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Editor: S. G. VAZE.

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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

Wrong-headedness. LORD WILLINGDON'S Government seem to have a special knack for doing the wrong thing. Otherwise it is difficult to understand why the new Chief Presidency Magistrate of Madras thought it necessary to prohibit a procession and public meeting which the Madras Khilafat Committee had proposed to organise for repeating the Karachi resolution, for which purpose many meetings have been held in various parts of the country, including one in Madras itself. The other provincial Governments have recognised the difference between a mere expression of opinion and direct action for giving effect to that opinion. The reason given by the Magistrate is the apprehension of riots, affray and other disturbances to the public tranquillity on account of the present disturbed condition of Madras. But no one who knows the chief organisers of the demonstration will believe for a moment that such consequences would have ensued. There would have been some reason in it if the procession had been prohibited only in the mill area. The obvious result of such ill-considered action is to supply fuel to a dying fire. Only the other day Mr. Gandhi publicly deplored the indifference of Madras to his programme of non-co-operation. The Government of Madras have now come to his help.

A Warning to Municipalities. THE Government of Bombay in the Education Department have done well in publishing a resolution which explains clearly for the benefit of municipal councillors, ratepayers and the public generally the position that has been reached by the municipalities of Nadiad, Ahmedabad and Surat in refusing Government grant for primary education and repu-

diating Government control over it. The power of these municipalities, the resolution points out, to spend the municipal fund is subject to the provisions of the Bombay District Municipal Act and limited to the purposes allowed by it.

"Any money which they spend on schools which are not conducted in conformity with the rules made under section 58 of the Act is therefore clearly misapplied within the meaning of the section 42 of the Act, and every Councillor who has been a party to such expenditure is personally liable for it under the provisions of that section."

The councillors are therefore invited to consider whether they should go on increasing their personal liabilities, in addition to the cost of defending a civil suit, or take steps to cancel the resolution which involves them in this increasing liability. It is also pointed out that, if the present powers of municipalities are felt to be too restricted the right way of getting them extended is by taking action in the local Legislative Council and not by abusing the present powers. We are glad the Government do not at present propose to take action under sections 178 and 179 of the Act but prefer to rely on the intelligence of the ratepayers and the public of the Municipalities concerned.

* * *

Nasik Dead-lock. A DEAD-LOCK has been created in the administration of the Nasik Municipality owing to a sharp difference between the President and the majority of the Councillors over an item of non-co-operation. In July last the Council passed a resolution sanctioning a sum of Rs. 1000 to the local temperance association in aid of picketing. The President thought that the object was not one permitted by the Act and refused to incur the expenditure without the clear opinion of the Government, which he requested the Collector to obtain. In the month of August the non-co-operators sent a requisition to the President for a special meeting to pass a vote of censure on him, but he refused to convene the meeting. At the next ordinary meeting the matter was brought up again, but when the President ruled it out of order the majority of the Councillors left the meeting, which for want of quorum had to be adjourned. The same process was repeated at the next ordinary general meeting. On the 12th October the Collector vetoed the expenditure. On the 17th an ordinary meeting of the Municipality was held at which four resolutions were passed, two censuring the President for not incurring the expenditure and for not calling the special meeting. The third called upon him to

resign office and the fourth dismissed him in case he did not resign and asked the Government to give effect to it—a most curious resolution indeed! The President refused to resign and thereupon the Councillors left the meeting. Thus during the last three months the only business done by the Municipality is the passing of the vote of censure.

* * *

The Right Solution.

WE are afraid both the President and the Councillors have been carried away by the passion of partisanship and have forgotten their duty to the ratepayers. Under the Act it is the President's duty to watch over the financial administration of the municipality and as every Councillor who is a party to the misapplication of the municipal fund is personally liable for it in a court of law, the President was within his rights in not incurring the expenditure before obtaining authoritative opinion on its legality. But he ought to have called the special meeting on requisition even though its object was to pass a vote of censure on him, as the Act gives him no discretion in the matter. The Councillors are within their rights in censuring their President, but they have no right to dismiss him if he should fail to resign. It is only the Governor in Council who is empowered by the Act to remove a President from office and it should be 'for misconduct, or neglect of or incapacity to perform his duty.' The refusal to disburse the sanctioned amount when he had good reason to doubt its legality is neither misconduct nor neglect of duty. Nor could a single omission, like his failure to call the special meeting, be described as misconduct or neglect of duty such as to warrant the extreme step provided by law. After having passed the vote of censure, it is the Councillors who are now guilty of neglect of duty in walking out of the meetings and making the administration impossible. If this continues for any length of time the course which the Government is bound to adopt is to supersede the municipality. In the heat of the strife the President and the Councillors may prefer this to yielding from their respective positions. But we hope better sense will prevail. We think the President should apologise for having failed to call the special meeting and upon that the other Councillors should put an end to the deadlock.

* * *

A Moral Poison Gas?

SOME time ago you would not have believed Mr. Gandhi capable of the least unfairness to any one, living or dead. But now no motive is too diabolical to be imputed by him to the officials of the 'satanic' Government. In *Young India* of 20th October he says, "I wanted to go to Calicut and reach the bottom of the trouble as I believed I could have. But the Government had willed it otherwise. I am sorry to believe, but it is my belief, that the men on the spot do not want to end the trouble. They certainly do not wish to give non-co-operators the credit for peacefully ending the trouble." We are amazed that such an imputation should

have been made by an apostle of righteousness and purity. For our part we do not approve of the Madras Government's prohibition of his and Mr. Yakub Hasan's visit to Malabar. We do not think that any harm would have come out of it. But as to the probability of Mr. Gandhi's quelling the revolt by peaceful persuasion, not even the most ardent non-co-operators in Malabar or Madras believe in it. In what respect the rebel Moplahs, at any rate a section of them, hold Mr. Gandhi and the Ali brothers is revealed by a passage in the report of Messrs T. Prakasam and T. V. Venkatarama Aiyar, who along with others were deputed by the Provincial Conference to report on the Malabar occurrences.

"When Mr. Kesava Menon appealed to the crowds for peace and order in the name of Mahatma Gandhi, some of the mob cried out that he, the Mahatma, was a kaffir and that they would never follow him; he appealed to them in the name of the Ali brothers; they replied that they would not follow those who follow a Kaffir."

