

the peasants who tilled their land and created innumerable difficulties in their way. They began to oppress the peasants. Riots occurred, police and military were drafted and the peasant movement was broken.

In Bengal, Bihar and Assam extensive industrial strikes took place. The old inadequate wages and the new quadrupled cost of living were the causes of these strikes. The big capitalists and profiteers of old, facing a slump in business, began to effect extensive reductions both in the number of employees and in their pay. Large numbers were thrown out of work, the labourers could not support their families, people died from starvation. Women committed suicide for they could not procure even a cloth to cover their nudity. Strikes took place in the railway, in the steam services, in coal mines, in the mills, in tea estates and in every industrial concern. Added to this injury was the insult of the Government. Urged by the railway authorities, the steamer-men, the mine-owners, the mill-owners, the planters, the industrial magnates and from political motives Government sent Gurkhas to quell strikes.

In Madras the European capitalists locked out the workers for more than a month and then secured their re-entry through official interference, complicated by bitter communal jealousies fanned by the employers.

In Malabar there are 2 million Hindus and a million Moplahs of mixed Arab and Indian descent. On 20th August, 1921, the Moplahs broke out in open rebellion. They are poor and illiterate. The land is owned by Jennies, the Nambudri Brahmans. The Nayars are the tenants under the Jennies. The Moplahs are the subtenants of the Nayars. There is nothing left behind to the poor and hardworking Moplah after paying the rent to the landlords.

Added to this economic distress tales of desecration of the Holy places of Islam were prevalent in the country. The local officials also introduced some harsh measures which provoked them.

In Assam the coolies live a horrible life of shame and degradation. Early in May, 1921, a number of labourers left the tea gardens. The reason is that owing to a slump in the tea trade great reductions and wholesale dismissals were made in some of the European gardens with the consequent hardship on the labourers. Extremely low wages, two annas per day, and the inhuman treatment was their common complaint. The companies having already earned 100 to 200 per cent dividend, at this period of depression applied the shears ruthlessly. Harrowing tales of torture at the gardens were recited by the coolies. Their life is one of abject slavery combined with cruel treatment, and partly also of shame so far as their womankind is concerned. Thousands left the gardens. Of these a few hundred succeeded in getting away to their homes, mostly in the Madras Presidency. Others left the gardens with nothing on their bodies except a rag tied round their waist, carrying their babes and invalids in their arms or shoulders, and marching on and on, on foot over long distances, along railway lines and banks of rivers bent on reaching their homes anyhow in some far distant district in the United Provinces, Behar, Central Provinces and Madras. Large numbers congregated in some of the big towns on the way, notably in Karinganj, Sylhet and Chandpur. Half-fed, half-naked men and women, with emaciated or dying babes in arms, some just born and with cholera and fever and abortion dogging their steps, thronged the public highways, the railway station and the bazaars. From Karinganj large batches were sent by rail

to Chandpur and Goalundo by the public to release the awful congestion and danger to public health. Goalundo is on the opposite side of the river to Chandpur. When they were attempting to get into steamer, the police came and drove them into the railway station and immediately a batch of 50 armed Ghurkhas from Narayanganj were ordered and they marched to the railway station. Rev. C. F. Andrews describes the scene :

" I could picture the turmoil and confusion, the crying and weeping on that platform, in the middle of the night, under the light of the moon. Women would be dragging their children here and there separated from their husbands. Children would be driven in one direction and mothers in another, and all the while the blows were being struck to force the people to move on. Some of the victims of the Gurukha outrage were brought before me for inspection. I saw one poor little girl with her left eye injured by a blow which narrowly missed the eyeball itself. Two women, if I remember rightly, were also there, one with a bad scalp wound. One weak elderly man was present also wounded. I saw no one among the wounded who could have offered resistance. All that I subsequently found out corroborated my first impression, that a wicked and inhuman act had been perpetrated which the people of India are not likely soon to forget. If I were to describe it in barest outline, it means that human beings in the last stage of misery and exhaustion, who should clearly have been objects of tenderness and compassion, were assaulted while they were lying on the railway platform late in the night by Gurukha soldiers. They offered no resistance. Yet weak women and children and feeble old men who were too infirm to move quickly were hit over the head and on the body with the butt ends of rifles and other weapons in order to force them to get up from the ground. I met several Englishmen on my journey to and from Chandpur who had seen with their own eyes the condition of these poor human wrecks. They expressed to me their indignation of the thought that Gurukhas could have been turned loose upon them in the night to drive them from one place to another. When I challenged the commissioner himself, he acknowledged that he had pulled one Gurukha soldier off with his own hands because he found him beating the people roughly with his weapon.....The government not only of Bengal but of

India, by its actions has come more and more to side with vested interests, with the capitalists, with the rich, with the powerful against the poor and the oppressed.

The result of the Gurukha outrage at Chandpur was a long-drawn Railway and Steamer strike in East Bengal. On May 24th, the railway staff at Chandpur and Lassham, an important junction station, went on sympathetic strike. There were rumours of Ghurukha assault. The Railway Union at Chittagong met on the 25th and after a prolonged sitting declared a general sympathetic strike to last till the question of repatriation of the coolies was justly settled by the government. Mass meetings were held the same evening and on the following days when universal sympathy was held out by the Chandpur people and collections were made to help the stranded coolies. On the 27th May the men in the steamer service joined the sympathetic strike as the Secretary of the Serang's Association, M. Abdul Majid, was arrested on some pretext, only 2 days before. By the 28th May the whole railway line was deserted. A ladies' meeting was also held at Chittagong when ornaments were given over in sympathy for strikers and coolies. The whole land and water traffic route of East Bengal was in deadlock for some months together. Government began repression and by the middle of September the strike collapsed and work was resumed gradually.

Again on 19th June, 1923, a strike occurred in the Traffic Yard involving suspension of work by about 500 employees. For many months there had been sharp differences and misunderstandings between the yard master and the staff at Khargapur. A chowkidar alleged theft and assault against three men working in the yard, reported the incident to the police who came to the yard and arrested the

men. The men went to the yard master immediately after the arrest and requested him to enquire into the allegation and satisfy himself before handing over the case to the police. But the yard master whose justice they sought used foul language and turned them away. They went to the District Traffic Superintendent and implored for an enquiry. But it was a cry in the wilderness. It was unfortunate that the men got a bit excited at the treatment given and struck work on their own initiative. The strikers promised to join duty if a written undertaking was given by the officials to enquire into the grievances impartially. The officers hesitated and the strike continued. Then a written undertaking was given to appoint a mixed commission of employers represented by officers and employees by the office-bearers of the Labour Union at once. The men went to work after an understanding had been arrived at that in future a departmental enquiry should precede the handing over of the alleged offenders to the police and the District Traffic Superintendent assured that there would be no victimisation, that he would recommend to the agent for the payment of wages for the period on strike and that the yard master and the clerks said to be tyrannising the men would be suitably dealt with.

TRADE UNIONS

The tyranny of the employees over the employed led to the formation of unions. The working men are made to form into Unions to improve their position. The individual labourer combines with his fellows, secures the advantages of collective bargaining, conducts negotiations and gets into the habit of thinking that his personal interests depend solely on the strength of his trade connection. Thus trade unions are formed.

UNION CONGRESS.

To regulate and to create unity among them the All-India Trade Union Congress was inaugurated. The first of its sessions was held in Bombay in 1920 under the presidency of Sjt. Lala Lajapat Rai. In the second session at Jharia in Bengal on the 30th November, 1921, Seth Aganode, the chairman of the Reception Committee said:

"I am myself an employer of labour but this association with colliery work for the last 22 years at Jharia furnished me ample opportunity to acquaint myself with the ugly features of the mines labour. The difference between the mine-owners' affluence and the coolies' starvation wages is monstrous. In fact the unequal struggle for bare existence has been such an oppressive experience that I shall be false to myself, if I do not redeem, at least in part, the debt I owe to ill-used labour. To-day, we are no longer leading labour but are led by it. Labour in Europe is playing for high stakes. It wants to reconstitute society, tear up the present economic system, do away with the private ownership of land and capital and transfer all property from the individual to the community. Socialism is not new to India. To that end, therefore, the people of India must learn unity. Peasantry and artisans have again to be set on their feet. Strikes have now become a common feature of the Indian Labour movement. In 1920 there were altogether 183 strikes in India, involving over 3 lakhs of workers. Only a small number were completely or partially successful. Strikes have their uses, but should not be entered upon lightly for minor grievances. When you have to fight with the capitalistic Government, you must first make sure of your capacity to offer sustained, organised and peaceful resistance before deciding on strike."

Mr. Joseph Baptista, the president of that congress, said :—

"The cupidity of capitalists inflamed trade jealousies and was really responsible for the subjection of India. The real remedy was to put a brake on that cupidity by fixing the maximum profit of capital by domestic legislation. Without a national government we cannot promote international solidarity. Without political power we cannot solve economic problems. Many friends imagine they can have swadeshi

before Swaraj. This is putting the cart before the horse. We may have swaraj without swadeshi, but never swadeshi without swaraj. True swadeshi can only be reached by tariffs, but tariffs mean fiscal freedom, which is utterly incompatible with foreign rule. Therefore we must first seek swaraj. Labour problems demand an energetic policy and a generous budget, even if half the army had to be disbanded. It was a gigantic problem, but it was chiefly the creation of British rule and commerce. The unfavourable position of labour in India was due to the want of Trade Unions to regulate the moral and material conditions of the workers. It would be the business of the Congress to suggest measures to alleviate matters." "Our ambition," he said, "is to make the Congress the national organ of labour. Our policy must be to steer clear of extreme individualism and Bolshevism and follow the golden mean of Fabian socialism. But the Trade Union Congress cannot dispense with politics. The fact is that at the bottom there is a fear that the masses will wrench from the classes political power by combination. This fear must be greater in India where the power is in the hands of foreigners. Besides, direct action, even for political ends, had been sanctioned by British labour. There is, therefore, no reason for the Trade Union Congress to boycott politics. Measures for the workmen's welfare should include education, sanitation, workmen's compensation, nationalisation of land, railways, coal mines, jute, tea and the exportation of food stuffs."

RESOLUTIONS.

The following resolutions were passed:—

1. This Congress declares that the time has now arrived for the attainment of Swaraj by the people of India.
2. This Congress deplores the miserable condition of life-employment of Coal Miners of Bihar-Bengal, which cry aloud for the following immediate remedial measures: Reduction of hours of work, increase in the rate of wages, education, housing, compensation for injuries, etc., and authorises the executive committee to confer with the colliery owners and managers to adopt effective measures.
3. This Congress condemns the attitude taken by the Indian Mining Association, the Indian Mining Federation, and the

Chamber of Commerce and warns these bodies that this only precipitates the bitterest of class wars between the employer and the employees.

