...	14
Not available for culti- vation	...	145,770,000	...	23
Cultivable waste other than fallow	...	113,415,000	...	18
Current fallows	...	52,135,000	...	9
Net sown area	...	222,825,000	...	36
Total		622,468,000	...	100

Whatever be the amount of additional land available for cultivation it is of an inferior kind, poor in productive power and difficult for clearing and cultivation.

Thus there is hardly any appreciable room for
 No room for expansion or emigration. agricultural expansion in the country. Foreign countries and colonies have closed their doors against Indian immigrants coming as free and proprietary peasants. Thus emigration outside India is closed. Indian labourers who have been taken abroad as indentured coolies have been repatriated on one pretext or another and have not been allowed to settle there.

Then the population of India has been increasing
 Increase of population. though slowly and the land remains a fixed quantity and deteriorates after the exhaustion of the soil for want of proper manuring, and for not being allowed to recoup its richness by lying fallow. The population of India has increased by 113 millions (from 1872 to 1921, out of which 59 millions

are due to territorial acquisitions and census improvement and 54 millions to real increasing. That is, there is an increase of 20 per cent during this period. It goes on increasing as before. This will lead to more and more pressure on land.

Scientific improvement in productive methods which increase the yield per acre have multiplied the agricultural output in other lands and thus minimised the effect of the pressure and increase of population on land and of the law of diminishing returns in agricultural yield. But these improvements brought about by the state or capitalists in foreign countries through the application of machinery and scientific manure and methods, and production on a large scale have been neglected in India. The agriculturist who is expected to do this in India is poor, ignorant, fatalistic and economically unwise. He follows time-honoured methods, and is not mentally active in finding out any new method or making any new improvements. His mental lethargy, his uneconomic ways, his conservative habits make the matter of reform nearly an impossibility. His private unaided effort is no effort.

Then the condition of his land is uneconomic. The land is not only subdivided into small uneconomic units but is also fragmented and lies in small bits in different places. These sub-units and fragments cannot be properly and economically cultivated. No large machine-methods can be introduced. The numerous and constant litigation it gives rise to with neighbours and trespassers destroys the peasant economically and runs

him into debt under the present system of a large number of courts, lawyers and complicated legal procedure. The peasant spends his all to maintain his bit of land in his hand as he has nowhere to go if he were to lose it and burdens it with debt perpetually. Thus his economic position still deteriorates more and more. He comes under the firm grip of the money-lender from which he hardly escapes. Thus the small farmer where he owns his small piece or pieces of land has no staying power. He has no capital in the form of money or seed or other possessions which can help him to carry on his agriculture independently, and to reap its full benefit. His money-lender has the prime charge on the seasonal produce of the field in order to be able to realise his capital lent and the interest on it.

The state and the peasant are also connected and interested in each other. The state claims the legal ownership of the land as a result of the conquest of the country. Therefore the land in the hands of the individuals is considered legally the state property. It claims to take not only a tax or a share in the produce in lieu of protection given, but also a rent as the legal and final owner of the soil. In 1923 it took 36 crores of rupees. Land revenue is considered less as a tax and more as a rent. All the state's relations with and demands on the peasants are based on and regulated on this principle. The state asserts the right of constantly increasing the assessment of revenue without reference to the peasants' wishes or needs, and of confiscating the whole land in the possession of the peasant. This

right of forfeiture is based on the principle of the state ownership of land—a principle which was never recognised by early Hindu law-givers. The land according to them belonged to the people that is to the early settlers who cleared and cultivated it. State arose afterwards to protect it. A tax was paid for the sake of protection.

This conception of the state ownership of all land presses heavily on the prosperity of the people. The present heavy claims and the indefinite and absolute right of increasing the assessment, the right of confiscation and forfeiture, the rigidity in the demand of revenue, the payment of revenue in cash irrespective of the quantity and quality of produce, the absence of ordinary judicial jurisdiction in matters of dispute and difference between the government and the peasant, the executive or administrative character of revenue laws and courts, the vesting of executive power and revenue jurisdiction in the same hands leave the peasant population helpless against the government which is both the party and the judge in all these matters. It is a travesty of politics, economics and justice.

The system of land tenure of land in India is not merely that of Ryotwari or peasant proprietorship. The Zamindari or Talukdari system and the joint village or communal system are also prevalent, the first in Bengal, Behar, Orisa, U. P., and in some other parts, and the other largely in the Punjab. In the zamindari system which covers 53 per cent. of the land in British India

there is a landlord introduced as an intermediary between the state and the cultivator. The state and the zamindar take a large portion of the produce, and leave the remaining to the actual cultivator.