As to help from non-co-operators, the same report says that the District Magistrate welcomed the offer of the local non-co-operators and gave permission to Messrs. P. Kesava Menon, U. Gopala Menon and twenty-two others for visiting the disturbed area. These "left for Ernad Taluk and visited towns and villages. They were stopped at one place by the Military who threatened to fire upon them, but when the District Magistrate's pass was shown, the Military officer not only allowed them to proceed, but was kind enough to offer the use of his own car to people proceeding on a mission of peace." This report was not unknown to Mr. Gandhi. In fact at one time he relied too much upon it. And yet he has accused the officials of a diabolical desire to keep the trouble going, of sacrificing the lives and honour of hundreds and even thousands of men and women, just to teach the people that "only the British soldier can maintain peace in India." Perhaps everything is fair in war and there is a moral poison gas which may be used against the Government.

* * *

The Prince's Visit.

THROUGH Reuter's special service the Indian public are permitted to know what the view of "an authority on India" is regarding the object of the Prince of Wales's visit to India. Interviewed by a *Daily Mail* representative, this authority gave out—let us hope he was not inspired,—that the Prince was coming here because many thousands of Indian soldiers who had fought in Mesopotamia were longing "to see him face and receive at first hand from him something of his thanks for their faithful and unflinching service." In that case vigilant members of the legislatures might well propose that the expenses of his tour, which may come to about Rs. 50 lakhs, ought to be met by the War Office. The Prince's visit is now a settled fact and we shall welcome him as gracefully as circumstances permit, though we wish a more suitable time had been chosen. But we might be spared explanations which are more amusing than convincing.

INUTILITY OF OPTIONAL COMPULSION.

THE EXAMPLE OF IRELAND.

To the permissive legislation, passed in most of the provinces of India, relative to compulsory primary education, there is no parallel in history. Some analogy is often discovered between the English Act of 1870 and the enabling Acts in India, but we have shown before that there is no real similarity between the two. The English Act no doubt merely permitted local bodies to enforce compulsory attendance in schools, without compelling them to do so; but the great merit of the Act was that it provided for a compulsory supply of schools sufficient to give accommodation to all the children of school age, in order to pave the way, a few years after, for universal compulsion in the matter of school attendance. The Indian Acts, however, do not require, as the English Act does, an adequate supply of school accommodation and therefore lack the element which alone made the early advent of compulsory education possible in England. But it is generally thought that, in Ireland, permissive legislation similar to what we have in this country prevailed, and that the Irish Education Act of 1892 furnished a model for our laws. Indeed Mr. Gokhale's Bill, the design of which is closely followed in later enactments, acknowledged its indebtedness to the Irish Act in its statement of objects and reasons; but it will be found on closer examination that the resemblance between the two measures is in regard to the machinery employed to carry out the end in view rather than to the end itself.

The main purpose of the Irish Education Act was not so much to bring into school those children who were never at school before, as to ensure greater regularity in the attendance of those who were already going to school. Nor was there any deficiency in the number of schools to be made up in Ireland, as was the case in England, by provisions making it obligatory upon local bodies to supply the requisite means of instruction. As early as 1870 Lord Powis's Commission of Inquiry had reported that "Ireland had sufficient school accommodation for the wants of the country." The educational supply remained adequate in the following years, and in 1883 Mr. O'Shaughnessy, who moved a resolution on compulsory education in the House of Commons, estimated that "about 1,300,000 children in Ireland were within the range of primary education, to accommodate whom there were 9,100 schools, national and denominational in character. In 1881 there were about 7,615 national schools, and about 1,500 schools unconnected with the State. The national schools at that period had no less than 1,066,000 children on the rolls, and there were at least 100,000 children on the rolls of other schools, making roughly, a total of 1,150,000. Thus about 90 per cent of the children who ought to go to school were on the rolls of one school or another." (March 2, 1883.) The provision of school places being quite adequate to the needs, obvious-

ly "there was no necessity (as in England) for levying money for building schools, because the schools already existed."* The evil from which Ireland suffered was that the school going population did not put in a sufficient number of attendances. The then Chief Secretary for Ireland, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman stated, in moving for leaving to introduce his National Education Bill on March 24, 1885, that during the preceding year, "only 19·7 per cent. (of the scholars in primary schools) attended 150 times and over; 24·7 per cent. attended between 100 and 150 times; 24 per cent. between 50 and 100 times; while, under 50 times, there were as many as 31·6 per cent." "This last degree of attendance," he truly remarked, "is really so small as to produce results hardly worth considering." And his object in introducing compulsion—for it was a measure for compulsion which he brought in—was to insure regular and continuous attendance on the part of children.

But it is not quite correct to describe the Irish Education Act as an enabling law. It applied immediately to towns under Corporations and towns under Town Commissioners, requiring the parent of every child between the years of 6 and 14 to cause the child to attend school. In the case of these towns compulsion was absolute; but it was made optional in rural areas because there was no machinery there which could be set in motion immediately. For the agency provided in the Act for enforcing compulsory attendance was the School Attendance Committee to be appointed by the Local Authority. Now, in towns, such a Local Authority existed, but not in rural areas, where it had to be created. That very year there was a Bill before Parliament proposing to create County Councils and Baronial Councils in villages, and the Education Act therefore empowered all Local Authorities which might be created in the future to apply the Act to their districts. Thus, the Act had to be of a permissive character in its application to rural areas because there the means of carrying its provisions into effect were wanting for the time being. But the Government had fully intended to apply the Act to villages as soon as Local Authorities were constituted in those tracts under Local Government Bill, which was then under consideration. Nor was the Government very keen on retaining the permissive character of the measure and was quite prepared to consider an amendment of it, as will appear from the following reply of Mr. Jackson, Chief Secretary, to a query from Mr. Morley:—

Mr. John Morley: Do we understand that the application of compulsion is to be optional on the part of the County Council when it is created, but not optional on the Town Commissioners?

Mr. Jackson: As the Bill is drawn it stands with the word "may." It is compulsory as regards towns under Town Councils and Town Commissioners and it stands with the word "may" in the Bill in regard to its application to Local Authorities to be constituted hereafter. But I quite appreciate the point of the right hon. Gentleman, and if I can feel sure that I shall have his assistance

* Mr. O'Shaughnessy, House of Commons, March 16, 1877.

in turning that word "may" into "shall," I shall be glad to avail myself of it. (House of Commons, February 22, 1892.)