4. A Committee of Trade Union Congress be appointed with one official to inform the international Labour organisation how far the resolutions of the League of Nations Assemblies at Genoa and Washington have been carried into effect by the Government of India.
5. This Congress strongly protests against the refusal to ratify the conditions of the Genoa International Labour Conference as such attitude is calculated to prejudice prospects of Indian seamen by antagonising European comrades and recommends the adoption of draft conventions relating to hours of work, establish national seamen codes, unemployment insurance for seamen, abolition of Broker and Ghat Sareng System and establishing facilities for finding employment for seamen.
6. Indian Nautical Institutes should be established in each Indian sea-port.
7. This Congress sends its message of sympathy to the starving millions in Russia and calls upon the workers of the world to help Russia in her struggle for peace.
8. This Congress requests the Workers' Welfare League for India to ascertain how the state of unemployment of British workers can be speedily remedied by prompt co-operation between workers in India and those of great Britain and Ireland.
9. This Congress extends its fraternal greetings to Indian workers in Fiji and other foreign parts and instructs its executive committee to discover through communication with workers in Fiji what Indian workers can do to help them in their struggle.
10. In case of strikes sanctioned by the Trade Union Congress or its executive the affiliated Union must contribute to maintain strikes if the strike extends over a period of more than a month, and for this purpose instructs the executive committee to start special strike insurance fund.

11. This Congress resolves in view of the affair of colliery proprietors that a joint committee be formed to discuss the question of improvement of the present condition of labour in coal fields and the question of creating machinery for amicable settlement between proprietors and miners.
12. This Congress instructs its Executive Committee to note under its authority powerful local executive committees at Madras, Calcutta, Jharia, Jamshedpur and other important labour centres and conduct the work of organisation or supervision and assistance of exploited workers in all important centres.
13. The executive committee should take effective measures by all means in their power to compel Indian employers to provide modern housing for the workers, fit for human habitation.
14. This Congress is of opinion that vital problems would not receive proper attention until a Ministry of labour in which labour has confidence is established devoted to the interests of labour.
15. This Congress condemns war, as in its opinion war entails useless sacrifice on the part of the workers of the world, and calls upon the world workers to adopt concerted action in order to prevent international warfare.
16. In view of the prevailing tendency of Indians to prefer hand-spun and hand-woven clothes this congress urges upon employers not to interfere with employee's choice to wear Khadi except in case of prescribed uniforms.
17. In regard to Railway workers a scale of minimum wages should be fixed. Gratuities and bonus should not be forfeited in case of declaration of strike by employees, and conditions regarding gratuity should be altered making it a right and not a gift.
18. Arrangements should be made for the proper housing, medical treatment and education of railway men and their children.

19. The contract system on railways in connection with pay of clerks etc., should be abolished and all be treated as railway servants.
20. Deferential treatment on racial lines in regard to pay etc., should be abolished forthwith.

Thus young men of keen intellect and noble aspirations find congenial occupation in organising their fellow-countrymen into Trade Unions, in writing and speaking, in carrying on political and educational propaganda and in agitating for the better condition of the labourers. This class is expanding in activity and in numbers and naturally new and ambitious ideas appeal to them instead of the old and moderate ones. The relationship between the employer and the labourer is so despicable, as has already been depicted above, that the labourer is looked upon as a mean chattel who can be purchased in the cheapest market and the employers also refuse to treat their men as persons having a sense of liberty of action. Mere poverty may breed discontent but ill-treatment wounding the self-respect of the labourer and his sense of justice will breed something else and may lead to revolution. Every labourer conceives a social order based upon the instinct of liberty and equality. Every man has a national and inherent right to be treated justly which can never be violated by the convenience or the greed for profits of the employer. These instincts are natural and invincible and can never be subjected to expediency or business advantage. They are the factors which will, when politically strong and economically vivid, create a society wherein they will be predominant and undisturbed. Such a society is based on socialistic order. Till Socialism is attained all human activities will be directed towards its fulfilment. Such a consummation of society can never be effected unless Labour in its various aspects is united for

political purposes. Then only wages will be raised, sweating diminished and security of the life of the labourer guaranteed. Thus Socialism is the outcome of human effort during many years of struggle and experimentation and co-ordinates into a fellowship of mutual aid—co-operation, Trade Unionism and labour legislation. The argument that is often advanced against Socialism is, that society can be bettered by increase in wages of labourers and there is no necessity for a radical transformation. Mere increase in wages does not in any way improve the condition of the labourer because the cost of consumption will also be raised. For wages is not the sole element in the cost of production; there are other items which are solely in the hands of the producers which can be raised to such an extent that ultimately the increase in wages dwindles into nothing when compared with the extra cost of living which the labourer has to meet with.

RAILWAYS AND MINES.

Even in the case of mines and railways the capitalists are able to fix prices at such a high rate that the extra wages are quite inadequate for the labourers to keep the body and soul together. Landowners, mill-owners, and merchants are able to use social reform as a means of increasing the tribute which Labour pays to capital and land. So when the state has to look after the labourer's welfare the socialistic policy of Nationalisation is to be adopted. When the wages have been raised and the cost of production is naturally raised, to compete with the costs of production in other countries the state will be compelled to resort to Protection instead of Free Trade.

DUTY ON FOREIGN PIECE-GOODS.

On March 29th., 1922, a deputation of Lancashire M. P.'s and other interested in the cotton trade waited on

Earl Winterton, the Under-Secretary of State, at the India Office, to make representation concerning the differentiation in taxation now enforced in India against foreign piece-goods. Earl Winterton received the deputation in the absence of Lord Peel. Mr. Waddington represented as follows :—

“It has been suggested that if the duty of 11% on customs was reduced to 6%, and that the excise duty was increased from $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ to 6%, you would then get as much revenue as you are getting from the 11% and from the three and half per cent. You would by that means reduce the price of cotton goods in India by 5%, enabling more goods to be produced both in this country *and in India*, producing greater employment in both countries, and the masses of the people being able to have more clothing.” Mr. Shaw, another member of the deputation, said, “We believe that the vast mass of the people in India under normal circumstances require their cotton goods as cheaply as they can get them. They are probably the poorest civilised in the world needing the cheapest of goods, and we do not believe that the vast majority of Indian people demand these taxes in the way they are imposed.”

It is the pity for the poverty of the Indian people that makes Lancashire to request the removal of the customs duty on foreign cotton piece-goods. Oh! what a philanthropy! It is unfortunate to observe that this philanthropy has taken away the very bread from the mouths of Indian labourers and exhausted the enormous wealth of India. It can no longer be denied that India is growing impoverished day by day and its labourers are suffering from want of work and are consequently dying of starvation. I will show you the fallacy in thinking that the removal of customs duty will enable the poor labourer to purchase in

the cheapest market. First of all there must be money for him to purchase and when there is no work for him, for he imports all foreign articles for his necessities in life, when is he to get the money required for purchase? Secondly, we do not cease to manufacture cotton goods simply because great Britain can dump her surplus manufactures in India and undersell the home producer. She has wider markets, better organisation, greater capital and manufactures on a larger scale. By encouraging the home market, increasing our scale of production and imposing a duty on the products of foreign cheap labour we might reasonably hope to gain something of those advantages which Great Britain now enjoys. If we believe in this gospel of Lancashire we have to try the cheap dumped goods rather than continue to manufacture them ourselves. Every trade being thus subjected to such foreign competition must naturally die and India becomes the home of lotus-eaters, loafers, and idlers. It is not impossible to set up factories in India. Their preaching strictly forbids any reorganisation in Indian society whereby people may shake off their lethargy and once more display their energy." It amounts to this: If a country does not possess factories it cannot produce cheap manufactures and so it must for ever buy its necessities of life from Great Britain and we should never think of setting up factories in India. The people of India are to be eternally in poverty from want of employment. If 10% of the people have work we can create work for the other 90% by encouraging home industries and by imposing a duty on foreign imports so that other countries may not dump their surplus manufactures here.

TARIFF REFORM.

This is this view the tariff reformers take to solve the problem of saving the innumerable millions of India

from the jaws of starvation by creating fresh fields of activity, for the various industries that have yet to develop. Tariff reform enables the hitherto unemployed millions to do the work now being done by the alien manufacturer. How many millions are annually leaving the shores of India as coolies from the emigrant depots, since they could not find enough of employment in the land of their birth! The aim of Tariff-Reform is to provide remunerative employment for the unemployed millions. It will enable the people of India to engage themselves in the work which is done by the labourers of foreign countries for the Indian consumer. It will greatly diminish the numbers that are emigrating to foreign lands from want of work. It will give a stimulus to the productive capacity of India and will save her from economic ruin. Some are of opinion that an import duty raises the price of the article to the consumer by the full amount of duty imposed upon it. Industries are of two kinds. Some are competitive and others are non-competitive. When an import duty is levied on commodities that have no competing supply within the country the duty is added to the price of the commodity and the people are the sufferers. For, this duty will be an additional tax. When the import duty is levied on commodities which have a competitive supply within the country the duty does not add to the price of the commodity unless a corresponding excise be levied in respect of the home product. So import duty is to be levied only on commodities which have competitive supply without any excise being levied on home products. This duty will be borne by the foreign supplier. Take the illustration of cotton piece-goods. The Indian mill-made cloth competes with Lancashire cloth. Suppose India requires a

million bales of cloth at Rs. 2 per cloth of which Lancashire imports $\frac{1}{2}$ million and India manufactures internally the other $\frac{1}{2}$ million. If the million bales can be sold at Rs. 2 per piece more will be sold if the price be lowered and less if it be raised. If a duty of As. 4 per cloth be levied on the foreign imports, the duty will be paid at the customs by the foreign importer. To save himself from loss he will try to sell his cloth at Rs. 2-4-0 instead of at Rs. 2. While the foreigner is selling his manufactures at Rs. 2-4-0 the Indian will sell at Rs. 2. Since people prefer to pay Rs. 2 rather than Rs. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ there will be double the demand for the Indian manufactures. Unless the Indian-manufactured cloth sells also at Rs. 2-4-0 the foreign supply must necessarily be with-held from competition. If it is profitable to the Indian manufacturer to manufacture $\frac{1}{2}$ million bales and sell each piece of cloth at Rs. 2 it will be all the more profitable to him to manufacture the million bales and sell them at Rs 2 each. Thus a stimulus will be given to the rapid growth of Indian manufactures. Look at Japan! She possesses a wealth of muscle and energy. She is determined to do her work herself instead of paying wages for foreign manufactures. She adopts the tariff policy and keeps out all foreign manufactures from off her shores. The effect of this new tariff is to exclude 1 million pounds worth of British goods from Japan. India is in the jaws of starvation and that the foreigners are well fed gives no solace to the dying man. India must look to herself, and not rely on the philanthropy of Lancashire to send cheap-made articles to clothe the nudity of the dying Indian. Tariff Reform is intended to improve the condition of the labourer. According to the census of 1911 the total population

in India is 313,420,000. According to occupations they are classed as follows:—

Producers of raw materials	....	227,030,000
Industrials ....	....	35,323,101
Transport and Trade	....	22,868,020
Public Force and administration	....	5,046,681
Professional men	....	5,325,357
Domestics	....	4,599,080
Insufficiently described occupations		9,236,210
Persons living on their income	....	5,40,171
Unproductive	....	3,451,380

Thus if only 271,589,311 engaged in producing raw materials, Industrialism and other insufficiently described occupations can be benefited by a change in the fiscal policy. The whole nation will advance with rapid strides. Mere cheapness cannot eradicate all economic difficulties. How is the welfare of the country effected by the cheapness of commodities? If they are cheap on account of sweated labour woe to that country, but if they are cheap on account of larger turnover by increased scale of production the country must prosper. So also dearness due to monopoly is harmful whereas dearness due to the ratio of demand and supply is beneficial to the country, for it means larger employment and higher wages. The status of a labourer in the United States is far better than that of the labourer in India. In India things are cheaper and labour also is cheap. In the United States things are dearer and labour also is dear. Nevertheless the labourer is better off in the States than he is in India. The labourer in the States spends no doubt

more than the labourer in India for his necessities of life, yet he has a bigger surplus to lay by to be utilised in times of need.