The zamindar has acquired the proprietary rights either on account of his ancestor's political services to the present government or to preceding governments and enjoys them hereditarily. The share paid to the government is called 'settlement' which is either permanent or temporary. 27.1 per cent. of the land is settled permanently in Bengal and Bihar and 12.4 per cent. temporarily in other parts. The zamindars have no real economic basis. The zamindar becomes a serviceable member of the society if he uses his wealth for its goodness or welfare. If not he is more or less an economic parasite spending his unearned wealth recklessly for his own pleasures and vices. The actual cultivator who works hard suffers.

The joint village system is merely a method of paying revenue to the government. The land may be jointly assessed and the revenue paid through a common elected or hereditary headman or representative. But there is no middleman to profit or to earn out of the hard labour of the actual cultivators. The state makes its demands and receives its revenue as the ultimate owner and protector with its absolute right of taxation and assessment of revenue. The entire village is jointly responsible for payment of land revenue to the government. Sometimes the villagers hold all the land in common, and the proceeds are thrown together and

divided amongst the sharers by village custom. Sometimes proprietors have their separate holdings, each paying the quota of revenue from his plot, and enjoying the surplus profits from it.

The individual holding has become uneconomic and fragmentary not only because there is pressure of population on land but also because of the law of succession and partition which divides ancestral property into equal portions amongst male successors. This smallness of the unit or subdivision and fragmentation not only involves disputes and legal expenses, but also greater expenses in cultivation and production, which increase the cost of production and decrease the margin of profit, and make the subdivided unit absolutely uneconomic. It leads to a waste of agricultural capital. Large scale methods are impossible. Crude tools, bad seeds, impossibility of rotation, low return, wasted labour, and want of co-operation are the results of this condition of things.

Then there are personal and social difficulties which hinder the economic stability and advance of the peasant. His present ignorance and illiteracy, his joint family system and a number of dependents or non-workers, his festival and marriage extravagance, his religious rites and fees, his birth and death ceremonies and expenditure, his *sraddha* expenses for his dead ancestors, his social expenses for *jati* dinners, the pressure of compulsory labour and presents exacted by officials, the absence of political rights and of a living conception of civil and citizens' rights, the absence of

a strong public opinion and of a ready response from Government, the absence of a strong judiciary favouring popular, civic and civil rights, the division of society into a number of castes and sub-castes leading to disunion and to destruction of a strong civic conception, the dominance of religious outlook and political absolutism, and a blind faith in the existing order and in the steady deterioration of society, a fatalistic outlook based on Karma and Punarjanma or status conception of society, the absence of a strong central, social, religious or economic self-regulating or self-governing authority, all these factors have contributed to his setback or downfall. He does not feel himself free from within. He is bound and restrained from without. Hence he feels and is helpless socially, religiously, economically and politically. Along with the environmental revolution, a psychological change must take place. It will help him to rise above his present position. Modern world requires a conscious change and an adjusting outlook. Medieval mind and morality will always be detrimental to progress, material and moral. He must learn to break the present bonds and to struggle for better conditions of life. A creative and not merely a possessive outlook is absolutely necessary in the modern conditions and necessities of life.

Agriculture by itself does not occupy the whole time and energy of the peasant, nor does it yield sufficiently to satisfy his elementary economic wants as regards even food and clothing. He remains idle on an average for full four

Necessity of subsidiary occupations.

months during the year. He has to waste his time and energy in enforced idleness. He cannot leave agriculture because he has no other stable occupation or source of subsistence. Foreign imports and unfair competition, want of state aid, and want of skill and technical knowledge and organisation have killed his old cottage industries and have not helped the growth of the new. Unless he utilises his spare time in subsidiary occupations he cannot make both ends meet. Formerly he employed his leisure in home occupations of non-agricultural nature. But the advent of British rule and its selfish policy and machine-products have changed all this. It has led to the greatest injury which can happen to a nation, namely, compulsory idleness and unemployment of human energy and the destruction of a self-adjusting and self-balancing agricultural and industrial economy. The loss of a supplementary income or the whole source of income has led to economic starvation and misery. No simple standard of life can obliterate the elementary wants of food and clothing and human vitality and physique.

The greatest defect in the present conditions of Loss of balance between the agricultural and industrial economy. agricultural life is the disturbed relation between agricultural and industrial activity in the village. A happy union of cottage industries with agricultural work has been the secret of the old prosperity of the people. Peasants' isolation from work and his long periods of idleness have been the cause of his present misery. This state of affairs must be remedied.