But the Government was obliged to drop the Local Government (Ireland) Bill and so this question of altering the character of the Bill did not then arise. Local Authorities were not constituted in rural areas in Ireland till 1898, and therefore the Act was not applicable at all to the country districts before that time. But compulsion—not optional or indirect, but absolute and direct—did apply to towns immediately the Act came into operation,* and the towns embraced, roughly, one-fourth of the population of Ireland.

Our purpose in thus dealing with the Irish Education Act somewhat fully is to dispel the mistaken notion which prevails in many quarters that the system of optional compulsion succeeded very well in Ireland and might succeed in India. The conclusion at which we arrive by our study of the Irish Act is that optional compulsion was not prevalent in Ireland at all and therefore could not obviously succeed; that the Act, so far as it was operative, introduced absolute compulsion and is not to be compared to the Indian Acts permitting local bodies to adopt compulsion. Optional compulsion, so far as our information goes, has had no trial in any country and does not warrant the inference that it is likely to prove a success in India. If the history of primary education shows anything it shows that it must be made obligatory in India as it has been made in every country which has successfully introduced universal education.

THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, AND AFTER.—IV.†

BY far the most serious argument, that has been brought forward by the European Community in Africa against the presence of Indians in that continent, in large numbers, is this, that they actually retard the progress of the African himself; that they take out of the African's own hands opportunities for self-advancement. It is pointed out that,

* To show how the National Education (Ireland) Act of 1892 discriminated between town and country, we give below Sec. 15 of the Act:—

15 (1) The foregoing provisions of this Act shall apply to every place which either is a municipal borough or is a town or township under commissioners, and the council or commissioners of the place shall be the local authority of the place for the purposes of this Act.

(2) Any county council which may be established under any Act of this or any future sessions of Parliament may, by resolution, and shall on application made by any baronial council so established with reference to their barony or any part thereof, apply the foregoing provisions of this Act to any part of their county, and thereupon those provisions shall so apply, and the county council shall be, for the purposes of this Act, the local authority of this place to which it is so applied, and may order the expenses under this Act to be levied off that place.

† Previous articles in this series appeared in the issues of October 6, 13 and 20.

on the Western Coast of Africa, where there are no Indians, the Africans have rapidly learnt to undertake skilled work for themselves and have thus advanced in the scale of civilisation more speedily than on the East Coast.

It is further argued, that the Indian is only a second-rate workman, and therefore the African is learning only second-rate work. The Indian is said to be untrustworthy and unscrupulous in business, and to have exercised an immoral influence over the African, introducing to him the "vices of the East."

For these and many other reasons, it is urged, the employment of Indians of an inferior type in East Africa has been a terrible blunder. It would have been much better never to have brought them out at all. In South Africa, it is said, the mistake was discovered before it was too late. The door has now been shut. The same fundamental error must be rectified all over Africa, before its baneful effects reach any further; for, in the long run, the presence of the Indian will be the ruin of the African. Therefore, Indians must not be allowed to emigrate indiscriminately to Africa. They must be excluded all along the Coast, from Mombasa down to Durban. East Africa must "fall in line with her sister colonies in the South." South Africa has shut the front door: it remains for East Africa to shut the back door, from India into Africa.

In all that I have been writing above, I have been simply repeating sentences, which have been frequently used by the Europeans themselves, as their stock arguments on what is called by them the "Asiatic Question." To take certain phrases out of the Economic Commission Report:—

"The African," the Report says, "is not strong enough anywhere to stand against the competition of the more crafty Indian race. So long as that race is organised to keep him in servitude by shouldering him out of all posts, which lie in the path of advancement, the African must be content to be a mere hewer of wood and drawer of water."

It should be quite clearly understood that, in East Africa, this view of the Indian has been very widely circulated indeed. It is to be found among Government officers as well as among non-officials.

But surely the first question of all to be considered ought to be the exploitation of the African by the European. There, the record of East Africa is nothing less than one long indictment of plunder and greed against the European. I have a letter before me, which was quite recently written to me by one who was in a very responsible position in East Africa for nearly fifteen years, and who thus speaks from an intimate and first-hand knowledge of the facts. He writes: "Remember, that since slavery was abolished, our British East African policy, in Rhodesia and Kenya Colony, provides the blackest page in Imperial history."

One of the settlers, Major Grogan, who, if my information is correct, has himself taken the largest share of anyone in the confiscated territory of the Kenya uplands, writes in his book, as follows:

"We have stolen the African's lands: now we must steal his limbs." Major Grogan looks forward to a future, in which there will be only two strata of society in East Africa. "The lower, (i. e. the African) will do the menial work and draw sufficient of the proceeds to meet all his own simple wants; while the upper (i. e. the European) organises, directs, and takes all the surplus produce." The italics are mine. The words are significant.

"Short of compulsion," he goes on, "direct or indirect, the main mass of African inhabitants will never take part in the development of their country. We can never develop their country without their co-operation (sic.) because where negroes are, white man will not do manual work. And the negroes will not disappear, as have savages in other lands."

While I have thus felt bound to bring forward this counter claim against the Europeans, insisting that, while bringing their charge against the Indians, they should not pretend to virtues which they do not possess, I would not shirk the main issue on the Indian Question, which the Europeans themselves have formulated.

I detest Imperialism and exploitation, whether the exploiter be Great Britain or Japan, or India. If it could be proved, that Indians, apart from the conduct of the Europeans, had degraded the Africans, then I, for my own part, would do my utmost to urge Indian leaders at home to prevent their fellow countrymen from going over to Africa for merely predatory purposes.

But after taking all the pains I could to find out the actual facts, by examining at first hand reliable European witnesses, by cross-questioning Indians themselves, and by obtaining from the more intelligent Africans, such as the people of Uganda, their own candid opinion, I have no hesitation in saying, that the charges brought forward against the Indian by the European, are, in a majority of cases, substantially unfair, and to a very great extent biased by race prejudice. It has become clear to me also beyond dispute, that the Indians along with the Europeans, in spite of grave faults which are common to both races, have done much to help forward the moral and social development of the Africans. I regard it as entirely unproved that the Indian, by his presence, is keeping the African in servitude as "a hewer of wood and drawer of water." It would certainly be a truer description of the European, having regard to the fact that he has obtained even legislative sanction to exact forced labour out of the African for the cultivation of his large estates. "We have stolen his land" as Major Grogan himself frankly confesses, "now we must steal his limbs." Yet this most candid confession by itself could not be a fair description of the European character and influence in East Africa. There is another side of the picture. Much of the European influence is altogether wholesome and good as I have seen with my own eyes.