The main aim of Tariff Reform is to improve the condition of the labourer. It is never the aim of Tariff Reform to prevent industries that are unsuited to the conditions of the country from being imported without any duty on them, but to protect the indigenous labourer against the foreign competitor by imposing duty on industries of competitive nature. India exports rice, wheat, gram, beans, lentils, other pulses, barley, jawar and bajara, maize, oils, metals, ores (manganese, wolfram) indigo, myrabolams, raw hemp, oil cakes, spices, manures, teak, coal and saltpetre. India imports cotton goods, sugar, railway plant, machinery, silk and woollen goods, motor cars, paper and paste-board, salt, matches, glass and glassware, soap, drapery and millinery and also rice, wheat and maize flour.

A glance at these things shows that very little labour is expended in manufacturing in India. We export rice, wheat and maize to be converted into flour by foreign machinery and retransmitted into India. Are the climatic conditions in India unsuited to the establishment of flour mills in India? To prevent rice, maize and wheat from being exported, a heavy export duty is to be levied and to prevent foreign flour being imported a heavy import duty is to be levied so that all the rice, wheat and maize may be converted in India into flour and the cost of labour may benefit the starving Indian labourer. India is a vast agricultural country with half of it almost left uncultivated. Heavy import duties on foreign sugar, seeds, spices, tobacco will awaken the Indian people and make them break the bowels of the earth and fertilise the lands. Iron, steel

mineral oil and machinery may be freely imported and heavy duties be levied on motor cars, liquors, foreign paper, foreign salt, matches, glassware, soap, cotton, woollen and silk manufactures. The Indian exports all raw materials, sits idle at home and dies of starvation. A strong impetus is to be given to manufacture cotton, woollen and silk goods, soap, matches, paper, pencils and glassware. Then only the labourer in India will have ample work on hand. The main source of living for the labourer is his wages and his wages enhance when his products are preferred to those of the foreigner. It is to secure the sale of home products that tariff reform is advocated and by encouraging home industry we enable our countrymen to find work for themselves and thus save themselves from starvation. The import duty on foreign manufactures also is to vary according to the extent of the foreign labour expended on it. For instance yarn and cotton piece-goods are imported, less labour is required to manufacture yarn than to manufacture cotton piece-goods, so the duty on the yarn must be less than the duty on cotton piece-goods. The duty varies as the cost of foreign labour that is expended on it. It must be borne in mind that it is not yarn that we wish to keep out, but the labour of the foreigner in manufacturing the yarn. The value of a commodity consists of the raw material and the cost of labour spent on it. It is on this competitive labour that we want to impose a duty. We want those articles to be done in our country instead of paying the foreign labourer to do them for us abroad. If we can enhance the wages of the labourer we can increase the purchasing power of our own people and we can strengthen the home market for Indian goods and can keep in this country the money that would otherwise go to strengthen the hands of our foreign competitors. There can be no greater mischievous duty than the imposition of 7% excise

duty on cotton manufactures in India. It is to enable the British manufacturer to dump his surplus manufactures into India and enrich the Lancashire manufacturer and leave the mill hands in cotton industry unemployed. Similarly, there is no justification for the excise duty on salt and kerosine. It is only to dump in the foreign products. "Tariff restricts imports" is the view of some economists. If the value of imported manufactures grows less it will be compensated by the value of imports in raw materials and manufactures that cannot be produced in this country. Thus we see the advantage which India derives by finding enough work for Indian labourers. The foreigner must send raw materials or pay the duty himself by dumping his surplus manufactures. Till the necessary results are achieved the import duty is to be increased. The import duty may raise the price of a commodity if the home manufacturer would remain idle after the foreign supply is withdrawn and would make no effort to meet the demand however great it might be. In such a case as the price is high, the demand grows less. It is reasonable to expect the home manufacturer to exert himself to meet the demand. Factories, which were closed when surplus manufactures of foreign countries were dumped or imported manufactures were cheaper than home manufactures, will be reopened and worked with greater energy and speed. The local scale of production will thus be increased to meet the already existing demand. Costs of production would be reduced. Internal competition might be relied on to prevent a rise in price. By this increase of production it may be supposed that it is only the employer that is profited and not the labourer. It is the duty of trade unions to adjust the profits between the employer and the labourer. The interests of the employer and the labourer are mutual as regards the creation of wealth but they

become antagonistic when that wealth has to be divided. When wealth has been created let the employer and labourer struggle for their proper shares. If no wealth is created no one gets anything. For the labourer to abstain from engaging in industries, lest wealth accumulates in the hands of employers, is to kill the goose that lays the golden eggs. If they agree between themselves they can both prosper or else they ruin themselves. The manufacturer always seeks the advantage of increasing the scale of production. It is the keynote of the success of the foreign manufacturer. Its absence is the cause of our industrial ruin.

REPORT OF FISCAL COMMISSION.

The Indian Fiscal Commission recommended that India should adopt a policy of protection to be applied with discrimination. Of course, that discrimination must be one suited to the circumstances of the country so as to make the inevitable burden on the community as light as is consistent with the due development of industries. It also recommended that raw materials and machinery be ordinarily admitted free of duty and that semi-manufactured goods used in Indian industries be taxed as lightly as possible. For instance, foreign yarn is to be taxed lighter than foreign piece-goods; for foreign yarn may afford some work to the Indian labourer to be woven into cloth. It also recommends that industries essential for purposes of national defence and for the development of which, conditions in India are not unfavourable, be adequately protected, if necessary and that no export duties be ordinarily imposed except for purely revenue purposes, and then only at very low rates, but that when it is considered necessary to restrict the export of food grains, the restriction be effected by temporary export duties and not by prohibition. It

further recommends that no general system of imperial preference be introduced and that the existing cotton excise duty in view of its past history and associations, be unreservedly condemned and that government and the legislative start again with a "clean state" regulating their excise policy solely in the interests of India. To develop the Indian industry it also recommends that a more industrial bias should be given to primary education, opportunities should be provided for the training of Indian apprentices and organisations for increasing the mobility of labour should be developed. The consideration of legislation against dumping in case of particular commodities when it is taking place to the detriment of an Indian industry is suggested. Precautions are also suggested against imports from a country in which the exchange is seriously depreciated and against any system of export bounties granted by foreign countries. Suggestions are also made against the railway rates, policy and coastal shipping rates. The commission says in chapter 11 and 12 that export duties tend to injure the home produce and that they should therefore not be utilised for protective purposes. The only exception is when the price of foodstuffs shows a tendency to rise to dangerous heights. The abolition of import duties on Machinery and coal and export duties on hides and tea is recommended. It further says that the system of double tariffs which prevails in most protectionist countries is unsuitable to Indian conditions and it is undesirable to employ the tariff as a means of aggression but only in exceptional circumstances, it may be used for purposes of retaliation. The commission recommends that in the interests of Indian industries, customs duties should ordinarily be levied on goods belonging to government. The Indian states are closely concerned both as consumers and as producers in the tariff policy adopted

for British India but that their views on that policy coincide generally with those expressed in other parts of India and that their interests will be fully safeguarded under the scheme of protection recommended. In Chapter IV the commission has stated that the industrial development of India has not been commensurate with the size of the country, its population and its natural resources. In diagnosing the causes from which these conditions can best be remedied it criticises the views of the Industrial Commission which mentioned various factors as 'having operated to retard industrial development. For instance the natural conservatism of the people, the inefficiency of labour, the absence of industrial and technical education, the lack of business enterprise, the shyness of capital for new undertakings and the want of proper organisation for utilising such capital as is available. The commission says, "Some of these factors might suggest the idea that Indians were lacking in certain qualities necessary for success in industrial pursuits and that therefore one of the foundations for a profitable application of protection, namely a people fitted to make a good use of it, was absent. We do not think that this idea is supported by past experience. If we take history as a guide for the future we see that there have been times, when the manufactures of the country attained a high degree of excellence and were well known beyond its borders. As the Industrial Commission explained, India was at one time famous "for the high artistic skill of her craftsmen" and it was not until the industrial revolution of the 18th century that she began to fall behind in the industrial sphere and that in the words of the Industrial Commission "the erroneous idea that tropical countries, with their naturally fertile lands and trying climate were suited to the production of raw materials rather than to manufac-

tures developed." The cotton manufactures of India which were exported in large quantities throughout Asia and Europe, the skill in ship-building which was at one time freely utilised by the East India Company, the working of iron which in the old days had been brought to a considerable pitch of excellence, the manufacture of steel sword-blades commanding a great reputation in foreign countries, the exports of silk textiles and sugar, all prove that Indians exhibited a natural aptitude for industrial work, and that the present relative backwardness in this respect should not be regarded as indicating any obstacle to a wide development of industries in the future."

There may be some initial difficulties in restoring back the industry to its former pedestal, on account of the great advance which other countries of the world have made ahead of India. Professor Pigow writes, "The main element of productive power, whose development involves a long process, is a population trained in the general atmosphere of industrial pursuits. If a country is entirely agricultural and has no important class of artisans or factory workers, the skill required for starting any particular kind of mill will be very difficult to get. Masters, foremen, and workmen must first be either trained up at home or procured from abroad, and the profitableness of the business has not been sufficiently tested to give capitalists confidence in its success." For a long time, therefore, it is improbable that any work which may be started will be able to compete on equal terms with established foreign rivals—and that in spite of the fact that the industry in question may be one for which the country has great natural advantages. On the other hand, in a country which is already largely industrial, the initial difficulty involved in starting a new industry is likely to be much slighter. For, much less

time is required to obtain from among a people already accustomed to many varieties of factory work, hands capable of carrying on a new variety of it. Further, in an industrial community, those other important elements of productive power, organised systems of transport and of credit, which in an agricultural country may need themselves to be built up before manufactures can be profitably established, are presumably already in existence. From these considerations it follows that the case for protection with a view to building up productive power is strong in any agricultural country, which seems to possess natural advantages for manufacturing. In such a country, the immediate loss arising from the check to the exchange of native produce for foreign manufactures may well be out-weighed by the gain from greater rapidity with which the home-manufacturing power is developed. The 'crutches to teach the new manufactures to walk,' as Colbert called protective duties, may teach them this so much earlier than they would have learnt it if left to themselves, that the cost of the crutches is more than repaid. Such a loss may justifiably be increased by every country in the wider interests of the country as a whole. List says, "The nation must sacrifice and give up a measure of material prosperity in order to gain culture, skill and powers of united production; it must sacrifice some present advantages in order to insure to itself future ones."

REPORT OF INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION.

The industrial commission recommended that education should be improved, banking facilities are to be extended, and technical assistance is to be offered to industries, so that the growth of industries may be enhanced. These alone by themselves cannot effect anything if a policy to inspire confidence and encourage enterprise is not adopted.

IMPERIAL PREFERENCE.