The measures which have been suggested and

partially adopted as palliatives may be classified as follows :—

1. To educate the peasant.
2. To show him a scientific or improved system of agriculture.
3. To help him by erecting irrigation works.
4. To spread amongst them co-operative habits and societies.
5. To introduce an economic holding by law.
6. To create village *punchayats*.
7. To give him state help or state exemption by way of aid, loan, or exemption of taxes.
8. To suggest subsidiary industries.
9. To ensure his political and civic rights.

These and other similar suggestions or measures are expected to give the required result, namely, to increase the productive efficiency of the peasant and the produce of the land. We shall make a few observations on them.

Education of the peasant has not progressed much. Education of the He is still illiterate. His mind is not freed from religious and social systems, habits and prejudices which are detrimental to his economic life. His technical and scientific inefficiency still remains. His outlook is still conservative and fatalistic. The awakening of the peasant is hardly noticeable. He is easily cheated and tyrannised over by all.

The government has established agricultural Scientific aid by demonstration farms (for seed and the state. cattle) schools and colleges at various places and created an agricultural department in every

province to look after agricultural development. Scientific or improved systems of agriculture suitable to different localities and produces are studied, exhibited and taught in the shape of improved tools, seeds, methods of ploughing, sowing, manuring, watering and cropping, change and rotation of crops and improvement of cattle and fodder. Soils have been analysed and shown their agricultural value for particular crops old or new. A number of students have been trained who are expected to spread this knowledge amongst the farmers. But their difficulties have however remained. The new knowledge requires capital and experience in its use which they hardly possess individually. Hence progress has not been noticeable and the peasant has remained on the whole apathetic.

The government is building canals wherever possible Irrigation works. and thus irrigating the land which had no or very little water and hence gave no produce. To the extent that new cultivable land is brought under cultivations, or old cultivated land helped, the country has benefitted. The irrigation system in the Punjab has helped the agricultural classes of the province. But it cannot help to improve the position of the old land and its produce where the problem is not of deficiency of water.

The cooperative movement has introduced the ideas of self-help, thrift and cooperative work amongst the peasants. It alleviates and cures some ills. Cooperative credit societies which lend money at lower interest but on joint responsibility through their cooperative banks, cooperative productive societies which carry on many of the processes of

production jointly and economically in the matter of purchase of seeds, farming and cultivation, cooperative distributive societies which look after the marketing and sale of the product jointly, and cooperative stores which supply the necessities cheaply and distribute the profits amongst shareholders, have all helped to spread economic and cooperative habits amongst them, and have saved them from the usual exploitation of the money-lender, the middleman and the merchant who absorb the largest part of the peasant's earnings. But the movement is spreading slowly against prejudices and interested opposition and being largely controlled by the government suffers from suspicion and officialisation. The total number of cooperative societies is over 70,000.

There will be necessary some restrictive legislation regarding money-lenders and alienation of land so that the cultivator may be protected. His ignorance and want may not be unduly taken advantage of. The government and the economists have now admitted that the present holding of a peasant is not economic, that is, it is not able to produce sufficient enough to meet his economic wants. Its cost of production is also greater in proportion to its area and yield. This small holding is the result of the evils of subdivision and fragmentation of land. Therefore there is a movement for a consolidation of very small holdings done by an act of legislature. The idea is good and the measure would be beneficial, but along with its introduction a serious attempt will have to be made to provide useful industrial occupations by the government to those who are dispossessed of the

land. Otherwise this measure will only deteriorate the condition of a large number of peasants. A few alone may be benefitted. The problem will not be solved but only shifted. The law of succession may have to be changed.

State protection in the form of aids, loans, exemption of taxes is given in times of scarcity or calamity. Famines have constantly and recurrently visited India and carried away a large number of people owing to starvation. The people have no staying power inspite of false ideas of their hoarded wealth. Any lean year deprives them of purchasing power, and want of any other employment or industry makes them helpless in face of rising prices of corn and other articles. Unless their staying power increases famine conditions are sure to create a havoc amongst them.

The greatest measure of economic reform and help to the peasants will be the provision of new and subsidiary industries in their home or near their cottage, where they can work during their off-periods and add to their scanty income or supply their essential wants. To recognise the importance of industrial development in rural areas and to provide for their growth and maintenance in those areas will alone solve the problem of the peasant by giving scope for employing his energies and idle time. As long as there is no system of free kitchen, free cloth and free cottage, every person who wants to satisfy these human wants will have to work. No advance in mechanical and large scale production can satisfy the hunger of many. He must possess purchasing power,

which means, he must produce goods and exchange goods. Therefore the problem in a national system of economics is the employment of all human energy and time in production and exchange. Machinery must help man in satisfying his wants and not in depriving them. Mere production of goods by any one and anywhere will not solve the problem unless they are freely distributed. Free distribution being impossible under the present system of individual economy, only personal work can help to satisfy the material wants of man.