The situation in East and Central Africa, as far as I have been able to judge, appears to be this. The advance already made, in bringing the African

forward out of the state of raw savagery, has been due to two causes, which have been working side by side together. There has been, first of all, the initiative and supervision of the European, whose scientific and practical ability and higher educational training have made him hitherto take the lead, though that leadership may by no means be always necessary in the future. Secondly, the Indian had been, even before the arrival of the European, in close contact with the African along the coast and to a much lesser degree in the interior. He had met the African in trade and barter, and had thus already performed an invaluable civilising work. Now, since the arrival of the European, the Indian trader has pressed forward into the interior more than he ever did before,—often advancing into the heart of malaria-stricken districts where no European could possibly settle. Again the European cannot and will not undertake sustained manual labour in the tropics. He shrinks from it, even in the Kenya Uplands. Therefore, the actual daily apprenticeship of the Africans has been carried forward successfully by the Indian artisans and mechanics, who have been assisted at their work by the Africans, until the latter are clever enough to undertake the work by themselves. The Indians, in this way, have trained more African workmen than all the industrial and technical schools put together. Indian traders have also carried forward successfully the same kind of apprenticeship in other necessary directions, initiating the Africans into the mysteries of trade and barter and the value of money.

I have been fortunate enough to obtain the independent opinions of many of the largest European employers of African labour in East and Central Africa. It was a striking fact to me, that every one of these took the same general view of the situation as that which I have outlined above. These Europeans, with whom I talked on the subject, were practical men, not politicians. They all agreed, that European supervision was still necessary. It had been, they said, very hard to get Europeans during and after the war, and Indian supervision had been tried again and again without much success. When they went on to speak about the African, they told me, that nearly all their skilled African workmen, who were now earning good wages, had been trained by the Indian mechanics. They told me also the very important facts that whenever the African attained sufficient skill in manual work, he got the job in preference to the Indian. The reason was quite simple. The African was always economically cheaper, because there was no expensive passages to and from India to be paid for.

I asked specially the question, whether trade jealousy ever came in among the Indians to prevent the African from learning the secrets of skilled work, and thus rising in the scale of labour. I was told that such instances were very rare indeed. They never finally succeeded. The boycott would break down. Besides, no skilled Indian mechanic

ever lost his job through teaching an African. On the contrary, he would himself get promotion. The demand for skilled labour went many hundreds of times beyond the supply. It was altogether a mistake to think that the amount of work to be done in East and Central Africa was limited, and that the Indian was continually ousting the African out of his job. The very opposite was the case. The Indian was continually opening up fresh and lucrative work for the African, because without the intermediary help of the Indian the immense contracts which were being taken on every day for harbour works, railway extension, irrigation, electric power supply, etc. could never be accepted. When I spoke to these employers about the comparison with West Africa which had been brought forward, they pertinently replied that West Africa was much closer to Europe, East Africa was much closer to India. When you had to develop a country from a state of cannibalism upwards, you must take the help of the nearest civilised country. This is a good answer; but one which appears to me to go deeper is arrived at from a study of East African and West African settlement conditions. In the Congo basin, the Africans have been forced to labour directly for the plantations and for the collection of rubber: their land also has been alienated. The consequence has been the degradation of the African, very much in the same degree that we find in East Africa. But in Nigeria, where there has been no expropriation of land and where the African has been his own cultivator and producer, the technical progress has been rapid. There had been also a certain previous civilising element in Nigeria owing to the spread of Islam. In any case, the comparison between the two countries is a forced one, and it is really not worth arguing out to the full, since the conditions are so different, and also the African populations do not come from the same stock.

The opening up of the vast areas of Central and East Africa has been carried on at an immensely rapid rate, in the present generation and that rate is likely to be still further accelerated. It is quite useless to consider now, whether Central Africa should have been left in its savage state, or not. The process of development has already gone a long way, and can never be retraced. In that process, two civilised and civilising peoples have materially assisted, — the European and the Indian.

Both of these civilising peoples have had very grave faults, which have left their mark upon African character. The chief fault of the European has been his overbearing greed and ruthless aggression, by which he has seized land wholesale from the Africans and forced the Africans to labour against their own will and consent. The chief Indian fault has been that defect in character which seems to be ingrained in a subject race,—the fault of meanness in trade and bargaining, the fault of taking a mean advantage of helplessness, ignorance and inexperience.

Yet, when all has been said of blame on both

sides, I for one cannot doubt, that the savagery and cannibalism of Central Africa had to be stopped, if humanity were ever to rise above the level of the beast. And it *has* been stopped. That is the salient point.

The civilised Arabs, during centuries of intimate connexion with this coast and interior, had their opportunity, but they failed because of their ceaseless slave-raiding cruelties. The Europeans and Indians to-day have had jointly their present opportunity. They have not altogether failed, while at the same time they have not altogether succeeded. The outward mechanism of modern civilisation has been pressed forward in a way that was never possible in this part of the world before. The very grave evils, which have been evolved in the process, should by no means be minimised or overlooked. They need the most vigilant watch and guard on the part of right-minded and right-thinking people all over the world, in order to counteract and to defeat them. This supremely important work of vigilant opposition to the greed and aggression, which preys upon the child races, ought to be international in character. It belongs to no one race, but to all humanity. It may be found best for its stability and permanence, that just as the Opium Question is now to be dealt with by an International Commission of the League of Nations, so there should be a Commission to deal with the child races of Africa. But such a Commission can only be effective, if it has the conscience and intellect of the civilised world behind it. I hope it will be clearly recognised by those who read these pages, that in all I have said about the evil, I do not fail to appreciate the good which has been done by European and Indian alike. I have witnessed with my own eyes a hundred signal examples of kindness, gentleness and sympathy on the part of Indians towards their brothers and sisters, the African men and women; I have seen their tenderness also towards little African children. Furthermore, I have seen, among my own fellow countrymen,—especially among the missionaries who have been the pioneers in Central Africa, from Dr. Livingstone onwards—wonders of devotion and sacrifice for the good of humanity. I have witnessed whole peoples, like the people of Uganda, who have been raised in the scale of human life in a single generation. These things must never for a moment be lost sight of, in face of the evils which have to be overcome.