The policy of imperial preference may benefit Great Britain but not India. Preference to British motor cars, machinery and cigarettes may be tried to stimulate British industry; but the fiscal commission says, "so far we have shown that in the nature of things any preferences granted to India are likely to be of considerably less value, than the preferences which India might grant to the Empire; and that consequently in any balance of economic loss or gain, India would, under any general system of preference, be a decided loser."

"The interests of India should be viewed from the national standpoint but not in the interests of Great Britain. Moreover, Preference is equivalent to the grant of a bounty to the British manufacturer at the expense of the Indian consumer. India is poor, Britain is rich. It is not reasonable to expect the poor country to make a gift to the rich one. The fiscal commission says, "We have explained that in our opinion this view of the question is not unreasonable and that any general system of preference would undoubtedly impose an additional burden on the Indian consumer, which we do not think it fair that he should be called upon to bear." India cannot accept the principle of Imperial Preference unless India be given the same freedom as is enjoyed by the self-governing dominions and cannot accept reciprocity of preference with the colonies unless the Anti-Asiatic laws are repealed and India admitted to a status of complete equality with the colonies.

The aim before India of to-day is to be as great an industrial nation as the other nations of the world. It cannot be always importing manufactured goods and exporting raw materials. India has an abundant supply

of labour, adequate capital and a large home market. All the requisites for industrial growth and development are present here in far greater degree than in most of the countries which have attained a high degree of industrial eminence without such advantages. The Industrial Commission has ably explained the causes for industrial decay in India. "The commercial instincts of the East India Company had from its earliest days in this country led it to make various attempts to improve these Indian industries from which its export trade was largely drawn, as for example, by organising and financing the manufacture of cotton and silk piece-goods, and silk yarn; although this policy met with opposition from vested interests in England which were at one time sufficiently powerful to insist that it should be suspended and that the Company should instead concentrate on the export from India of the raw material necessary for manufacture in England. The effect of this traditional policy continued for some time after the Company had ceased to be a trading body and even after it had been replaced by the direct rule of the crown and doubtless moulded such subsequent efforts as were made in the same direction by government. But laissez-faire views gradually gained increasing acceptance both in England and in India, these spasmodic efforts became less frequent and the first effort at a general policy of industrial development took only two forms a very imperfect provision of technical and industrial education, and the collection and dissemination of commercial and industrial information." As admitted in the report, in view of her past achievements India's capacity to be an industrial country cannot be doubted. The industrial commission found that "the industrial system is unevenly and in most cases inadequately developed and the capitalists of the country with a few notable

exceptions have till now left to other countries the work of and the profit from manufacturing her valuable raw materials or have allowed them to remain unutilised." Wilson says, "Had India been independent she would have retaliated, would have imposed prohibitive duties upon the British goods and would thus have preserved her own productive industry from annihilation. This act of self-defence was not permitted by her. She was at the mercy of the stranger. British goods were forced upon her without paying any duty and the foreign manufacturer employed the arm of political injustice to keep down and ultimately strangle the competitor with whom he could not have contended on equal terms."

The policy pursued in all civilised countries is to remove all internal duties which hamper trade and industry and excise on all articles excepting those which are injurious to public health and on few luxuries. The fiscal commission says "In the British colonies and the United States of America excise taxation has gradually been confined to these articles. But on the continent of Europe many countries have applied the excise system to other commodities, such as sugar and salt, which France employs not only a comparatively wide range of excise duties but also a system of state monopolies under which the whole profit from the manufacture of excisable articles, such as tobacco and matches, are secured to the state. In Egypt after the establishment of two cotton mills in 1901 the government subjected their product to consumption tax of 8% as compensation for the loss of customs revenue. In Japan cotton cloth is subject to a consumption tax which comprises both an excise duty on home production and a surcharge on the customs duty on the imported articles. A rebate is allowed if the cloth is exported. Japan also levies

a consumption tax on kerosine and an excise duty on sugar." Excise duty on wine, opium, ganja and tobacco is justifiable but duty on sugar and salt has no justification and they are the essential articles of food and any excise duty on them hinders the development of the muscle of the nation. The case of France and Japan has no comparison with that of India. France has adopted a policy of state monopolies under which the whole profit from the manufacture of articles is secured to the state. A policy of this kind which a state works as a monopoly cannot be regarded as a guide for a correct policy on excise matters. The consumption tax, cloth, manufactured in Japan cannot be held to provide any precedent for the purpose of a similar policy in India. This tax is levied in Japan with the specific object of encouraging the export of cloth and to economise home consumption. Such a policy may be justifiable in Japan which has industrially advanced and is able to supply the world markets besides satisfying her home market but it does not apply to India which is hardly able to supply 50% of her own requirements. The circumstances existing in Japan for levying a duty on Kerosine do not exist in India, and a duty of one anna on every imperial gallon is unjustifiable in India. In Egypt the political control is in the hands of England and the excise duty on cotton piece-goods is due more to Lancashire influence as in India than to any idea of compensation for the loss of customs revenue. Excise duties hamper industries and lead to undue interference with home manufacture. It is why England, even during the stress of war, never imposed any countervailing excise duty on English motor cars though a duty of 33½% was imposed on imported motor cars.

FOREIGN CAPITAL

The fiscal commission recommends " When the Indian government is granting concessions or when the Indian

taxpayer's money is being devoted to the stimulus of an enterprise, it is reasonable that special stress should be laid on the Indian character of the companies thus favoured. In all such cases we think it would be reasonable to insist that companies enjoying such concessions should be incorporated and registered in India with Rupee capital, that there should be a reasonable proportion of Indian directors on the Board and reasonable facilities should be offered for the training of Indian apprentices at Government expense." If foreign capital is allowed to flow into the country the profits are sent out of the country, though the cost of labour in turning out the raw materials into finished products may be utilised in this country. The real enrichment of the country takes place only when the profits of the industry remain in the country. National wealth can be increased in a shorter period of time than by the taking away of industrial profit to foreign countries. As for the advantages of allowing foreign capital to flow into India the commission says, "Moreover, apart from the intrinsic benefits of increased supply of capital, the foreigner who brings his capital to India supplies India with many things of which at her present stage she stands greatly in need. It is on the whole the foreign capitalist who imports into the country the technical knowledge and the organisation which are needed to give an impetus to industrial development. It is to him that we must look largely at first for the introduction of new industries and for instruction in the economics of mass production." The commission lacks a complete knowledge of the industrial situation in India. The great industrial enterprises in the Kolar gold fields and the electrical machinery at the falls of Sivasamudra in Mysore state falsify the statement of the commission. The Indian that lives in Mysore state is in no way better fitted for industrial enterprise than the

Indian in British Empire except with this difference. In the one case he has a semblance of freedom to start his own industrial enterprises and the state is ready to help him as far as it is allowed, while in the other he is exploited for the benefit of England. Indians have freely imported technical skill from abroad pending the training of Indian apprentices and have conclusively shown their capacity to organise and develop large-scale industries. The lack of capital to which repeated references have been made is due more to the risks involved in establishing new industries under an unsympathetic foreign domination gripping the throat of the country than to actual inadequacy of capital. The great war loan contributed by India is enough proof of adequate capital available in India. If the state shows a favourable attitude towards the development of industries Indian capital will not be kept back from investment in safe and sound channels, ensuring a reasonable return. The state has not even cared to build a technological institute even in the whole of India though a number of clerk-manufacturing Universities have been built up. If India really feels that she is safe and independent in her fiscal policy, Indian women will give up their jewellery and no foreign capital need be hunted after and the profits of industry also will remain in India.

COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

The great charka movement in India is often made a topic of criticism by the foreign economists that India is going back to antedeluvian times. The charka is resorted to not as a competitive instrument against the modern machinery but as a development of homely industry in the idle hours of the day. Just as people cook their food in their homes they spin and weave to clothe themselves, in their

spare hours. But the organisation of companies to obtain a profit by spinning on charka is a day dream and no Indian economist has ever thought that he could compete by charka with Lancashire machinery.

STATE HELP.

The industrial commission says that the conditions of India render essential a policy of active intervention on the part of government in the industrial affairs of the country. Proposals were made for the better exploitation of the forests and fisheries. Previous to the war, too ready reliance was placed on imports from overseas and this habit was fostered by the government practice of purchasing stores in England. Special proposals are made for commercial and mining education; and the future establishment of two imperial colleges is adumbrated, one for the highest grade of engineering and the other for metallurgy. The industrial commission advocates a re-organisation of the existing scientific services, in such a way as to unite in imperial services, classified according to science subjects, all the scattered workers now engaged in the provinces on isolated tasks. How far government has acted up to the recommendations made by the commission every Indian knows. It is a mere waste of money to appoint such commissions when the government is not prepared to act. The commission thinks that reduced railway rates to and from ports have been prejudicial to industrial development and that the position requires careful examination with a view to the removal of existing anomalies. In particular it should be possible to increase the rates on raw produce for exports and on imports other than machinery and stores for industrial use.

TRANSPORT.

The Indian Railway Committee (The Acworth Committee) says, (23) "We recommend that the system of management by companies of English domicile should not be continued after the termination of their existing contracts and that these companies should not be permitted further to increase their share capital. (24) We recommend that no steps should be taken towards establishing combined companies, both with English and Indian domicile. (25) We recommend that the undertakings of the guaranteed companies, as and when the contracts fall in, be entrusted to the direct management of the state. (26) We recommend that the whole of the capital for the future development of the Indian railways be raised directly by the state." The Mackay Committee of 1907 considered that the Government should fix periodically a standard of annual capital expenditure which would approximate to 18½ crores and they laid stress on the desirability of Government adopting a steady annual rate of expenditure which they might reasonably hope to maintain even in times of difficulty. In practice the Government did not see their way either to attain the modest standard recommended by the committee or to adhere over a series of years to any uniform rate. Consequently the economic development of India has suffered from the utter failure even to keep abreast of the daily requirements of the traffic actually in sight and clamouring to be carried. The provision for future development is practically unthought-of at present. India has a population of 300 millions, the railway line is 36,700 miles. Canada has a population of 8 millions, the railway line is 39,000 miles and Australia for 6 millions of population has 29,000 miles. This disparity is due to the fact that India has no control over

her finances. The trade demands of Indians are not readily heeded to and the companies used to give preference to English merchants and the comforts of 3rd class passengers are completely neglected by the companies. The nationalisation of railways is the panacea of these evils. There is an immense flutter in financial circles in London and very great influence is brought to bear upon the authorities in order that English capital may continue to exploit the Indian Railways as ever. The European capitalist recommends that the system of both state and company management should be continued. Indians know how the East India Company managed the state and ruined the economic interests of India. So will be the company management or state and company management combined of Indian railways. As for the question of funds the legislature must adjust its budget to provide sufficient funds for the daily as well as the future development of Railways. The military expenditure is a stumbling block on the economic development of India. The standing joint committee on Indian affairs, in its second report of July, 1922, dealing with the maintenance of British troops, points out that the Indian Budget for 1922-1923 shows an estimate of over 62 crores of Rupees on military expenditure out of a total expenditure of 141 crores, while the revenue is 132 crores and the deficit 9 crores. This serious financial position renders economics in all possible directions imperative. The expenditure in India for British troops in 1921-1922 was Rs. 16,81,00,000 compared with 7,32,00,000 in 1913-1914, despite the fact that the strength had been reduced by 6000 men. This ten-fold increase in the cost of military expenditure during a decade chills all Indian aspirations for progress and the creation of a citizen army is the only way to save India from economic ruin. There is a very strong feeling among the

Indian people in favour of an Indian mercantile marine. Reference has been made in the fiscal commission's report in paragraph 131 to this feeling and recently it found expression in the central legislature. Nothing should be done which will have the effect of retarding the establishment of a mercantile marine in India or of making its success doubtful. It should be officered and manned by Indians. It will be a great asset to the national defence of India. As a preliminary to constitutional reforms the authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford report urged the importance of a complete separation between the finances of the central government in India and those of the provincial governments (Chapter VIII of their report). The scheme they proposed abrogates the present system by which certain of the main heads of revenue and expenditure are divided between the central and the provincial exchequers; some of these it hands over wholly to the central government—income-tax, revenue from general stamps, customs; others wholly to the provinces—land revenue, irrigation, excise and judicial stamps; while they should be wholly responsible for the corresponding charges and for all expenditure in connection with famine. The financial relations committee says, "We cannot conceal from ourselves the disadvantages in ordinary circumstances of a system of provincial contributions and we anticipate that the government of India will direct its financial policy towards reducing these contributions with responsible rapidity, and their ultimate cessation."

