

THE Servant of India

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Office: KIBE WADA, BUDHWAR PETH, POONA CITY

VOL. V, No. 47.]

POONA—THURSDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1922.

{ INLAND SUBS. RS. 6.
{ FOREIGN " " 10.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
TOPICS OF THE WEEK ...	552
ARTICLES :—	
In Defence of My Tour. By V. S. Srinivasa Sastri. ...	555
The Shame of Assam.—II (Contd.) ...	556
The Task before the Nagpur Federation. By V. S. Ramaswami ...	558
The Compulsory Education Act.—I. ...	559
THE WORLD OUTSIDE ...	561
REVIEW ...	562
BOOKS RECEIVED ...	563

TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE latest news from Lausanne refers to the position of the Greek Patriarchate at Constantinople and we are sorry, in the interests of the Greek Church itself no less than on general grounds, if this Patriarchate is to remain, what it is now: a politico-ecclesiastical institution, combining in one hand temporal and spiritual powers—much after the manner of the Moslem Khilafat. The Phanar (as the official residence of the Oecumenical Patriarch at the Golden Horn is called) had under the old Turkish régime temporal, as well as spiritual, jurisdiction over all Orthodox (i. e. Greek) Christians, who were thereby committed to a dual allegiance, which was bound to lead to constant trouble and friction: and it is indeed melancholy that the Orthodox themselves should not welcome the ending of this impossible situation. If the present occupant of the Patriarchal throne, the highly cultured and widely travelled Meletios, would only remove his oecumenical patriarchate to, say, such neutral ground as the monastery-republic of Mount Athos and be satisfied with the position of spiritual head of all the Orthodox, thus placing himself at once above all mere nationalisms and racialisms—what immense gain to his religion it would be! And to think that, alas, he should prefer, backed by the military power of some Western nations, to remain a kind of super-Consul-General of Hellenism!

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THE arrival of H. H. the Aga Khan after an eight months' absence in Europe was marked by the grant to the *Times of India* of a lengthy interview in the course of which he spoke about "the most in-

tricate and delicate position" and "entreated the Moslems of India to continue to support the Angora Government"; but although he asserted that he had "always spoken his mind plainly and emphatically", we have searched his statement in vain for any "plain", let alone "emphatic", reference to the one subject which one supposes is above all others of moment to Moslems—the question of the Khilafat. In strong contrast to this attitude stands the mentality—perhaps frequent enough, but hardly ever voiced publicly nowadays—as contained in an address of Mr. Dehlavi's at Surat the other day in the course of which he thought "that it would be nothing short of treason against religion if we assume a silence which would mean acquiescence" in the Angora policy: for "shorn of his temporal powers, the Khalifah cannot be recognised as Khalifah by the Moslem world." The third attitude of Moslems—still rarer heard in India—is typified by M. Felix Valyi, the Continental correspondent of that zealous Turkish chronicle, our other Bombay contemporary. This gentleman stands for an "evolution of Islam," for the "denouncing of the artificial deformations which the sacred traditions underwent in the course of centuries" and for a wholehearted support of "the Angora Reformers" whom he styles "the *élite* of Islam." The "Old Turk" school of course is shocked at these actions of the "Young Turks" who shave and get their clothes from a Westend tailor and who refuse to keep their country shackled for ever to the conceptions of a sixth century polity of Arab nomads. At the same time nothing succeeds like success, and who can gainsay Kemal Pasha's success? The dilemma is an uncomfortable one, no doubt, and we cannot but sympathise with those who for three years have threatened to die in the last ditch in defence of the Khilafat, and who now are reduced to the tactics of those with whom discretion has ever been the better part of valour, and who with them "plainly and emphatically"—say nothing.

* * *

Lifting of the Ban. THE question of the removal of disqualification from contesting the next General Election which their political activities have entailed upon several leading non-co-operators was raised in the House of Commons, when Lord Winterton in reply declined to do anything to facilitate the non-co-operators' entry into the Councils. Commenting on this, the *Englishman* is good enough to say that, as a result of this

pronouncement, Moderates feel greatly relieved that their competitors are out of the way. As a matter of fact, there is not a Moderate but desires wholeheartedly the cessation of non-co-operation and therefore the removal of the ban on Council elections, whether by the Government or the non-co-operators. No one will welcome the leaders of the non-co-operation movement more warmly back into the fold than the Liberals; not only because it would be a complete vindication of the policy with which they have been consistently following, but because they are fully conscious of the weakness from which the legislatures suffer on account of the fact that all the different views prevailing in the country are not represented therein. Let this therefore be clearly understood and let the Conservative Government in England not shelter itself behind the Indian Moderate party in maintaining the present boycott. The Moderates who are never tired of appealing to the non-co-operators to come in and take their place in the Legislatures will not support the Government in the latter's non-co-operation with the non-co-operators.