Thus both European and Indian are still needed for the development and advance of East and Central Africa. At the same time, the evils of exploitation are so continually present, that the conscience of the world continually has to be roused against them; and that conscience must express itself in action.

(To be continued.)

C. F. ANDREWS.

Shantiniketan.

THE CHANGING PROGRAMMES OF NON-CO-OPERATION.

IN less than twenty months, the non-co-operation programmes have run into so many rapid editions, that it is worth while to have a complete view of them all in one place in order that one may be better able to see things in their right perspective.

Though non-co-operation gained prominence only in March 1920, the first public utterance to the idea was given by its author, Mahatma Gandhi, as early as 23rd November, 1919, when he presided over the Khilaphat Conference at Delhi. The first part of the third resolution of that Conference runs thus :

"In the event of the Khilaphat being put in jeopardy through the unjust treatment and dismemberment of Turkey in the peace settlement, Indian Mohamedans will be compelled to withdraw all co-operation from Government as a matter of religious duty."

It is noteworthy that the Mahatma was one of the staunchest advocates of co-operation at the Amritsar Congress which followed a month later, that the Khilaphat resolution of that Congress (Resolution No. 15) merely records its discontent and does not go beyond protesting, as also the Muslim League resolution of that year which gives vent to its disappointment and contents itself with the remedy of 'constitutional agitation.'

Non-co-operation makes its appearance next in *Young India* of 14th January, 1920, but its first mature programme is to be found in *Young India* of 10th March, 1920 :

- (1) There should be no violence in thought, speech or deed.
- (2) Therefore, there should be no boycott of British goods, by way of revenge or punishment. Boycott in my opinion is a form of violence. Moreover, even if it were desirable it is totally impracticable.
- (3) There should be no rest till the minimum is achieved.
- (4) There should be no mixing up of other questions with the Khilaphat e.g. the Egyptian question."

What was the programme of non-co-operation at first ?

"(1) Cessation of business on the 19th inst. (March, 1920) and expression of the minimum demands. (2) Those who are holding high offices of honour or emolument ought to give them up. (3) Those who belong to the menial services under Government should do likewise. (4) Advice to the soldiers to refuse to serve is premature. It is the last, not the first step."

The second programme of N.-C.-O. appears in *Young India* of 5th May, 1920. The four progressive stages fixed there are :—

- (1) The first is the giving up of titles and resignation of honorary posts.
- (2) The second is withdrawal from Government services, saving for the time the police and the Military departments.
- (3) The third stage involves the withdrawal of the police and the Military.
- (4) The fourth stage consists of the suspension of taxes."

It may be mentioned here that although non-co-operation was originally conceived as a remedy against the Khilaphat wrong only, it was later on extended to the Punjab wrong also; and the first time when this extended use is openly given out is in the leading article of *Young India* of 9th June, 1920.

Then about the end of June, 1920, a deputation of Mahomedans waited upon the Viceroy and tendered him a virtual notice that, in case the Khilaphat wrong was not redressed in the meanwhile to the satisfaction of the Indian Moslems, they would be driven to inaugurate the movement of non-co-operation as from 1st of August next (i. e. 1920). About the same time Mahatma Gandhi also addressed an open letter to the Viceroy to the same effect.

Then came the third programme, the details of the first stage of which are given in *Young India* of 7th July, 1920, as :

- (1) Surrender of all titles of honour and honorary posts.
- (2) Non-participation in Government loans.
- (3) Suspension by lawyers of practice and settlement of civil disputes by private arbitration.
- (4) Boycott of Government schools by parents.
- (5) Boycott of reformed councils.
- (6) Non-participation in Government parties and such other functions.
- (7) Refusal to accept any civil or military post in Mesopotamia, etc.
- (8) Vigorous prosecution of Swadeshi.

It may be stated here that in *Young India* of 14th July, 1920, is thrown out the first indirect suggestion—that besides the problems of the Khilaphat and the Punjab, the problem of Swaraj also can be solved by the self-same remedy of N.-C.-O. In due course the 1st of August dawned and the banner of N.-C.-O., as already notified, was unfurled by the Mohamedans under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.

Next followed the special session of the Congress at Calcutta in the second week of September, 1920, where the non-co-operation resolution was adopted by a vast majority. This is the fourth programme. The preamble clearly states the three goals—Khilaphat, Punjab, and Swaraj. The details of the programme are nearly the same as in the previous one, the only change being that item No. 2 was dropped and "boycott of foreign goods" was added.

Here it may be observed that it was in his speech at this Congress that Mahatma Gandhi made the first announcement of Swaraj in a year. He said: "I make bold to re-iterate my statement that you can gain Swaraj in the course of a year." During the four months intervening between the special session of the Congress at Calcutta and the ordinary session at Nagpur the items that were concentrated upon were Council-boycott and the boycott of educational institutions.

Then met the Nagpur Congress in the last week of December, 1920, which re-affirmed the Calcutta position in general. It, however, dropped from its programme the items adopted at Calcutta about (a)

renunciation of titles, etc. (b) non-participation in State functions, (c) refusal to accept service in Mesopotamia, and (d) boycott of councils and added the new items of (1) utmost possible contribution of self-sacrifice by one and all, (2) organization of Non-co-operation Committees in each and every village, (3) organization of Indian National Service, (4) the Tilak Swaraj Fund and (5) special effort to rid Hinduism of the reproach of untouchability. It also amplified the educational boycott in three different items as (i) boys under 16 to be approached only through their parents, (ii) boys over 16 to be approached directly, and (iii) managers and trustees of educational institutions to be called upon to help to nationalise them. The concluding portion of the resolution lays special stress upon Swaraj within one year, and exhorts people accordingly. This is programme No. 5.

For about three months following the Nagpur Congress, *i. e.* the months of January to March, 1921, the movement about boycott of schools and courts was at its height; but new schemes of work continued, in the meanwhile, to appear in *Young India*. Its issue of 23rd February laid down the following six conditions of Swaraj:—

- (1) Cultivating the spirit of non-violence.
- (2) Setting up the Congress organization in every village.
- (3) Introducing the spinning wheel in every home and manufacturing all the cloth required for our wants through the village weaver.
- (4) Collecting as much money as possible.
- (5) Promoting Hindu-Moslem Unity and
- (6) Ridding Hinduism of the curse of untouchability and otherwise purifying ourselves by avoiding intoxicating drinks and drugs.