The committee further recommends with regard to pensions, leave allowances drawn outside India, that pensions and leave allowances of provincial servants must be paid by provincial governments and the central government should relieve the provinces by paying their own pensions and

leave allowances. No surplus will be possible without provincialisation of the revenue from general stamps. In as much as by this re-arrangement the government of India will lose heavily the committee proposed tentatively some contributions from the provincial revenues. 'The iniquitous impost' on Madras is 348 lakhs, Bombay 56, Bengal 63, United Provinces 240, Panjab 175, Burma 64, Central Provinces 22, Assam 15. The considerations taken by the committee are (1) whether they are heavy gainers in the new distribution of revenues, (2) whether they contribute very largely indirectly through customs and income-tax to the Government of India. Such contributions are to be made till a period of 7 years, at the end of which Madras is to contribute 17%, Bombay 13%, Bengal 19%, United Provinces 18%, Punjab 9%, Burma 6.5%, Bihar and Orissa 10%, Central Provinces 5%, Assam 2.5%. These are to be reduced or increased in an arithmetical progression during these 7 years. The committee further recommends that the provincial loan account should be funded. Whatever portion of the account so "funded" the province is prepared to take over forthwith should be written off against an equal portion of the provincial balance as from 1st April, 1921; and the balance of the "funded" account should remain outstanding as a debt, from the province to the government of India. On the outstanding balance the province should pay interest at an average rate and also an annual charge for redemption, enough to redeem the debt in not more than 12 years. The committee recommends that general stamps also be given to Provincial revenues. If there is to be real provincial autonomy the iniquitous impost must be removed and a clear line of demarkation be drawn between provincial and central revenues on an equitable basis so that the provinces may be capable of utilising the revenues in the best interests of the province.

ANNUAL DRAIN.

The annual drain from India to England, one of the patent factors for her growing poverty and destitution, is some £ 20 million sterling. Of this the major portion is interest on capital raised in England for the railways and other public works of India. Another item is the annual remittance to the India Office for government stores bought in England for India. Another item is the payment of pensions and leave allowances of British servants of Indian service in England.

About the extravagance of the Government, Lala Lajpat Rai, in his Presidential address at the 1st Trade Union Congress at Bombay, says:

"The Government of this country is wasteful and extravagant in the salaries and allowances it allows to its higher service. It would be bankrupt if it met the demands of the subordinate services and lowest rank of its employees also in the same spirit. Consequently to avoid bankruptcy it sweats its lowest service in a way as perhaps no other government on the face of the earth does. There is no country in the world which pays its higher civil and military service anything like the salaries of the Government of India does. In the whole of the United States there is only one man who gets more than 35,000 rupees per annum, and that is the president of the United States. In Japan even the Prime Minister does not get that amount. In India there are dozens, mostly Englishmen, who get more than that amount. Compare the salaries, post by post, and you will find the standard extravagantly higher in India, while the living even now is comparatively cheaper. Yet within the last two or three years the Government has sanctioned enormous increases in these salaries. The worst features of the situation, however, is the extreme disparity that exists between the salaries of the lowest services and those of the highest. The difference between maximum and minimum salaries in the United States and Great Britain on the one hand and India on the other is simply startling. In the United States the lowest salary allowed to a clerk or porter in Government office is from about 1,000 to 1,200 dollars a year, and the highest allowed to a cabinet minister is 12,000. In India,

a cabinet minister gets Rs. 80,000 a year besides allowances, while his orderly gets only Rs. 120 a year or at the most Rs. 180. In calculating the needs of a civil servant, the government of India shows a great deal of generosity, provides for the education of his children, for the luxury of travelling to and from Europe, and secures him a high standard of comfort in India. But when it enters into calculation ascertaining the proper salary of a post-man or a telegraph peon or an orderly or Railway porter or signaller, it not only disregards all these considerations but is mean enough to bring into account the earnings of his wife and minor children."

The economic life of India is mainly in the hands of foreign exploiters. Government took control of gold and silver in 1919 and prevented export and melting. Gold ceased to function as a currency and the note issue was expanded; small notes of one and $2\frac{1}{2}$ Rupees were put in enormous circulation. In the pre-war period the gross note circulation was about 6,000 and the percentage of metallic reserve to the gross note circulation was about 75. The note circulation in 1919 rose to 15,346 and the percentage of metallic reserve fell to 35. Facilities of note encashment were reduced. Mr. Dalal, the only Indian member of the Exchange and Currency Committee, recommended as follows :—

- (1) The money standard in India should remain unaltered, that is, the standard of the sovereign and gold mohur with rupees related thereto at the ratio of 15 to 1.
- (2) Free and unfettered imports and exports by the public of gold bullion and gold coins.
- (3) Free and unfettered imports and exports by the public of silver bullion and coins.
- (4) The existing silver Rupee of 165 grains of fine silver at present in circulation to continue free legal tender.
- (5) As long as the price of silver in New York is over 92 cents, Government should not manufacture silver Rupees containing 165 grains fine silver.

- (6) As long as the price of silver is 92 cents, Government should coin 2 Rupees silver coins of reduced fineness compared with that of the present silver Rupee and the same to be unlimited legal tender.
- (7) Government to sell council bills by competitive tenders for the amount defined in the Budget as required to be remitted to the secretary of state. The Budget estimate to show under separate headings the amount of council bills drawn for Home charges, for capital outlay and discharge of debt. Council bills to be sold for Government requirements only and not for trade purposes, except for the purpose mentioned in the next succeeding recommendation.
- (8) "Reverse" drafts on London to be sold only at 1 s 3 $\frac{29}{32}$ d. The proceeds of "Reverse" drafts to be kept apart from all other government funds and not to be utilised for any purpose except to meet drafts drawn by the Secretary of State at a rate not below 1 s 4 $\frac{3}{32}$ d per rupee.

His view was not accepted and the 2 sh. Rupee as proposed by European members was adopted. Their view was that the Rupee should be linked to gold and not sterling at the rate of 2 shillings instead of the standard value of 1 s. 4 d. The result was a heavy loss to government and many big traders became bankrupts. In their report the currency committee said that whilst a fixed rate of exchange exercises little influence on the course of trade, a rising exchange impedes exports and stimulates imports and a falling exchange exercises a reverse influence. The government sold £ 55 millions of reverse councils before abandoning their effort to sterilise exchange at the new ratio; the loss of these—that is the difference between the cost of putting the funds down in London and in bringing them back to India—was Rs. 35 crores—a dead loss to India. Government sold £ 53 millions of gold, without

breaking or seriously affecting the premium of gold. The only advantages were a considerable contraction of the Note issue and the silver token currency. In September, 1920, the Viceroy announced that 1238 lakhs of silver had been returned to the currency making the metallic reserve 57% whilst the Note issue had been reduced from Rs. 185 crores to 153 crores. The government had no right to interfere with the established standards of value. The high exchange was prejudicial to Indian trade and industry. The sale of reverse councils was sacrificing the sterling resources of the country at ruinously low rates. Exchange should be left to find its own level, with only the fixed legal minimum of one and four pence, above which no reverse councils should be sold. The attempt made by the government was to stimulate the export trade of England at the expense of India. Later, when the importers were hard hit there was a demand from various quarters for the resumption of the sale of reverse councils but to this government turned a deaf ear on the ground that without the collateral support of a revival of the export trade this would have no effect and government would devote all their energies to the revival of the export trade.

SETTLEMENT OF ACCOUNTS.

On 16th July 1923 Sir Purushotamdas, during his membership of the Inchcape Committee, came across substantial evidence regarding the crores of rupees that India was losing in respect of apportionment of financial liabilities between England and India. Several items of expenditure particularly military, naval and political which should have been borne by the home government were inflicted on India, because the secretary of state had the final voice and over-ruled Simla, in the interest of the British

taxpayer. He therefore urged in the council of state that no compromise be made between Simla and Whitehall in any dispute without the previous sanction of the Indian legislature and that when arbitration was felt necessary, arbitrators should be the premiers of the Empire in conference. Sir Purushotamadas showed from records that since 1858 India had been bled by wrong apportionment and that the government of Lord Salisbury and Lord Rosebury had admitted the injustice of the transaction and showed readiness to appoint a body of arbitration. Even a conservative commission like the Welby Commission of 1900 reported in favour of arbitration as it found that the war office had unjustly charged India and the government of India's representations had been always ignored. When Sir Purushotamadas asked for the amounts under dispute at the present moment Mr. Mc'Wathers, the financial secretary, while admitting that large sums were involved, evaded the point by saying that definite information was being collected. He and Sir Muhammed Shafi, however, attacked the resolution as being inconsistent with the existing constitution in asking to deprive the secretary of state of his final powers and entrusting it to the Assembly. But the motion was defeated on account of the thin attendance of non-official members.

CO-OPERATION.

The co-operative movement has made great progress and it helped to keep down the encumbrance on the land and to save the agriculturist from the clutches of the money-lender. Habits of thrift and of independence or tremendously enhanced by the co-operative system, and the lesson of self-help and of joint enterprise and responsibility are also inculcated in the mind of the raiyat. In an enlightened system of agricultural co-operation lies the

most important means of the improvement of the masses of the country. Great has been the success of the movement in many spheres. There are many cases when the influence of these societies has worked against drunkenness the habit of spending largely on marriages and has inculcated business habits. The feeling of all for each and each for all is one of the main products of the co-operative spirit. Though illiteracy has hampered the movement a little the co-operative spirit has in its turn produced a spontaneous desire for education. Members of rural societies have attempted to learn to read and write in order to take a real interest in the working of the society. The great difficulty in the introduction and extension of the co-operative system is due to the disintegration of the old village communities and the consequent decay of the spirit of co-operation amongst the villagers. The only way by which the evil can be arrested and the economic and social standards of life of the rural people elevated, is by the inauguration of healthy panchayats and co-operative societies. In Europe, in addition to land credit societies there are a number of co-operative societies for undertaking special forms of agricultural enterprise viz., the purchase of agricultural implements and manures, the production of commodities and their sale. They purchase at cheap whole-sale prices instead of high retail prices and the freight also will be cheaper. Implements and appliances which will be beyond the financial capabilities of individual land-owners can be purchased in common. Sugar, oil threshing, and milling also have been worked on co-operative basis. In Italy and Switzerland there are co-operative societies for distributing the necessities of life. The whole-sale societies in Great Britain have established factories and workshops of their own for making shoes, clothing, hardware, biscuits,

jams and pickles. Many co-operative unions set apart a portion of their profits as a fund for education and elect special committees to train the masses in education and co-operative thought. The production becomes much easier by the elimination risk, which arises from the fact that the consumer and producer have equal interest, being members of the same society, and articles can be had very cheaply. The habit of paying cash down is encouraged and there is no higher school of Democracy than a properly worked co-operative society.