EVERY week latterly there is news of raids by Mahsuds or Wazirs from the independent tribal areas between the N.W.F. Province and Afghanistan, though these areas are called semi-independent in our official phraseology. Last month a number of passengers travelling in a motor lorry on the road from Dera Ismail Khan to Bannu, including some civil and military officers, were kidnapped and the driver was killed on the spot. Sir John Maffey, Chief Commissioner, and Lady Maffey just missed an attack by the same marauding party, having passed the spot of the incident only an hour before the lorry was successfully attacked. There have been several other minor raids involving kidnapping, cattle-lifting and wounding of villagers. Marauding parties have now grown bolder; they have left the Frontier province behind, crossed the Indus and attacked villages in the Mianwali district of the Punjab. A Mahsud of this party in his retreat killed two officers and wounded a third. There comes the further news of Lt. Dickson, R. E., being shot dead by a sniper on the road under construction from Idak in the Tochi valley to Razmak in the Mahsud country, probably as an act of revenge for the road-makers encroaching on his independence. What if this was all due to the provocation that the people of Waziristan, including the Mahsuds, have received by the occupation of their independent area by our military posts and political agents? The Mahsud is the finest fighter of all the Pathan races and nowhere more so than in his own mountainous country and in defence of his home. Is it not time for military spokesmen of the forward policy school to pause and save the country from going bankrupt?

AMONG a section at least of pro-Council Congressmen there is a lively recognition that entry into

Camouflage no longer Necessary!

the Councils is opposed to the principle of non-co-operation and will deal a death-blow to the movement. Mr. K. Rajagopalan, for instance, who was only last year co-secretary with Mr. Rajagopalachariar of the Tamil Nadu Provincial Congress Committee, advocates withdrawal of the Council boycott and makes no bones about resorting to constitutional co-operation to win self-government. He says: "It is a mere rhetorical refinement and sometimes very misleading to say that within the Councils we can adhere, as Panditji suggests, to the strict principles of non-co-operation. Frankly we must co-operate and boldly co-operate to our advantage, steadily elbowing out the Government from its vantage ground, till Swaraj in terms of practical convenience (*sic*) and political freedom is won." It is certainly a great advantage not to have to use camouflage in pleading for a change in the Congress policy, as some publicists used to do out of consideration for the sensitiveness of the pro-change party. Another proof of the widespread realisation on the part of this party that the removal of the boycott is incompatible with the essential principle of non-co-operation is afforded by the following remarks of the *A. B. Patrika*:

"No lawyers ourselves, we heartily dislike the efforts that are being made by ingenious arguments to prove that entry into Councils constitutes no departure from the principle of boycott. For ourselves, we do not care if it is really a departure or not. If circumstances justify a departure, it must be made irrespective of any other consideration. Let us not deceive ourselves or any body else. But let us have our wits about us. Let us think and act like rational beings and men of the world."

WE were much surprised to find *Young India* reiterating the absurd comments of the *Bombay Chronicle* on the possible reaction of the Compulsory Education Act in the Bombay Presidency on the so-called national schools of that province. The latter paper's complaint seems to be that the Act casts upon every parent the duty of sending his children of school-going age to some school which is open to Government inspection, and since it is the essence of "national schools" started in pursuance of the non-co-operation movement to be free from Government association, the Act will naturally result in emptying all the national schools, unless non-co-operators start civil disobedience and send children to schools not connected with Government. Why the *Chronicle*, which is clear that the Act will never come into operation, should be so concerned about its evil effects one does not know; but even if our contemporary's anticipations are falsified and the Act actually comes to be applied, the non-co-operation schools need not suffer one whit. For the statutory obligation enforced by the Act to send every child to school with a Government affiliation is subject to an exemption in cases "where the child is receiving, otherwise than in an approved school, instruction which in the opinion of the school board is efficient." "National schools" may therefore well co-exist with other schools, provided they are efficient; and since it is left to the school boards, to which at most three members can be appointed by Government and on which the elected members may be anything from twice to four times as many, no one has any reason to complain. Instead of "national schools" having to shut up shop, such of them as are now languishing for want of pupils will prosper on account of the Act, because on the whole there will be a large increase in the pupils going to school.