But in most of these measures the peasant has to look to others and especially the Government for taking an initiative in the new measures suggested. But without a good deal of pressure from the people the governments do not move. Hence the problem of a large share in the political power of the country, in the local, provincial and central assemblies and administration, is a great necessity and desirability. Swaraj must be acquired. The political power must be controlled by public opinion whose wants and wishes must be satisfied. It must be a people's government and for the people and by the people. Then only their civic rights and interests can be preserved, and promoted.

The problems of village Panchayats and of universal suffrage in provincial and central councils is largely political, and the latter will be dealt with under the political life of the country.

There is a close relation between economics and politics of a country. The political power helps largely

the progress and prosperity of the economic life of the people. State is a great factor in economic regeneration, protection and advance. And the people must control the organisation and functions of the state so that it may serve, as it ought to, the material and moral interests and ideals of a nation. The Ancients have said:—

इयंतेराट् यन्तासि यमनो, ध्रुवोसि धरुणः

कृष्येत्वा ज्ञेमायत्वा रक्ष्येत्वा पोषायत्वा ।

[To thee this state is given for agriculture, for well being, for prosperity, for development, thou art the director and regulator, thou art steadfast and bearer (of this responsibility).

There are also some stronger remedies suggested to Some stronger remedies ameliorate the condition of the peasants, the nationalisation of the land and the eradication of landlords, money-lenders and other exploiters of the cultivator. These are socialistic or collectivistic ideas. But our government is foreign and self-interested. It won't work the machinery completely in the interests of the community. It is itself a great capitalist exploiting the whole country in its own foreign interests. To give the whole land in its hand would be a great disaster. Without a national government those remedies can not be tried. They will make the people more helpless economically.

There is an Agricultural Department of the Government of India and there are Provincial Directors of Agriculture. Their utility depends on the vigorous and forward policy they may have and carry out. But want of a strong policy has minimised their utility. Agricultural colleges, research institutions and farms have not had any visible effect on the development of agriculture.

CHAPTER II

ECONOMIC LIFE—(*continued.*)

3. INDUSTRY.

The industrial population of India is comparatively India's industrial very small. In proportion to her Population. vast population and resources, and in spite of her past industrial tradition, skill and organisation, the number of workers who work in modern industries is very insignificant, amounting to 1·5 per cent as against 27·8 per cent in United Kingdom.

25	...	... in Switzerland.
20	...	... Germany.
20	...	... France.
14·1	...	... Italy.

The industrial population of India is enumerated to be about 50 lakhs, and the number of factories to be about 7,000 in 1925.

In modern times national prosperity depends more upon the industrial efficiency of the people than only on the natural resources of the country. Countries which have not large resources but import their raw products and produce finished articles are comparatively far richer. But India is industrially inefficient, unorganised, and largely unproductive. It is this insufficient industrial production which has caused India's poverty. A number of causes have contributed to bring about this condition:—

1. Advance of European countries in modern mechanical and large-scale method of industrial production.
- Causes of India's industrial backwardness.

2. Governmental apathy and hostility.
3. Inefficiency of labour and organisation, and want of co-operative undertaking.
4. Shyness and want of capital and absence of risk takers and combinations.
5. Want of technical education.

Economic pressure has destroyed the immobility of labour and there is a drift of landless labourers towards the city for employment in modern industries. But the advance of these industries depends on the technical skill and capacity of the labour, the scientific management and organisation of the factory and the employees, the keeping of an up-to-date machinery and the marketing of finished products. But these elements are not sufficiently advanced in India. Hence barring a few industries which possess natural advantages India's industrial capacity is not strong but weak. India's industrial development will not take place unless she is able to develop new industries to employ those who are ousted from the old by introduction of improved labour-saving machinery.

To-day the working population which is thrown off from old industries by the introduction of new large-scale mechanical methods falls on the land and presses heavily on the limited means of subsistence, when agricultural population has lost or given up old methods of subsidiary occupations which employed their leisure and supplied some of their wants. Industrialisation of India has meant in practice an increase of unemployment and a pressure of population on land. Foreign competition fair and foul does not

allow the development or even preservation of old and new industries. State has followed the policy of *laissez faire* or hostility and not of direct aid or protection. Hence the protective and promotive measures which European countries adopted to establish new industries have been altogether absent in India. European countries want markets for their surplus products, and conquered or backward countries and colonies are forced to supply them. There is an inherent antagonism between their economic interests. The ruling power has adopted various ingenious methods by way of customs, rates, tariffs, transport charges, education, economic policy, etc, which check the industrial advance of India. There is no economic policy which is meant to protect and promote our industries, to educate our workers, and to preserve our market. The banks in the country do not help indigenous industrial undertakings. The transport system and rates, railways, waterways and ocean ways do not give facilities for *Swadeshi* enterprise. They are managed by and in alien interests.