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL PURIFICATION

To aim at democracy without attempting to correct social evils is to attempt to sleep only with one eye closed while the other is kept awakened. It is the constant endeavour of every reformer to overcome the vices in society, or else society will either assert its vitality for purging out the evils by a revolution or succumb under them by loss of its organic growth and deteriorate. Some sentiments are useful for the growth of societies and when they grow preponderatingly abnormal they cause the ruin of that society. Take for instance the spirit of exclusiveness. Among the early Aryans this spirit helped a good deal for uniting the various Aryan tribes against the non-Aryans and when the Aryan glory faded and the Hindus failed to preserve their independence, the spirit of exclusiveness grew stronger and led to the downfall of the Aryan power. The Turks won Constantinople by their exclusiveness over the Christian races of Europe. When the Turk failed to assimilate his Christian subjects into his nation-state and excluded them from high and trustworthy places the fall of the Turk began. The Maharattas in their early days were able to cement the Hindu races by their exclusiveness against the Mussalman and, as their power increased, they failed to assimilate the Mussalmans and their exclusiveness was the cause of their ruin. The Englishman to-day may gain by his exclusiveness, which affords him greater opportunities for exploiting the coloured races and Nature will not fail to pay him in the same coin.

It is high time for the Indian patriot to put his house in order. "Caste is the great monster we have to

kill," says the great scholar and patriot, Dr. Bhandarkar. Caste is the cause of social stagnation, division and inflexibility. Dr. Tagore says,

"This immutable and all-pervading system of caste has no doubt imposed a mechanical uniformity upon the people, but it has at the same time kept their different sections inflexibly and unalterably separate, with the consequent loss of all power of adaptation and re-adjustment to new conditions and forces. The regeneration of the Indian people to my mind, directly and perhaps solely depends upon the removal of this condition of caste. When I realise the hypnotic hold which this gigantic system of cold-blooded repression has taken place on the minds of our people, whose social body it has so completely entwined in its endless coils, that the free expression of manhood, even under the direst necessity, has become almost an impossibility, the only remedy that suggests itself to me is to educate them out of their trance.....Now has come the time when India must begin to build, and dead arrangement must gradually give way to living construction—organised growth. If to break up the feudal system and the tyrannical conventionalism of the mediaeval church, which had outraged the healthier instincts of humanity, Europe needed the thought-impulse of the Renaissance, and the fierce struggle of the Reformation, do we not need in a greater degree an over-whelming influx of higher social ideas before a place can be found for true political thinking? Must we not have the greater vision of humanity which will impel us to shake off the fetters that shackle our individual life before we begin to dream of national freedom?.....From my seclusion it seems to me that it is not this or that measure which is at the bottom of the Indian unrest. We have been on the whole comfortable with a comfort unknown for a long time. We have peace and protection and many of the opportunities for prosperity which these imply. Why then this anguish of heart? Because the contact between East and West has done its work and quickened the dormant life of our soul. We have begun to be dimly conscious of the value of time we have allowed to slip by, of the weight of the clogging, effete matter which we have allowed to accumulate, and we are very angry with ourselves. We have also begun vaguely to realise the failure of England to rise to the great occasion, and to miss more and more the invaluable co-operation which it was so clearly England's mission to offer. And so we are troubled with a trouble

which we know not how to name. How England can best be made to perceive that the mere establishment of Pax Britannica cannot either justify or make possible her continued domination, I have no idea, but of this I am sure, that the sooner we come to our senses and take up the thread of our appointed task, the earlier will come the final consummation."

Mr. Kidd in "Social Evolution" P. 154, says, "In eastern countries, where the institution of caste prevails, we have indeed only an example of a condition of society in which these groups and classes have become fixed and rigid and in which consequently progress has been thwarted and impeded at every turn by innumerable barriers which have for ages prevented that free conflict of forces within the community which has made so powerfully for progress among the western people." The census report of 1891, page 121, says, "The social and religious divisions of the Indian people are now based upon an exclusive devotion to heredity and custom manifested in the inclination to exalt the small over the great, to exaggerate the importance of minor considerations and thus obscure that of the more vital. Litany and ceremonial observances usurp the place of moral and spiritual ideas with the result that the sanction of religion is applied to all the regulations of social intercourse. Rank and occupation are crystallised into hereditary attributes, a process which ends in the formation of a practically unlimited number of self-centred and mutually repellant groups, cramping the sympathies and the capacity for thought and actions. Within these groups, it is hardly possible to speak too highly of the charity and devotion of the members of the community to each other, but beyond them, the barriers on all sides preclude co-operation and real compassion and stifle originality in action."

Mr. Nesfield in his "Review of the Caste System" (pages 103-104), says.

Society instead of being constituted as one organised whole, is divided against itself by inorganic sections like geological strata. The sense of insecurity thus engendered could not but lead to a loss of independence and courage in the character of individuals. For, man soon ceases to rely on himself if he thinks that no reliance is to be placed on the good will and fair dealing of those around him and that every thing which he may say or do, is liable to be suspected or miscon-

trued. Thus the two great defects in the Indian character—a want of reliance in one's self and a want of confidence in others—have sprung from a common source, the terror-striking influence of caste. The caste arrogance of the Brahman which first sent these evil spirits abroad has corrupted the whole nation and descended to the very lowest strata of the population.....Not only has caste demoralised society at large, but it is a constant source of oppression within its particular ranks. Caste is therefore an instrument both of widespread disunion abroad and of the meanest tyranny at home, and the latter of these evils has intensified the want of courage and self-reliance to which we have lately alluded as being one of the greatest defects in the Indian character." at page 116 he says, "Had the Brahman never come into existence and had his arrogance proved to be less omnipotent than it did, the various industrial classes would never have become stereotyped into castes and the nation would have been spared a degree of social union to which no parallel can be found in human history."

The two great distinguishing features of caste at the present day is endogamy and absence of commensality. Exogamy is not prevalent because there is no law in India legalising the marriages between caste and caste, between Hindus and Muhammadans and between people of one race with those of another. Now the Civil Marriage Act was passed. We hope that nationalists will in future not resort to endogamy as usual but break through the fetters of custom and marry outside their sect or caste or religion. Thus a wider field will be open for the choice of marriage between man and woman. As for commensality some nationalists who are purely vegetarians and who were accustomed from time immemorial to vegetarian diet may feel difficult or rather averse to dine with a non-vegetarian. One may like one kind of food, the other may like another. That should not be the motive why society should be split into a number of castes. In these days of individual freedom society expects every one to be capable of selecting the best food suited to his taste and any restriction on the

selection of food by an individual is preposterous and an insult to the instincts of the human race. Man is by his physiological structure a carnivorous as well as a herbivorous animal. The canines and incisors found largely in carnivorous animals are also found in the mouth of man. He has also a large number of molars, found in still greater numbers in herbivorous animals and wanting in carnivorous animals. The long alimentary canal of man is neither too long as that of the cow, the goat and the buffalo, purely herbivorous animals, nor too short as that of the wolf, lion and tiger, mainly carnivorous animals. If man is by creation a purely herbivorous animal some races could never have resorted to animal food; the cow and the goat have no liking for animal food. So man is not by nature exclusively herbivorous. Some races have taken to pure vegetarianism simply to develop the *satwic* temperament and kill the ferocity in man. Vegetarian races are not so active, martial and industrious as non-vegetarian races. Even in animals the wolf, the tiger and the lion are more active than the cow, the goat, the bull and the elephant. Even the vegetarian races take milk, ghee and other animal products. The absorption of vegetable food in the body takes a long time and deprives the body of much of its vitality in assimilating it. This question of food should never stand in the way of consolidating the races together. When a non-vegetarian has to dine with a vegetarian he can oblige his friend by withholding his meat diet so long as his friend who is a vegetarian stays with him. He has to bear in mind the words of St. Paul who says, "If meat make my friend offend, I will eat no flesh while the world standeth." Thus if all people make up their minds to overcome such sentimental objections the progress of national consolidation will take place in rapid strides. Some objections may also be raised

about the *Acharams*, washings and other perfunctory ceremonies attendant on caste. All such Pharisaistical customs may easily be given up when unnecessary and practised by all when necessary. Christ broke the Jewish caste when he allowed his disciples to eat with "unwashed hands," when he held intercourse with the Syro-Phœnician woman, when he touched the leper. Why not the example of the Jewish reformer inspire similar feelings in the hearts of Indian Nationalists? The great slur on Hindu society is its treatment of the Panchamas. Their position is the most degraded even from epic and Puranic times. Even the establishment of Mahomedan rule in India does not appear to have improved the position of the Chandalas, although the Mussalmans recognise no caste and freely employ them in domestic service. It is really surprising why some of the Muhamadan rulers, who hated the Brahmans, had not taken into their heads of elevating these people and thereby put down the Brahman influence. Buddha was dissatisfied with the then existing state of caste system and strongly protested against it. During the Buddhist period caste system lost its vigour and rigidity to a very great extent on account of the predominance of Buddhism in the land. Even then the lot of the Chandala was the same. But Buddhism disappeared from this land on account of the upheaval of orthodox Hinduism which made caste as rigid as it could be in the Puranic period. Islam is more democratic than Hinduism. So the Hindus were overthrown. Wherever the rigour of the caste laxed there the Hindu power raised its head. In the battles of Sivaji the Mohar fought side by side with the Brahmin. The Sikhs treated them well and they were victorious over other people. The lot of the Chandala is the worst in the south-west of India where no foreign influence penetrated till very recent times and

orthodox Hinduism held its sway. A nation wanting in solidarity can never withstand the onslaught of foreign invaders. An anti-social man can be easily conquered by the social man. The caste system as it has been in existence is an anti-social system. It is a system of graduated despotism and slavery, the offspring of Hindu priestly rule and militarism. But after the advent of the British, the priestly class was secularised by being employed in government offices and the individual freedom which is the strong characteristic of Christian religion takes hold of the mind of many an educated Indian and the rigidity of caste is reduced to its lowest minimum, and after the inauguration of complete democracy in India we hope caste will find no place at all in the Indian polity or sociology. The Missionary efforts of the Christians helped a good deal in elevating the status of the low castes and in creating in them ideas of self-respect, self-love and self-reverence. The personal freedom enjoyed by most of the low caste people has relieved them from their slave-mentality. The great preacher Mahatma Gandhi taught that untouchability is a curse in the Hindu society. No doubt there were slaves in ancient Rome and Greece and other countries. But the lot of slaves was not so bad as that of the Chandala in India. The slaves were companions of their lords. They were in personal attendance on them and if they were intelligent and faithful they became their confidential advisers. The idea of cutting off a whole caste from society and keeping them at a distance as a mark of their degradation, declaring them to be unfit for any kind of intercourse is unique in the annals of a country. It is also unique in the history of the world that a people nearly 313 millions in number, occupying a vast and fertile country, with all the advantages which Nature has to bestow, is held in subjection by a handful of foreigners and the also coolly