This may be called programme No. 6. It was crystallised at the sitting of the All-India Congress Committee at Bezwada at the end of March into:

- (1) The collection of one crore of ruppes for the Tilak Swaraj Fund.
- (2) Enrolling one crore of members on the Congress register.
- (3) Introducing twenty lacs of spinning wheels in Indian homes.

This programme was to be completed before the 30th of June. Side by side with these three activities the picketing campaign was in full swing during this period, while the old cries of boycott of educational institutions and law courts were not heard of. *Young India* of 25th May reiterated the same programme with special emphasis on (1) the removal of untouchability and (2) the removal of the drink curse.

In the last week of July, the All-India Congress Committee again met at Bombay and fixed upon the boycott of foreign cloth as the only item to be completed before the 30th of September. This marks the 7th programme of the N.-C.-O. movement.

Meanwhile came the Moplah outbreak and the arrest of the Ali brothers. *Young India* of 22nd September emphasised the same programme thus:—

- (1) Be non-violent under the greatest provocation.

(2) Preserve the Hindu-Moslem Unity even under the greatest strain.

(3) Boycott the use of foreign cloth, even though you may have to be satisfied with the merest loin-cloth, and take to hand-spinning during every odd moment that can be spared."

In *Young India* of 6th October the following advice is given. "I suggest to every Congress and Khilaphat worker the advisability of organizing hand-spinning and hand-weaving in his respective district to the exclusion of every other activity."

The Working Committee that met at Bombay on the 5th inst. passed resolutions which give the latest, *i. e.* programme No. 8, thus:—

- (1) The Working Committee is of opinion that it is the clear duty of every Government employee, whether soldier or civilian, who can support himself without Congress assistance to leave such service.
- (2) The Working Committee advises all Congress Committees to organize meetings to adopt the following resolution of the Working Committee including among other things the supporting of the Karachi resolution.
- (3) Boycott of foreign cloth to be completed before the end of the current month.
- (4) Although general civil disobedience is positively disapproved, active workers in the cause of Swadeshi are authorised to practise it in their individual capacity under certain precautions.

The first item of this new programme introduces a new step, *viz.* the call to withdraw from Government service; and the second and fourth items together in effect usher in the movement of civil disobedience, though yet on a limited scale.

To sum up, the main items tried until now are (1) giving up of titles and honorary posts, (2) boycott of Councils, (3) boycott of educational institutions, (4) boycott of law-courts, (5) the anti-drink campaign, (6) the Tilak Swaraj Fund, (7) enrolment of Congress members, (8) removal of untouchability, (9) handspinning, (10) use of khaddar and (11) boycott of foreign clothes. What measure of success has attended each item, let the reader judge for himself. It will be seen that I have only recorded facts, taken almost entirely from *Young India*, and have refrained from commenting on them, my object being to let him draw his own lessons.

D. K. GOSAVI

THE WORLD OUTSIDE.

*Writing off
Bad Debts.*

GERMANS seem not unnaturally to expect that their country will be reduced to bankruptcy ere long and as a consequence are trying to exchange their money for something which will retain its value even after the smash: *i. e.* especially for joint-stock shares. As a result there has been wild speculation at the Berlin Stock Exchange and of course where everybody wants to buy and currency is suspected, exchange must drop further and further. After Versailles, the mark stood at about an anna (pre-war value 12 annas): to-day it is worth five pies! As a consequence the salary, say, of the President of the German Republic, who gets 100,000 marks, is worth to-day £175; whilst an English private on the Rhine gets 13s. 4d. per day.

i. e. £243 p. a.: in other words, every soldier of the British Army of Occupation draws what in Germany amounts to more than a Presidential salary! What a lurid light on the burden which Germany is called on to bear! Take another item of the same Bill. The *New Republic* of August 10th reports that the American Army of Occupation on the Rhine (13,795 men strong) had cost to date \$275,384,192.18 of which only \$34,639,620.89 has so far been paid. Then there is the French Army. And Reparation Commissions, Disarmament Commissions and all the rest of them: all living in first rate style and drawing first rate salaries. How ever can Germany be fancied to have the ability of paying all these elaborate tax collectors, let alone the tax itself? At present no "victor" nation politician has the pluck to tell his nation that all these debts are "bad"—that you do not make bad debts good by adding more bad debts to them; that the only hope is to renounce all idea of further reparations or indemnities or sanctions and to get back a stable international economic equilibrium by helping the otherwise helpless and hopeless bankrupt nations back to prosperity. The United States can lead the way by releasing the associated powers from the debts they accumulated in America; provided the British will similarly release their Allies from the debts contracted in England. If that was done, a proviso could be made that these Allies must similarly release their former enemies from their obligations, and once that was done, Germany, Austria, etc. should have a chance of becoming once more good customers. Thus and thus only can the world get back to real "normalcy" and sanity. Will Washington make the necessary first move?

In the Darkest America.

SENATOR LUSK of New York has recently been convicted of taking "presents" (i. e. a share in the spoils) from the detectives whom he so amply employed to spy upon wicked socialists, "Radicals" and other dangerous people such as those whose chief crime it was that they had not selected American parents, when coming into the world. One remembers the genesis of the "Anti-German League" in England during the war, when another saviour of his country was "caught with the goods." That sort of thing is bound to happen during periods of patriotic hysteria in any country. We presume that the precious Mr. Lusk will now disappear from the political horizon of the United States. But can we be sure? There is another man, L. Small by name, who is still Governor of Illinois—the big State which includes Chicago—and who before he became Governor was Treasurer of this State. This "Governor" is at the moment reported as trying to dodge a law officer who has been sent to arrest him on a charge of embezzlement of public funds and there is no suggestion that this Mr. Small will cease to be Governor of Illinois, whilst the charge is being established, or even after! It is really very difficult to understand the menta-

lity of the American public. Take the case of Prof. R. T. Kerlin who published a letter in the *Nation* of June 15th, appealing for mercy (or rather justice) in the case of six Negro farmers under sentence of death. In justifying that appeal, Professor Kerlin recited the following facts: that the Negroes of Phillips County were endeavoring to end the crime of peonage, or slavery, to which they were subject; that the trial before the Supreme Court of Arkansas had shown they had neither instigated nor begun the riots of 1919; that the Negro farmers had armed themselves only after they had been threatened and molested; and that they had been tortured by whipping and in an electric chair to force them to testify in such a way that they would incriminate themselves and their fellows. Professor Kerlin called the impending execution of six men a "crucifixion" and called upon the Governor of Arkansas "to take the matter into your private chamber and give it an hour's earnest consideration, as before the Eternal Judge." Very nice, you will say, but what is there extraordinary about it? Wait and listen to the sequel: on August 20th the Board of Visitors of Virginia Military Institute, where Prof. Kerlin was teaching, expelled him—the sole charge being, not that he had blackmailed or embezzled or any innocent thing like that, which any Senator or Governor might do, but that he had publicly taken the part of Negroes by writing that open letter in the *Nation*!