The industries and workers which fell under the regulation of the the Factory Act were as follows in 1922 :—

<i>Factories.</i>	<i>No. of factories.</i>	<i>No. of workers (in thousands).</i>
Cotton Spinning and weaving mills ...	264	327
Jute mills ...	85	320
Cotton Gins and Presses ...	1632	122
Railway and Tram- way workshops ...	108	145

<i>Factories.</i>	<i>No. of factories.</i>	<i>No. of workers (in thousands.)</i>
Rice mills ...	931	55
Engineering works ...	209	38
Arms and ammunition factories ...	6	11
Printing presses ...	193	31
Hides and Tanning factories ...	35	8
Jute presses ...	114	28
Tiles and bricks works ...	47	7
Dock Yards and Port Trust workshops ...	21	21
Tea plantations ...	265	16
Iron and steel works...	66	41
Woods awing mills...	174	17
Patrol ...	16	13
Woolen mills ...	10	7
Sugar mills ...	40	13
Stone ...	6	3
Oil mills ...	158	8
Kerosene ...	25	9
Tobacco ...	16	3
Paper mills ...	7	5
Lac works ...	9	2
Silk factories ...	5	1
Others ...	702	110
	<hr/> 5144	<hr/> 1361

There were in 1922 about 5189 Joint Stock Companies registered in India. Their paid up capital was 230 crores of rupees.

The industries enumerated above show the character of industrial advance in India. At present their progress is very little and many of them find it difficult to maintain their present position.

There is a department of Industries in the Central Government Government from 1921 and there are also Provincial Directors of Industries. They are supposed to encourage, to start, to aid industries which are suitable and to find out new ones which would be profitable. But very little has been done for want of funds. The Reserved departments and non-votable items of central expenditure exhaust a lot of revenue leaving very little for the welfare functions of the people. There is also an Indian Stores Purchase Department established to make purchases for Government and Railway purposes which is supposed to encourage Indian industries.

Cottage industries have been the chief feature and the regulating balance of Indian economic life. Some of them have continued to play useful part both in towns and villages. Formerly each village was provided with its own set of artisans and servants which made it independent and self-supporting. Excluding a few valuable and specialised or artistic products there were very few or no imports into the village. Each group of artisans and each caste of menials had its own functions and yearly remuneration fixed in the form of shares in the harvest. But this self-contained industrial character of the village has been gradually decaying under the stress of modern competition. Village has got disconnected within and connected with the outside world, and many

of its necessities come from abroad and are cheap or new fashioned which attract the villager. He is not now dependent on village artisans, but favours and purchases foreign articles. If the cottage industries are duly fostered, they may well supplement the cultivator's income.

In India many of the cottage industries prosper even now because many of her villages are isolated and her artisans work and live in a self-contained locality out of touch with the commercial world, except when they are brought in contact with the outside world by the railway. Machine has not entered the village and manual labour is the chief method of work. Moreover people still demand a variety of handmade goods not prepared by machine, and the market and the customer are near.

The most important of cottage industries are spinning and weaving, knitting, silk-rearing, bee-farming, poultry-farming, dairy-farming, cattle-breeding, fruit-growing, vegetable-gardening, toy-making and other wood-work, metal-work, carving, cloth-work, and a number of others. Their variety. Amongst these handloom weaving is very wide-spread and engages 20 lacs of people. If properly organised, encouraged, and improved it will engage still a larger number of people. Attempts are being made by the people and the Industries Departments to help this industry more methodically. Revival of universal spinning in leisure hours has been advocated and encouraged under the new Swadeshi and Khadi movement. This occupation is also employing the idle hours of those who cannot find any other work.

Though it has not become universal, its value is great. Its daily income which is at least 2 anfas a day is in keeping with the average daily income of our people. The competition of mill yarn, foreign and Indian, is a great handicap to the progress of spinning. Unless spinner puts finer, stronger, more uniform yarn in market, the weaver's tendency for using mill yarn cannot be diverted towards handspun yarn. Hand-spinning is however making steady progress and is likely to be done on a larger scale if the ideas of a self-sufficient and independent life take root again. It has to compete very hard against mills and the changed taste of the people.

The other cottage industries can only be possible in certain localities where proper resources or specialised and artistic skill are available and where there is market for these special products. There cannot be laid down one type of cottage industries for all conditions and manner of life. But the essential fact should be borne in mind that idle moments must be utilised by following some useful economic occupation which adds to the earnings of a family.