pocket the insult when their countrymen are segregated in distant places in other parts of the Empire in the same way as these Chandalas are kept in India. Nature is too impartial to leave such men unpunished and the scourge of God is always on those who sin. Disunion paralyses a national movement. A united front is the *sine qua non* of success. Mahatma Gandhi preached very strongly against the evil of untouchability with a view to create a solidarity among the rank and file of the proletariat in the Indian nation. As more people will come forward to take up the national cause, the ideal of equality will infuse a new spirit in the Indian mentality. The idea of equality inspired the Ironsides of Cromwell to fight more strenuously than the Royalists who wanted to support the autocracy of the King and the Lords. It is the cry for equality that inspired the French soldier to dethrone the Bourbon. It is the sentiment of equality that makes America what it is to-day. The modern Russia is the outcome of this strong sentiment of equality among the peasants and workmen. Either on the battle-field or in office or in workshop the principle of equality holds good. If India gets rid of caste and untouchability and presents a united front, her enemies will be disarmed and in fullness of time and the ordering of Providence, India will be able to achieve what she is so ardently aiming after—a place in the pantheon of Nations. She will never thereafter be looked down by her sister nations. In union is our strength and in disunion our failure. That has been the lesson nature has ever taught man. The experience of mankind proves it and the History of Nations affirms it and the voice of conscience accepts it but the pride of man scorns it. Pride always precedes a fall and when man becomes aware of it he must rectify before he can

avert a fall; otherwise his fate is sealed and no amount of tall talk will save him.

WOMEN

'Gentleness and devotion to God' are the predominant characteristics of Indian women. If intellectual and spiritual refinement is combined with these qualities then with womanly grace be carried to perfection. The present education has only touched the merest fringe of Indian womanhood and has not been able to create a new life among them. Those few women who have come forward to work for the good of their country and humanity have not shown that courage which is necessary to set on foot a movement which shall purge the human society of the evils under which they are suffering from ages long past. But there is a great prospect that Indian women before long will take a leading part in the greater India that is in the making. Their noble qualities will be utilised not only for the happiness of the Indian home but for the good of the country as well. The fact that many Indian women could not recognise the beneficial effects of such a permissive legislation as that of government's Civil Marriage Act shows how depressed is the feminine mind in India. Though so many great men from Ranade downwards had condemned the evils of child marriage, the women of India had not come forward to raise their standard of rebellion against such an oppressive and debasing custom. Though widow marriage is legalised we find many a child widow everywhere, 4% of the males aged 5 to 10 are married, and of those aged 10 to 15 years 13%, of those between 15 to 20 years 32%, and the percentage rises to 69 for those between 20 and 30 years. Of the females under 5, one in 72 is married; of those between 5 and 10 years 10%, between 10 and 15 years 45%, and between 15 and 20 more than 85%. Altogether there are

2½ million girl-wives under 10, and 9 millions under 15 years. The result is shown in the percentage of widows. The proportion of widows is about 18% of the total number of females against only 9% in western countries. About 4 lakhs of widows are below 15. Legislation to prevent infant marriage is in force in the only two progressive places of India, the Indian states of Mysore and Baroda. In the former an Act has been passed forbidding the marriage of girls under eight, and that of girls under 14 with men over 50 years of age. For though marriage is a sacrament in most places and with most people of India, old widowers greedily take up young girls as their wives without any regard to the future of the girls. Widowers above 50 marrying girls below 12 are yet common, and the orthodox society still connives at such unnatural outrages in the name of religion. The Gaekwar of Baroda, in the face of strong orthodox opposition has refused to satisfy the best of old widowers to the sacrifice of young girls, and in 1904 passed an Act forbidding absolutely the marriage of all girls below the age of 9. The Act allows the marriage of girls below the age of 12 and of boys below 16 only when the parents first obtain the consent of the tribunal consisting of the Subjudge and 3 assessors of the petitioner's caste. Consent is given only on certain special grounds specified in the Act. Every attempt of Dr. Gour to introduce a measure in the Legislative Assembly to raise the age of consent from 12 to 14 is thwarted and the measure is postponed from day to day. A good deal lies in the hands of Indian women to agitate for their education and elevation. Unless a greater number of Indian women understand the disabilities under which their children themselves are writhing and come forward to alleviate the misery of their daughters and sons the advent of democracy will be delayed and India will never be able to cope

with the advancing nations of the world, for one-half of Indian humanity is sunk in ignorance and slavery. The women must non-co-operate with men until their grievances are redressed. Every organic growth starts from within and any superstructure imposed on society without the consent of those under it is an incubus from which society suffers. The elevation of women is not in the hands of men but they must educate themselves and assert their equal rights in human society to which they are entitled by the laws of nature and Providence. There are in India to-day women who are doctors, barristers, inspectors, teachers, orators and poets. The Indian never considered this as unwomanly and has been encouraging it. As larger numbers of women receive education and assert their rights in societies as human beings the traces of opposition still lingering in the orthodox mind will vanish away. In the Ramakrishna mission and in the Arya Samaj there are devoted women workers carrying on institutions for the care of orphans, the nursing of the sick and the teaching of the young. The Begum of Bhopal has shown an enlightened policy among her subjects. The movement for the amelioration of women is a national movement and it is not confined to one particular class or race. The transformation to modern life of social service from the secluded life behind the purdah is one of the marvellous achievements of Indian Nationalism. Those who have come out have been able to assume from the beginning their natural womanly place as leaders of national advance in all that is good, and the educated men of India have immediately accepted this as their cherished ideal. They speak with pride and admiration of the women who are leading the way, and respond generously when their sympathies are claimed for financial and other support. The Bombay and Madras corporations have admitted

some women as commissioners. Many Indian women presided over provincial conferences and some are office-holders in the Indian National Congress. It is really a pity that educated Indians hesitate to move forward when the safety and well-being of their own families are in jeopardy. The dead hand of custom lies heavy on the land and the Indian is slow to relieve his own daughter and sister from the thralldom of repressive customs and to educate them so that they may prove useful citizens in the greater India that is in the making. The great difficulty in their way is the opposition which they meet with from their ignorant elderly females. The public press is strongly advocating the cause of emancipation of Indian women and there are healthy features of their early attainment of equal status with men. A writer in *Modern Review* says, "In India woman has vegetated rather than lived the full life. She has not attained the status which is hers by birth-right. She has not been granted the advantages of an independent human being, nor has she given to the nation at large an impetus towards development. She has been cribbed and cabined and her growth impeded." A writer in the *Arya Patrika* writes, "Looking on woman as a negligible factor, we have monopolised all departments of thought and activity to ourselves, and our treatment has been unjust in the extreme. To some, who have to pay large dowries for their daughters, the very birth of a female child is unwelcome. Those who become widows lead miserable lives; their presence is inauspicious, and they are denied all comforts of life. Man may marry as often as he pleases, but woman only once. Man may improve his health, take an open air exercise; but woman must remain a prisoner in the "black holes" of our houses—not homes. Man may win laurels in universities, but woman should not dream of knowing the 3 R's. Man may

go to foreign countries to learn various arts and sciences but woman should not be given even chances of knowing how to handle a needle. Is not such a treatment of woman a disgrace to humanity? Mere talk of nationalism does not produce a nation; it should be obvious to every man in India that the future of the country depends upon its motherhood. We may hold a hundred political congresses and conferences; we may talk as much as we will of our new-born nationalism; but never shall we make an inch of progress as a nation unless and until we solve this problem." The educated classes in India neither get a fair start in their childhood, nor can they break the chains of narrow home traditions in later life. The bonds of caste and other evil customs which now cut so deeply, would be loosened at once if the home were an educated home. The evil caused by the ignorance at home works in manifold ways. The uneducated mothers, often themselves mere children, have little else to teach their own little ones but fabulous legends and old-world superstitions. The child's mind is plastic in youth and the mother's teaching however foolish leaves an indelible impression. The effect of having one section of society educated in modern ways and others living in the old world of the past will create strange anomalies in Indian family life. At school the mind of the Indian boy is visibly confused. He lives in an atmosphere of bewilderment. Life is divided for him into two separate compartments—the public life at school and the social life at home. He finds a great contradiction between the two and any reconciliation on his part is beyond his reach. The Indian women have patiently abided with the disabilities imposed on them and she ungrudgingly submitted to the regulations however drastic they had been. The Indian woman has not only shown much patience but she sedulously sought the welfare of

man and did everything in her power to maintain the family reputation. The welfare of the nation demands to-day not only that she should continue to do her work for the welfare of the family but that she should also share the burden of public life with the same patience, diligence, and promptitude which had been her characteristics in family life. Without the co-operation of women nothing can be achieved. Her counsel and active assistance is absolutely necessary in national regeneration. There are a large number of avenues of public life wherein woman is best fitted to serve the nation. Generally women are more kind-hearted than men. She feels more tenderly than man because her training as mother has developed that faculty in her to a very large extent. Every Indian woman despite her age and position, feels such motherly tenderness, but the Indian women have a chance to humanise our reform movements, to liven them up with motherly love and charity. Women in other parts of the world have contributed very largely to the evolution of the human race. In times of war women played the great part of nursing the sick and wounded and helping man in very many other ways on the field of battle when their national independence was at stake. There is ample scope for public work in times of peace. They can be teachers, doctors, artists, musicians, industrialists and thousand and one occupations in which men are employed.

LEGISLATION

There is also a good deal to be done in legislation. The Hindu father leaves all his property movable and immovable to his sons and nothing can be claimed in law by a daughter by the right of inheritance as a son claims. No doubt woman has a right to hold exclusively some property known as *Stridhana* but the rights of inheritance

in her father's estate do not disclose a liberal heart in a Hindu father. The condition of a Muhammadan daughter is not so bad as that of her Hindu sister. In a progressive and civilised community such utter neglect of daughters' rights of inheritance when there are sons is to be rectified. The sister is thrown among bhandus to inherit to her brother. The widow of a pre-deceased son in a joint family has no legal right to be maintained against her father-in-law who has no ancestral property in his hands. It is not the province of this little book to quote all the disabilities of Hindu women. It is simply suggested that human legislation must be so directed as to secure the status of woman as an equal of man. So also in the Qur'anic law. The husband can divorce his wife by *talak* without any mistake shown on the part of the wife. The son of a pre-deceased son of a Muhammadan while there is another son surviving him at his death cannot inherit to his grandfather along with his uncle.

These are only some of the many incidents which require some legislative reform. But in other matters society must be taught of the existing evils and self-reform must originate of its own accord. We are all human beings. We are expected to know our responsibilities and legislation cannot always come to your help. Crimes occur every day not because penal laws are not stringent but moral fibre in society is very weak.