The Real Russia.

AFTER all the sensational journalism about the famine in Russia, one is glad to get the facts, which in all conscience are bad enough, from competent observers such as Miss Anna L. Strong of the "Friends' Relief Mission in Russia" or the special correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*. The distress of course is dreadful, enormous: on that point imaginative sensationalism and sober fact coincide. But as to the effects of that gigantic calamity on the governed and on those governing, actual facts and tendentious fancies completely diverge. The latter had painted scenes of despairing multitudes, reducing to utter chaos the last shreds of government and civilization; whilst the Government, reduced to impotent panic, resort to terrorism which however is unable to avail against universal dissolution and anarchy. As a matter of fact we now learn that the psychological effect on the famine-stricken people is not to madden them at all, but to make them apathetic: a fact obvious to anyone in India, anyhow. Says the *Manchester Guardian* of September 16th:

"A strong well-fed man who goes without food for a few days may grow desperate with hunger, but those who starve slowly for months on end do not grow desperate. They grow weaker and weaker in body and soul, and if they are not carried away by disease, they pass, almost imperceptibly, from life to death."

As a consequence there is neither violence, nor theft: this correspondent describes how even food is safe! As for the Government, Miss Strong in

her report dated Sept. 4th speaks of the "Health Department" of Russia as "a wonderful organization," who "are tackling an enormous job and doing it well." This Health Department, she says,

"has thousands of clinics and sub-stations all over Russia. It works quickly. We went to Dr. Trebugov, its head of transport, with our offer of food, and in three hours our waggons were assigned, our permits issued, our food properly divided among the three neediest districts to which trains were going within a few days. We had only to load the waggons, seal them, and to put our own personnel in charge or allow their doctors to handle them, as we chose. It was up to us. We could work in any way we chose through them, and we could work quickly. If we had not automobiles enough for loading, they offered us theirs."

*Its Sham
Helpers.*

MISS STRONG goes on to describe the wonderful spirit of sacrifice which prompts every Russian, however poorly fed himself, to share what he has got with his fellows of the famine districts. Most wonderful of all, she thinks, is the example of starving peasants sowing the seed-corn given to them, instead of trying to eat it. "Nothing," she says, "of all that I have seen in Russia has given me such a sense of the power of this people." From this to turn to the International Famine Relief Conference in Paris, is indeed to expose oneself to an overwhelming sense of moral nausea. This Conference is arranged by the Supreme Council which as usual performs variants of the old domestic dialogue :

Marianne : Certainly not.

John Bull : Really, my dear . . .

and besides this performance performs nothing, which of course is exactly what Marianne wants. (As in matrimonial alliances, the lady naturally has the last word in differences of opinion with her husband !) To drop metaphors : the precious Conference has appointed a Sub-Committee under the presidency of M. Noulens, to go to Russia and—investigate. As M. Chicherin in reply indignantly remarks : "Instead of collecting food for the hungry, M. Noulens is satisfied to collect statistics."

"Neither the American Relief Administration, which has already begun to send food to the starving children, nor Dr. Nansen, as High Commissioner of the Red Cross, has thought it necessary or possible to compel the hungry masses to wait for assistance until these profound researches can be completed."

But then, as he says, "the nomination of M. Noulens is in itself a programme." For this late ambassador of France at Petrograd, this "bitter and treacherous enemy of the Russian Revolution, is as much as any living man responsible for the civil wars, the foreign invasions, the blockade." To propose sending him on a mission of investigation is indeed nothing but to show by this "monstrous jesture of mockery at men dying of hunger," that all that is intended, is not to help Russians, but to embarrass their Government. "Chivalrous" France!

CORRESPONDENCE.

REGULATION III OF 1818.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—My attention has been drawn to the article headed "Repeal of Repressive Laws" in the issue of the 29th ultimo of your esteemed journal. I notice that your comments on the recommendation of the Committee, of which I had the honour to be one of the members, with respect to the scope and applicability of Regulation III of 1818 and its analogous Regulations in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies in an amended form are likely to produce a wrong impression on the mind of the reader.

In the first place it is necessary to make it quite clear that Regulation III and its counterparts as recommended to be amended by the Committee would not in any sense affect British India or British Indian subjects *except* in so far as the Frontier Districts are concerned. Even there, their scope would be more restricted than was hitherto, as I would presently show.

In the case of Native States the scope and application is very much more restricted than your comments make out. "Exiles from Foreign or protected States who are or become the instigators against such States," referred to in the Report, *would not be*, as you infer, "subjects of States who might incur the displeasure of their rulers for awakening political aspirations in their fellow-subjects," but *as a rule* the Ruling and ex-Ruling Chiefs who might have been deposed, or, members of their families or their adherents "*who are liable to become the instigators against such States.*" Some of the instances of this kind are (i) in the case of Foreign States: the late Amir Ayub Khan of Afghanistan and his sons; and (ii) in the case of Native States the late Mir of Las Bela, and Maharaja of Panna. When the above-named Chiefs came and took refuge in British territory it became the bounden duty of the British Government, in accordance with various treaties with the Foreign and Native States, to protect the interests of the States concerned from any instigations of those persons by restricting their movements. And it was found out that there was no other way of doing this except to have recourse to the Regulations under reference.

So also persons referred to in the second class of cases as "disturbing the tranquillity of such States who cannot suitably be tried in the Courts of the States concerned and may not be amenable to the jurisdiction of the British Courts," are only the Ruling Chiefs themselves, and not their subjects, *who can always be tried in the Courts of the Native States concerned.* It is only the Ruling Chiefs who are immune from both the jurisdiction of their own Courts as well as that of British Courts, and *whose subjects need to be protected against any outrage committed on them by their Rulers, by some sort of special procedure.* Your readers might be familiar with what is known as the Rupal Case. Rupal, a ruling chief in this Presidency, was charged with the murder of one of his servants. But he was neither amenable to his own Court nor to any British Court. A special Commission was appointed to investigate the case. The findings of this Commission were that the crime had been committed; but no action was possible except under the Regulation under reference. It is instances of this kind that the second class of cases referred to in the Report under the amended Regulation, covers.