IN DEFENCE OF MY TOUR.

BY V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

A LARGE section of Indians take their political subjection not only seriously, but tragically. It is responsible for much, but they would trace all evil to it. The inferior status of our people in the Dominions is to them exclusively traceable to their inferior status at home. It is in vain you tell them that the people of China and Japan fare no better. They pay no heed to the fact, however often iterated, that the Dominions have sometimes excluded even British immigrants. What is the good, they ask, of a people who are denied equality on their own soil pleading for it elsewhere? And so my mission, being foredoomed to failure, was undertaken to serve some purposes other than Indian interests! This view overlooks its origin. At the Prime Ministers' Conference of 1921, an Indian deputation was requested to visit Australia, New Zealand and Canada to present India's case to their inhabitants. India's contribution in the war and initiation into self-government have caused the white people of the Dominions to think better of her than before, and any steps taken by these towards the removal of Indian disabilities must, in its turn, have a beneficial effect on the political situation here. It is wise, therefore, to attend to our external and internal status at the same time and side by side.

The resolution of which I was to seek the fulfilment in the three Dominions did not apply to South Africa which was necessarily kept out of my tour. General Smuts had told me besides that I had better not go to his country till a more favourable turn had taken place in the opinion of his countrymen towards Asiatics. Unless something was to be gained by creating a dramatic situation, a visit to that sub-continent on this occasion was out of the question. If where the problem was comparatively easy we had found a solution, we could tackle it with hope where it was difficult.

It is unjust to say that I was confident of thorough success when I left, and that I am trying now to cover up my failure by some sorry camouflage about the removal of prejudice, the raising of India's credit, and so on. Both Government and I knew the difficulties fully and did not expect even such tangible result as has actually come. Speaking at a dinner at Simla on the eve of my departure, the Viceroy said:

We must not, however, be disappointed if they do not produce immediately the results we seek; for, in these political negotiations patience is a great virtue. We must be patient. We have ground for trust; for I am confident that the seed Mr. Sastri sows will in the fullness of time bear the harvest which should completely satisfy our legitimate hopes.

A few days later, just before sailing for Australia, I discouraged undue expectation in the following words:

We have first to assert equality with other races in this Empire, and to ask that that equality, to the extent that our population are lawfully resident in those parts, should be fully conceded. Even that is by no means an

easy task. There are prejudices of long standing to overcome; ideas that through generations the white races have maintained and handed down to the detriment and disadvantage of coloured races. I have elsewhere expressed the view that the problem to my mind is not insoluble; but it does take time. You cannot change people's minds and alter their psychology at will. The mere enunciation of a doctrine, just and righteous when it is enunciated, is not enough. It takes a long course of heart-education to take people out of their prejudices and plant them in the free and healthy air of human brotherhood. Those that are at work in the region of morals, in the purification of people's hearts, preachers and missionaries and teachers of ethics, know fully that it is not knowledge of philosophy or philosophical doctrines that counts in these matters so much as that inner conversion which comes, alas, to too few amongst the sons of men, but which, we hope, in the years to come may become the commoner and commoner possession of humanity. It is that inner conversion to which we have to look forward. It is not therefore by the puny efforts of one individual that you can expect this great revolution in people's minds. I will attempt the task for the first time, but others besides me will have to do the same; probably two or three such missions will have to be undertaken before we shall obtain in Australia, New Zealand and Canada those full rights of citizenship which the races inhabiting these areas already enjoy.

I am, therefore, far from being disappointed. On the other hand, I am pleased and thankful. Surely, in making an estimate of my tour, the opinion of competent observers in the Dominions is relevant. And by it I am prepared to be judged.