The condition of the handworker or labourer in Condition of the industries must also be noted in understanding the development of new economic life of towns and factories and its effect on the material and the moral conditions of the worker. The character of the labourer of the pre-industrial era or of the non-industrial rural occupations has been quite different from that of the factory worker to-day. The old type of labourer generally

led a simple and conservative life in economic matters, not multiplying his wants or changing his fashions every now and then. He was satisfied with his village products and village economy. The village was his enlarged home with likes and dislikes within its ambit. If he suffered it was not due to his want of economic effort and production but due to a number of outside sharers in his wealth; namely, the state and its officer, the temple and its priest, and the caste *punchayat*, as well as the moneylender who has entered into his home economy because of his extravagance. If he were less superstitious, credulous, and less extravagant in religious and social functions, he would always lead a happy economic life, because his whole time was properly employed in work.

His moral virtues and social values sanctioned and preserved by the old religious and social atmosphere prevailing round about him keep him away to-day from some of the vices of wine, woman and gambling which prevail amongst those who are not under the influence of old beliefs and environment. Joint family life and the vigour of caste control joined with religious traditions preserve in him a sort of civic outlook and a kind of higher personal and social morality.

But the new labourer in towns and factories comes under a different set of influences. He
 New industrial labourer. is wrenched away from a joint life of mutual regard and help in the family, from the environmental influences and checks of religion, caste social atmosphere. His old bonds and bounds are broken in a new life of temptations where there is no social or religious control. There are not there

the village elders or caste brethren or religious priests to terrify him into submission to old ideas. He meets in the new surroundings new personalities, new standards and new situations. There is no old family life. There is a chawl or factory life where large masses of workers of different faiths, customs and passions congregate. Having lost the traditional reverence for the old virtues and values of life, he enters fully into the new wisdom or ignorance prevailing round about him. Under these circumstances the life of temptations and vices attracts him more and a low type of materialism takes hold of him. In this he is helped by his higher wages which are not accompanied by higher standards of comfort or civilised life. His working hours are no doubt long, his dwellings congested, ill-ventilated and barrack-like, his daily fatigue great, his work monotonous, and his exhaustion great. As a result he falls an easy prey to temptations and low standards of life, unless a steady effort is made to give him better surroundings social, religious and educational. Higher standards of life can alone keep him on a right path. Otherwise moral degradation is the result.

The income of the town labour in factories and
His income mills is much greater than in villages. It has been calculated in Bombay Cotton Mills to be about Rs. 149 per head per year. But his expenses are more for the same standard of life, and he does not receive as much in other industries. Thus the life of the new industrial worker is not necessarily a happy one unless he is provided with proper dwellings where he can lead a controlled family life, with some education which will teach him his work and higher

standards of intellectual and moral life. The women and children must be protected and educated. Medical hospitals and help, maternity help, insurance against sickness and unemployment, co-operative stores, sanitation and hygiene, recreation and trade union advantages must be secured. Slum life of industrial cities is a great danger to human welfare.

With all these handicaps we cannot avoid developing our natural resources ourselves by using our natural resources ourselves by employing new methods. If we do not interest ourselves in them foreigners will do it and are doing it. Without remaining idle and by utilising and engaging all human energy and power which is not employed at present in those occupations which are available and possible under the present economic and political conditions, we must aim at taking a full advantage of the developments of science and mechanical power so that our lost balance in the national economy between agriculture, industry and commerce, and an increasing population with its new standards of material, social and political life may be recreated and maintained. Economic prosperity means work with the help of science and machinery whenever and wherever possible and without them if practicable and necessary or inevitable. Man should never remain idle and be a parasite on society. His productive powers must be maintained by giving them some scope.

There are a number of other avenues of work to be scientifically exploited, namely, forest and fisheries, mines, metals and minerals, waterpower, sands, salts, clays and others. Science and machinery, technical

skill and organisation, combination and co-operative work must be developed and utilised to create a great economic future for the country. Without them it will not be possible. On it depend largely other aspects of good life moral and intellectual.

Indian industrial life has passed through various Stages of Indian phases from early times. It may be Industrial Life. classified as follows :—

1. Home and village economy which was self-sufficient when agriculture newly developed.

2. Villages and town economy when minor industries were developed and exchanged by hawkers or merchants, and when means of communication became easy.

3. National system of economy when roads and vehicles developed, when specialised local industries and products arose, when merchants could feel safe about transit of goods and articles.

4. International system of economy of pre-modern era when cultural, political and commercial communications become possible and were set up due to religious or political and material needs.

5. Modern system of international economy based on inventions in mechanical power and sciences and its application to production of goods, easy and safe transport by sea and land, and setting up of new standards of material life.