In the case of Frontier Districts also the provisions of the amended Regulations are intended to be enforced against the following three classes of persons :

(i) Those like the ex-Amir Ayub Khan who fled from Afghanistan and came and took refuge in India. *He was not a British subject, but his movements had to be restricted in accordance with the obligations of treaties with foreign countries, specially in the Frontier Districts, to ensure peace on the Afghan border.*

(ii) Those like the sons of the said Amir Ayub Khan, who were born in India and therefore *were British Indian subjects, but whose activities also had to be restricted in*

accordance with the obligations imposed by the treaties. And finally,

(iii) Those *British subjects* who might attempt to tamper with the loyalty of the troops at the Frontiers or incite hostile frontier tribes to commit acts of violence, outrages, or create disturbances in the British territory. Instances of this kind on record are the late Nawab of Tonk, the late Post Master of Peshawar, etc.

The scope of Regulation III and its counterparts in the three classes of cases mentioned in the Report goes as far as I have explained above. You will thus see, sir, that the aforesaid Regulations as amended are intended to protect both British Indian subjects and subjects of Native States where the ordinary law does not afford them protection, and, secondly, to fulfil certain treaty obligations with Foreign and protected States which it is not possible to fulfil otherwise. In no case, I repeat, are the Regulations, as recommended to be amended by the Committee, to affect persons, whether British subjects or subjects of Native States, who, as you say, *might incur the displeasure of their rulers for awakening political aspirations in their fellow subjects.*—Yours, etc.

G. M. BHURGRI.

Hyderabad (Sindh),
October 21.

REVIEWS.

SHORT NOTICES.

The Secret of Asia : Essays on the Spirit of Asian Culture by T. L. VASWANI, M. A. (Ganesh & Co., Madras.) Re. 1.

WE learn from the publisher's note that the idea of this book arose out of a suggestion which Mr. James H. Cousins threw out in a lecture at Karachi on the "Cultural Unity of Asia" for the formation of an Indian academy "for the collection, co-ordination and dissemination of information on all phases of Asian culture." The book consists of nine essays and lectures describing mainly the several aspects of the ancient Indian culture. In fact, the explanatory sentence of the title of the book would more appropriately have been "essays on the Spirit of Indian Culture," which is no doubt included in the Asian culture but certainly cannot be only that. The spirit of ancient Indian culture is described by Mr. Vaswani with much enthusiastic appreciation and the book will prove useful to those who think that there has been and is nothing which Asia can contribute to the civilization of the world. Mr. Vaswani is a speaker of the emotional type; and therefore, what would naturally carry the fullest significance to his audience even if it is not described fully, reads serappy and incomplete in the book. It would have been therefore better if these lectures had been edited and amplified for the purposes of the book. We wish also that instead of the usual and cheap fashion of unfavourably contrasting the defective (and therefore impermanent) *realistic* phases of *modern* western civilization with the *idealistic* spirit of *ancient* Indian culture, Mr. Vaswani had explained the soul of the spirit of the European culture in which case we are sure he would have been constrained to say how both the civilizations are complimentary to each other and how both of them in union are essential for the world's progress. "The vision spiritual was the secret of Asiatic greatness in the past, the vision spiritual is what a bankrupt Europe needs urgently to-day to enrich civilization." This does not mean in the least that modern India is less bankrupt than Europe! It is refreshing to see that Mr. Vaswani in his enthusiastic appreciation of the past does not slip into that easy and common position of snug self-complacency and hatred of all progress. "I believe that India in order to be great" he says "must develop a modern outlook on life!" And we are glad to find that his idea of the modern outlook does not differ in the least from that of our leaders who have been working in several ways for the advancement of the country.

2. Indian Legislative Economics of Town versus Country by E. L. PRICE, B. A. (Oxon.) Bar-at-law, O. B. E., M. L. A., Karachi. Price Rs. 3 or sh. 4 net.

This book is a collection of select speeches from the official reports of the debates on economic subjects in the Council of State and the Indian Legislative Assembly during their first sessions. Mr. Price deserves the thanks of the country for the idea of publishing the reports of our Councils on special subjects in separate volumes. We hope the idea will be taken up by others and very soon such reports will be available in large numbers. If experts in several departments of administration, official and non-official, are also induced to write introductions to such specialised reports of speeches, the Indian students and publicists cannot have a better means of political education than these books. Considering the book under review, as a notable forerunner in this direction one cannot help remarking that the price is rather prohibitive.

The book under review consists of speeches bearing on the fiscal policy of India. Mr. Price, in the introduction, is of opinion that our legislators in their anxiety to foster and improve Indian industries are depressing agriculture by prohibiting free export of agricultural produce and he fears a great conflict in the future between these two great sections of Indian producers, which we think are groundless. If India should grow rich as necessarily she would when her industries are improved, even agriculture should become more paying than it is now, for two reasons (a) because agriculture and industries are interdependent; (b) the increased prosperity of the country must automatically be suffused to agriculture also. So the temporary and necessary sacrifice which agriculture has to suffer will be more than made up by the resultant prosperity.

M. S. M.

Nationalism in Hindu Culture: by RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJI M. A. Ph. D. The Asian Library. Published by the Theosophical Publishing House, London and Adyar. pp. 104.

This little book is a reprint of the author's Mysore University Extension Lectures on the subject which originally appeared as articles in the *Commonweal* in 1920. These being popular lectures, the treatment of the subject is superficial and there is much repetition. Mr. Mookerji enforces the geographical and cultural unity of the whole of India by quotations from the Vedas, the Smritis, Puranas and other branches of Sanskrit literature and by reference to the importance attached by all sects to the pilgrimage of holy places which are purposefully so placed as to cover the length and breadth of India. In the diversity of race, language and creed there was evolved a unity of nationalism, based on culture and spirituality which is very different from the selfish, narrow, aggressive and materialistic nationalism of European countries. The evolution of a similar cultural and spiritual unity for the whole of humanity is recommended as a worthy ideal for the League of Nations.

V. V. S.

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