In expressing acquiescence in what is called the "White Australia" policy, I am believed to have sold the birthright of my countrymen for a mess of pottage. This birthright is an incident of citizenship of the British Empire and consists in the liberty to move about freely and settle down anywhere in the Empire. Now there are those who question this right as an incident of British citizenship. At any rate, they say it is not yet established to the satisfaction of jurists. However that be, we agreed, through our representatives at the Imperial War Cabinets of 1917 and 1918, to the principle of reciprocity between the Dominions and India, that is, the right to keep out, except for temporary purposes like education, travel or business, immigrants considered unsuitable. When the Indian case was argued in 1921 it was on this basis, and the plea was expressly advanced that as India had foregone her claim to free and unrestricted emigration, she ought to receive in return absolute equality of treatment as to franchise and other political privileges to her nationals lawfully settled in the Dominions. I am not aware that this understanding was repudiated or seriously questioned by any well-established political association in the country. Nor was the statement on this subject challenged, which was contained in the Memorandum of the Government of India published in October last year. On what authority could I go back on this understanding or treat it as a scrap of paper? Was the inauguration of direct negotiation between the Government of India and the Dominions to be signalled by a violation of our plighted

word? And yet partly through ignorance, partly through perversity, some organs of public opinion kept up the cry that I had surrendered India's right of emigration, and a secretary of the Democratic Party in the Legislative Assembly cabled to the Prime Minister of Australia, questioning my representative character and repudiating on behalf of India my acquiescence in the "White Australia" policy. No proof this of great political sagacity or solicitude for the good name of India.

Blame has likewise been fastened on me for attacking my political opponents and indulging in party politics amongst strangers. The fact is true, but not the motive suggested. One of my important objects was to enlist the sympathy of the people of the Dominions in our political movement. To this end I had to make them understand the exact situation in India. Besides, when requests were made to me for an explanation of certain political phenomena in India, to refuse compliance would have been to admit that we had something to conceal. I trust in my portraiture of the non-cooperation movement I did no injustice to those engaged in it, and I venture to claim that my tributes to Mr. Gandhi's character and motives have increased the circle of his admirers.

Another question asked of me is, why did I speak enthusiastically of the British Empire? I have no answer to those who have no faith in it. But no true Liberal can belong to this class. If we view revolution with horror, it is because we believe that we can attain our political salvation within the Empire by purely peaceful and constitutional methods. It is part of our business to inculcate this faith and to inculcate it in strength. And my reading of history teaches me that a belief in the beneficence of the British Empire is on the whole amply justified. It is true certain recent events in India like others in the past tend to weaken that faith. It is true many statesmen, whether in England or India, and many officials fall grievously below its ideals. Still the general tendency of the Commonwealth and its constitution is to carry its peoples ever upward. In using language of earnestness regarding the ideals of the British Commonwealth I did no violence to my conviction and followed a well-known rule of effective advocacy.

THE SHAME OF ASSAM.

II. (Contd.)

SUBSIDIARY OCCUPATIONS.

THERE is one point in connection with all this question of wages, on which unfortunately the Report under review is quite silent. On p. 71 the Committee indeed suggest that the work which should ensure payment of a decent wage, not a mere subsistence allowance, should not occupy more than six hours; but nowhere else is there any reference to the time actually spent by labourers on work for their employers. An 1865 Act, which fixed a minimum wage of Rs. 5, also fixed the maximum hours of

labour at nine per day for a six-day week; but how far this still represents actual conditions to-day, is not apparent. On the other hand one reads of "coolies never physically fit to do a hard day's work" (p. 12), "physically unable to earn a decent living wage" (p. 14); that "work had to be done on three Sundays out of four" (p. 15); &c.—from which one would gather that nine hours may be nearer the mark than six. The matter is of importance, since the Report quite rightly points out that "low earnings are not necessarily an indication of unfavourable conditions. Where the labourer is allowed ample leisure to attend to his cultivation and liberal off-time generally, he is more likely to be contented with comparatively low earnings. On the other hand, gardens where discontent has broken out, can frequently point to high earnings, the result of strictness of management and of turning the coolies out to work against their will" (p. 33). Now the important fact is that as much as 1,26,951 acres of land are tenanted by teagarden labourers; which means that, if all this land was evenly distributed amongst the 5,71,526 forming the adult estate population, each adult labourer would be holding over one-fifth of an acre, producing, say, 100 seers of rice per annum. That quantity would not make the labourer independent of any other source of income; but it would be a subsidiary source of some importance. It is clear that, if a 36 hours' weekly work in the tea garden ensured to the labourer a decent living wage, the spare time spent by him on his own paddy patch ought to provide him with a comfortable margin.