Excessive legislation is always the symptom of a diseased society. It is the excessive and stringent legislation of Manu and other smṛiti-writers that makes the Hindu what he is to-day. "The more corrupt a state is, the more legislation it has," says Tacitus. The essential privilege of law is to defend the canon of equality that all must have equal treatment by the law, as the broad inevitable resultant

right of free citizenship. A state can progress only when every citizen can feel that law protects his rights and the assurance that no injustice will be done to him creates a healthy sense of independence which is a necessary element of true progress. When common men and women are afraid of the inequality of law, they fall on evil ways. Society becomes rotten when one citizen as against another can overpower him or undermine him by law wielded with an uneven hand. Law becomes a curse in human society. Justice conserves the rights of all and commands the duties of all, issues its decrees that right and duty must dwell together in the peace of mutuality. In this mutuality of rights and of duties both can be evolved into that harmony wherein law is vindicated, force restrained and progress made possible. Then only peace becomes the every-day achievement of social life.

EDUCATION

The burning topic of the day is what is the education that should be imparted to our Indian youths. Sir John Seely, the historian, referring to the discussion in the British Parliament in 1833, says, "Never on this earth was a more momentous question discussed," and it can be well said now, never was greater havoc done to the intellectual progress of India than when they decided in favour of English education in India in accordance with the famous minute of Macaulay. The English education is very costly and soul-killing, for the Indians have to master the idiom, the spelling and the pronunciation of a foreign language and much of their life-time is wasted in learning the language itself. What after all is the good done by English Universities to India? After a century of English education our man-hood has degenerated. Better bid good-bye to such curriculum of education than still cling to

it. English education can never elevate the people of India. There is the element of discord ingrained in it. The English education is developing slave-mentality. People receive English education only to get some appointment in the British government. So in all government offices we find the jealousy between clerk and clerk, officer and officer each complaining that his service and university qualifications are overlooked. The English school is a factory to manufacture such clerks whose outlook is carrying tales against each other before their superiors so that their claims may be well looked after. It trains the mind of the youth to a sort of cringing mentality which is detrimental to the healthy progress of society. What after all is the nature of the education imparted in English schools? An Indian student is not taught Indian history. It is only an optional subject while English history is compulsory. No definite line of study is adopted to enable a man to be successful in his routine of profession. A man becomes a mathematics graduate studying Differential Calculus and Astronomy and undergoes training in the law college for a year or two and becomes a lawyer. He will have nothing to do with them in a court of law nor has a Chemistry graduate with his knowledge of Chemistry, nor a Physics graduate, with his knowledge of Physics. Yet one must become a graduate in any of these branches before he can step into any class in the law college. Such is the sort of education which English Universities are imparting in India. Knowledge of Chemistry is useful for technological students. Is there one technological institute in the whole of India? Physics and Chemistry are useful to students preparing for industrial studies. Is there one well-equipped industrial institute in the whole of India? There can never be an emptier boast than that the study of Macaulay and Burke created love of freedom in the Indian

heart. The Persians, the Arabs and the Afghans are far more in advance in the development of self-government in their countries. Why? Have they ever read Macaulay or Burke or Milton or Shelley? The Buddhistic culture extended as far as the Caspian Sea, the Islands of Japan the Malay Peninsula and Ceylon and its civilisation became the leading factor in Asian history during the reign of a single sovereign, Asoka. What do you say of English culture being hammered on the minds of Indian youths for over a century? It has produced barren effects in spite of the great temptations held out before it of securing of high lucrative appointments under the British government. The English culture in India is like a house of cards which will tumble down by the slightest touch of some employment in some government office. It can never invoke the zeal for righteousness in the Indian youth. Bits of algebra, geometry, scraps of historical knowledge and a confusion in the idiom of English language are some of the attainments of an Indian youth after a laborious study in English schools, going to school regularly like a jatka horse fully harnessed from morn till eve. On the other hand Sanskrit education has elevated many Englishmen and Europeans. It presented before their intellectual gaze the treasures of Aryan culture, and a knowledge of the inner forces working in man. Wilson's policy would have borne greater beneficent results than the root-and-branch methods of Macaulay who wanted to sweep away all Hindu culture, everything of the past and to modernise entirely on English lines—to write on the clean slate of the Indian mind the word "English." The school of educationists that followed him took up the parallel afforded by the Roman Empire as their ideal and justification and quoted it in season and out of season. Just as the provinces of Gaul and Spain were Romanised, so they imagined that India would be

anglicised by education. They openly declared that they wished to make educated Indians "more English than the English." I shall quote the opinion of C. F. Andrews, the great English educationist principal of a first grade college at Delhi, on this point :

"A deeper study of Roman history might have checked their enthusiasm. Dill and Bigg have in recent years pointed out how ruinous the Romanising process was. The former writer pictures to us the educated classes in Gaul writing bad complimentary Latin verses to one another, while their own people were sinking beneath a weight of debt and evil custom. The latter writer narrates what happened, in the following trenchant words: "The Roman schools in the provinces aimed at producing good government officials and the officials whom they sent forth in crowds were corrupt, insolent, servile, and incapable. They aimed at producing poets, historians, orators, and men of letters. Yet the more they projected their system, the more did art and letters decline. What was wanted was a literature of the people. There were plenty of men who might have written it, but they were condemned to silence by the tyranny of the windy, vapouring "rhetoric." Dr. Bigg goes on to show how only by the indigenous growth of the Christian Church, appealing in its hymns and vernacular writings to the hearts of common people, was the situation saved from utter ruin. Other considerations might have exposed the fallacy of supposed parallel to the Roman empire. Gaul and Spain were very scantily peopled; probably the combined population of both provinces was only 2 millions. India consists to-day of a population of 315 millions. Again Gaul and Spain were almost destitute of culture, literature, religion and civilisation. India can point to one of the most imposing civilisations and religious developments in the world. The Indian past is no blank page. It is rather like an illuminated manuscript, partly worn away and needing revision, but still most precious for the subject matter it contains. To neglect the past of India is to fail to utilise the deepest springs of Indian national life. The idea of anglicising over 300 million people scattered in thousands of villages, needs only to be stated to reveal its inherent impossibility."

The English education has stamped out all originality, and instead of making all Indians Englishmen it has

made them slaves of English culture, apes of English manners, advocates of English civilisation and supporters of English bureaucracy. For anything to be built upon there must be a basis. What then is the basis of the present-day Indian culture? Most of the youths that graduate in the English universities have very little to learn from the past of their own country. The moment they enter upon the course of their studies prescribed for making them fit to enter on collegiate life, copies of English History and English poems are compulsorily taught and the history of their country and their vernacular are but secondary subjects. The youth stands bewildered at the very outset of his studies because his knowledge is not linked with his home experience and a boy of eight is taught how an English mother serves tea to her children, how English boys play with snow balls and how English peasants go to sell their articles in English markets and so on. It is admitted on all hands that the Vedas contain the history, the culture, the art, the science, the philosophy and what not of Aryan culture. If the Hindu mind is to be linked to the achievements of their ancestors and the civilisation of a greater India is to be built, every Hindu youth must know what all is stated in the Vedas about the early Aryans and then the mind must be shown fresh avenues to develop on lines which our western brethren have chalked out for the rapid growth of human civilisation. So long as the Vedas are not popularised and scholars and critics have not brought them within the common knowledge of every Hindu it will be impossible for any Hindu to build up a bright future for his country on his glorious past. By this it should never be understood that all we require for our modern progress had already been thought out and described in the Vedas

and we have simply to blindly follow the canons of law therein described. If you take the History of Europe you will find that modern Europe is the handiwork of Luther and Erasmus. The one introduced Reformation and the other Renaissance. Lord Acton says that modern Europe is the combination of Reformation and Renaissance. The sixteenth century in Europe witnessed an upheaval and a change which were due to Renaissance and Reformation of Religion. The former stirred more especially the rising middle classes and made them eager and even more clamorous in their demand for the reform of ancient abuses. But if Reformation had not come to its aid and given the new progressive impulse European History would have been as dark as it was before the 16th century. The Reformation did not stop with the middle classes only, it went deeper and moved the masses. The two movements together created a new social and political order. The English education no doubt brought new ideas, new culture, new civilisation and new manners, but if the old Aryan ideas, culture, civilisation had been adjusted to the new ideas, there would certainly have been Renaissance and Reformation also would have progressed in rapid strides. But his past is condemned and the inglorious mediæval. India is looked upon as the past, and the English education by its strong contrast with the mediæval past and its intolerance of any other culture but its own has made the Hindu a wreck in culture, for he cannot stand on his own, for he has a contempt for it because he is ignorant of it, nor can he assimilate the new on account of its intolerance with the system into which it wants to fit itself. The result is that the foreign civilisation is execrated out of the Indian national organism. If there is to be a real progress in the country the Hindu must be popularised with all that is contained in the Vedas and

when he is quite conversant with them, he must be shown the contrast of what he was and of what he should be. The Mussalman must be made familiar with 'Qur'an which' is a religio-social-economic-political history of the Arabs. Then the Mussalman must be made to realise that amity with other races of India is absolutely necessary for his social and religious well-being and he must be familiarised with the modern notions that are convulsing the peoples of the earth. So also the Bible may be taught. The Indian must be made familiar with the history of the past of his own race, he must be taught his own vernacular, mathematics and science, painting, drawing, sculpture, industrial studies and as a matter of option foreign languages as English, French, etc. At present the reverse process is adopted. Too much prominence is given to the study of English language and English History while his knowledge of his country and vernacular is a blank page. His racial instincts do not allow him to think as an Englishman does in the English language and so the Indian does not shine well either in English or in his vernacular, on account of want of racial back-ground in the former and his ignorance of the latter, and a large amount of vitality is spent away in mastering the idiom of a foreign language. Vedas, Qur'an and Bible are to be taught not with sectarian religious motives but as a course of secular studies to know what all the ancients had thought of God and man and what their ancient social and political institutions were. How many Hindus are spending lots of Rupees in building new temples while the old temples are in ruins and nobody can be found to light a lamp in them! They are in their turn after a few years abandoned by men. Most of them become the abodes of bats and vermin. Has any Hindu come forward to popularise the Vedas? Has the Hindus ever formed an association to publish the four

Vedas and Upanishads in a cheap and popular edition so that it may be within the easy reach of every Hindu who must know them. Are there vernacular translations of the Vedas? Are they published completely in any vernacular with vernacular annotations so that they may be within the easy comprehension of the masses? Unless Hinduism awakens from its apathy to the Vedas and refuses to base its doctrines on subsequent texts as Puranas and Mahatmyams and the Hindu goes to the root of religious doctrine there can never be a hope of a regenerated India. After the Bible was popularised old truths, long hidden under Papal error, were re-discovered by the reformers. The blessed Bible which the Roman Church had done its utmost to destroy and keep it away from the people, was printed in the language of the people and it shed its glorious light wherever it was read. Thousands and tens of thousands shook off the intolerable yoke of Rome, gave up its degrading idolatry and became protestants. The night of error passed away and the day of truth and liberty broke over the world. A great historical criticism developed about the incidents of the Bible. A sort of higher criticism about the transcendental affairs also appeared on the scene. If any clergyman says, "The Bible says so and so" the reformer asks "what about historical criticism? What about the higher criticism? Are you sure that what you say is authentic, and that there are not many interpolations found therein, that many errors may not have crept in? Why should any particular book be kept sacred, while all the scriptures of the world have to justify themselves in the face of scholarship, in the face of knowledge? Real scriptures do not suffer by wide-spread circulation essentially. Only the dross is burnt away and the pure gold remains. The Veda should be thrown into the furnace of criticism without any fear or doubt, knowing