Modern industrialism is based on large-scale mass Modern Indus- production organised under huge com- trialism. bines, corporations and cartels. There is no individual product. It is a mass product with the help of machinery meant to compete in and to

capture the world market. The individual worker is merely an infinitesimal unit whose interests and welfare are merged in the prosperity of the business. Hence large congregations of workers have taken place. They combine in trade unions to make their economic conditions better in a world of competition and conflict where the law of supply and demand and of laissez faire prevails. Industrialism has created a number of evils which press heavily on the workers, their wealth and welfare, from which the trade unions try to protect them. Trade unions are associations of working men in industry whose aim is to guard the economic interests and to make arrangements for the welfare of the worker when he is sick, old, incapacitated or unemployed. They came into existence to make a collective bargaining by the workers with the employers for higher wages possible and continue to exist to assert, to defend, and to make intelligible their claims and in addition to look their welfare. Their method or weapons are generally strike and boycott when conflicts occur.

Under great difficulties Trade Unions have arisen in India since 1918. To-day there are about 250,000 workers enrolled in Trade Unions out of nearly two million workers under the Factories and Mines Act. The number of Trade Unions is not very large at present. There are eight federations and 167 Trade and Labor Unions in India. There is an All-India Trade Union Congress started in 1920 containing in 1925, 52 affiliated unions with

a total membership of more than 125,000. Its aims are:—

1. Eight hours a day in factories and in mines.
2. Free and compulsory primary and technical education.
3. National insurance against sickness, old age and unemployment.
4. Prohibition of employment of women underground in mines, more women factory inspectors, creches and day nurseries near factories, and maternity benefits.
5. Minimum wage.
6. Arbitration and conciliation legislation.
7. Labour representation in legislative councils.
8. Adult suffrage.
9. Self-Government for India and Indianisation of the public services.
10. Improvement of the Workmen's Compensation Act.

They also support prohibition of drink, gambling and other vices.

The Trade Union Act of 1926 has legalised the Trade Unions in India. The workers are rapidly organising and maintaining solidarity in times of strike.

The conditions of industrial labour have improved. Their present condition. to a certain extent under the efforts of private agencies and state legislation. Improved housing and sanitation, maternity benefit and children's welfare schemes have been introduced in some places by employers. The Factory Act of

1922 lays down 60 hours week, excludes from factories children below the age of 12, does not allow night work for women and so on. The Mines Act of 1923 prohibits the employment of children under 13 years of age and their presence below ground, lays down 60 hours week above ground and 54 hours week below ground and prescribes a weekly day of rest. There are some restrictions on the employment of women under ground. The Workmen's Compensation Act of 1923 tries to alleviate by compensation hardships caused by industrial accidents. The Indian Trade Unions Act of 1926 regulates Trade Unions and their interests and activities. There is a qualified whole time staff to look after the enforcement of the Factory Act.

The number of factories in 1925 were 6,296 and the factory population was 1,494,958. In the mines the number of persons employed was 253,857.

4.—EMIGRATION.

The evils of poverty, unemployment and over-its prospects and population have been minimised in conditions. many countries by emigration to foreign uninhabited countries and colonies where means of subsistence are easily obtained and material resources are ample and easily workable. This was done by European countries, especially Spain and Portugal, England and France, because they captured and colonised a large part of the sparsely inhabited world where backward races led a nomadic or primitive life. They have now monopolised all the avail-

able colonies and control or prevent the immigration of foreigners in their own interests and future development. They refuse admission to Asiatic peoples. Hence this colonial field of emigration is now largely closed. In the early periods of colonial conquests and settlement when there was no all-white policy a number of African and Asiatic labourers were taken as slaves or on an indentured labour system to develop and to work out the vast resources of the new or old continents captured and colonised. But to-day the exploitation of natural resources having taken place, the white population having increased and become stable and acclimatised, and a number of agricultural, industrial and commercial conveniences having developed, they do not feel the want of non-white labourers. On the contrary they have come to hate their presence in the colonies on racial, economic and cultural grounds. They want to expel those whom they had brought and who had helped them in developing the country. They have passed laws of restriction, segregation and repatriation and are making their descendants' life impossible and miserable in the colonies. This attitude is largely prevalent in British colonies which occupy a large part of the colonial world.

At present there are a large number of Indians nearly one and a half millions settled in various colonies, countries and islands whose lot is very hard. They are not welcomed as merchants or traders, labourers or skilled artisans, much less as professional men and priests or missionaries. They do not possess even elementary rights of citizenship. They cannot

vote, hold land, or trade and are segregated and differentially treated and maltreated.

The colonies where Indians have settled are Kenya, Tanganyika, Rhodesia, Uganda, Fiji and others which are Crown colonies, and South Africa and other self-governing dominions. There is not much to choose between the two types. Their harsh and inferior treatment, and their inferior economic and political condition are too well-known to be described.

There is very little scope for the unemployed
 Very little scope- population of India by emigration to
 and freedom, foreign lands. Even if the economic
 and political position of Indian colonists improves, there will be no new immigration allowed. Hence economically emigration is an impracticable suggestion. Membership of the British Empire does not mean equal citizenship within the Empire. Other countries and colonies follow the example of the British Empire. There is no scope or entrance into those countries. Politically India does not weigh as a forceful factor and her rights are ignored in international or colonial policy. No doubt, there are large tracts of the world only habitable by Indians, Chinese or similar races, but the British and others follow a dog-in-the-manger policy and will not allow them to settle there, even if they themselves cannot do it. This problem is a part of the problem of the dominance of Europe over the world.

5.—TRADE AND COMMERCE.

Commerce begins as soon as specialisation or localisation of commodities takes place and
 Rise of commerce, their exchange by barter or money
 economy starts amongst different individuals or

groups. The need for commodities produced by others destroys the primitive self-sufficing character of a human group. Commerce is seen to take place very early in India between villages, between towns and villages, and between different parts of the country. Easy and safe means of communication bring people in contact with one another and set up an exchange of goods between different parts of the country which produce various articles not found in all places and when new tastes or necessities are acquired. Therefore the elements necessary for commerce are :—

1. Special demand for cheap goods not produced or available near the home.
2. Easy and safe means of communication.
3. Means of transport.
4. New standards or tastes, and new necessities of living.
5. A class of merchants.

The rapid developments of various arts and crafts, Its advanced higher standards of living, easy and character, Hindu safe means of communications by Period. land and sea, various means of transport, and a class of merchants in India spread and increased the commerce of the country in various parts within and without. Foreign trade arose and increased along with the internal trade because of the large demand for specialised, finished and cheap Indian products not easily or at all available elsewhere. The Panis of India in Vedic times were famous as merchants in the past as much as the Vanis of the medieval and modern period. Indian valuable goods went abroad

to the far off countries and islands of the west, north and east by sea and land. These traders had their merchant guilds which organised, protected and developed their commerce, their means of communication and transport, and settled their prices, weights, measures and destination. Their goods reached Europe and Africa in the west, Asia in the north and oceanic islands in the east. They had settlements and commercial depots in foreign countries. History of their shipping and maritime activity and land journeys for commerce is very interesting and enterprising. They built various types of ships, filled them with various commodities of great value and use, encountered the perils and pirates of the sea, reached their destination, sold their articles, purchased new ones and returned loaded with their profits to their country. Their foreign trade was continuous and active for thirty centuries from the Vedic times. They traded with Egypt, western Asiatic countries Babylonia, Assyria, Chaldea, Phoenicia, Roman Empire, Persia and Arabia, from a very early period. There was a large exchange of goods and commodities. There were three trade routes of India with the western countries. One led from the Indus river *viâ* Hindu Kush mountains, the Oxus river, the Black Sea to the Caspian Sea. The second was by sea as far as the Persian Gulf and thence by land *viâ* Mesopotamia, Syria to Egypt. The third was by water through the Red Sea to the Mediterranean. These routes were constantly used by merchants. India exported cotton woollen and silken goods, precious stones and metals, pearls, spices and scents, ivory, indigo, wood, and others.

There were a great number of harbours on the western and the eastern coast which were busy with commerce. Patala, Devala Diu, Cambay, Bharukachha, Surparak, Thana, Calicut, Muziris, Ceylon, Kaveripattam, Masulipattam, and Tamralipti. During the Maurya period there were superintendents of ships, harbours and commerce who looked after their protection and regulation, and the customs duties chargeable on imports and exports, on passengers, on ships, and others.

With the growth of colonisation in the oceanic islands Indian colonial and oceanic commerce also developed with Java, Sumatra, Malaya, Combodia, Borneo, Burma, etc.

The contact and commerce of India with foreign countries continued in Muslim period. **Muslim Period.** Arabs were largely the carriers of this foreign trade. Sindh (Deval), Gujerat (Broach, Surat), Maharashtra (Choul, Thana, Dhabol), Malabar (Calicut), Coromandal (Kayal), Kalinga (Masulipatam) and Bengal (Dacca) had a number of ports from where various articles were imported and exported. Cotton and woollen goods, precious stones, spices, pearls; and other articles were generally exported.

Akbar gave a great impetus to ship building and a department was created to look after it.

There was a constant maritime trade of India with various countries and islands. **European Period,** Later on after the 15th century the maritime power of the western European nations arose. They destroyed the Arab traders. The Portugese, the Dutch, the French and the English established in