The first flaw in that assumption, however, is that all the available paddy land is not evenly distributed. In fact, "new coolies have no land for cultivation. It takes a coolie 3-4 years at least to save sufficient money to set up a holding with the necessary live stock, and some time may elapse before a holding falls vacant" (p. 24). In order to save that much, the theory is, that he is given a chance of working "overtime"—but it will be remembered that taking this (and every other kind of earning) into consideration, an average labourer could not have saved more, even in 1914, than eight annas! Then, when the labourers clamoured for more wages, as they could not live any longer on those received, "gardens instead of raising the rate of wages, have frequently afforded the labourers increased facilities for earning *ticca*; but the coolie, with less leisure for his private business, naturally did not regard the provision of more work on these conditions as the equivalent of a rise in the rate of wages" (p. 31). Let us remember that the estate does not pay the labourer, when engaged on his own small-holding and that therefore, if opportunity to engage on this latter work is to be any "concession" at all, the estate must already have guaranteed a decent living wage to the labourer for work occupying not more time than would encroach on the time required for the tending of his own small-holding. But

so far from the labourer's subsidiary occupation being carefully studied, we find that when tea companies incur loss, they make a practice of placing "restrictions on the labourer's *ticca* earnings" (p. 31); whilst when tea is booming, the restrictions are on the time that a labourer is permitted to spend away from garden work!

How therefore these small-holdings can be called a *concession* to the labourer, is not apparent; since they are obviously for the estate a very convenient reservoir of surplus labour, to be stored or drawn, according to the exigencies of the estate. We would not minimise the excellent psychological effect that these small-holdings must necessarily have, in that they counteract the monotony of garden work and the soul-destroying tendency of discipline: but we protest energetically against the usual contention of Assam planters that, although the garden earnings of a labourer are not very high, he has many "concessions" granted to him, which enable him to be quite well off, unless he is incurably lazy. As far as the "concession" of small-holdings is concerned, this contention is clearly untenable.

CONCESSIONS.

As regards the other "concessions", which in the Committee's terms of reference are called "indirect remuneration" and by the Governor in Council "benefits or privileges", one really feels on reading these descriptions as if one had stepped through Alice's Locking Glass into a land of Topsy-turvydom. A tea company entices a labourer a thousand miles away from his home to labour on its tea garden and when he arrives there, it says to him in effect: True, my friend, your wages are not excessive; but then, see what a fine barrack we are providing you with, without exacting a pie's rent from you! And this Assam Government, instead of obliging these tea companies—as any civilized Government would in respect of any employer of imported labour—to provide their labourers with fit habitations to live in, actually and solemnly deliberates "whether it is possible and desirable that the indirect remuneration represented by the above-mentioned concessions should be converted into an increase of money wages"! The thing is frankly incredible and sheds a lurid light on the mentality both of employers in Assam and of their Government—a mentality only explicable on the assumption that everybody there is still living in the era of 1859. That an employer has any duties towards those he employs, is a thing apparently still unheard of in Assam: rights he has, of course; but duties?

We have searched the Report high and low, but we have found not one reference to the *duty* of employers. Suggestions are made that "enlightened self-interest" (that expression beloved of mid-Victorians) might prompt employers to exercise their "rights" a little less exactly; but duties? That an employer is morally responsible for the body and soul of his employer as long as the one is in the employment of the other; that

this responsibility imposes on the employer certain duties, which are by no means trivial or inexpensive,—all that, as far as Assam is concerned, seems to be still as much hidden in the womb of time, as it was elsewhere in the era of the Mutiny.

To our own knowledge there are Assam Tea Companies which have opened up rubber estates in Malaya and there are a number of old Assam planters in the Malay States now: is it really possible, then, that these garden managers in Assam should be blissfully ignorant of the lakhs and lakhs which for instance Malayan rubber companies have had to spend on housing and sanitation—not because they just choose to do so, but because their estates would be shut up by Government in double quick time, unless they did so? To see all the elaborate specifications and plans for "coolie lines" in Malaya, insisted on by the Labour and Health Departments there, would surely be a liberal education to some people in Assam and, enlightening them as it would on some of the duties attaching to garden proprietors, it might possibly prevent the question of "concessions" coming up again in another committee's report.

These remarks apply not only to housing, but even more so to medical assistance and sanitation. On p. 94 of our report the mortality on the estate population is given for all years from 1904 to 1921 and, leaving out the influenza years 1918-20 it would appear that the ratio per 1000 ranges between 22 (in 1906) and 34 (in 1908); starting with 23 in 1904, it finishes up with 27 in 1921. It is interesting to compare with this the Malayan ratio (*vide* "The Prevention of Malaria" in our issue of July 20th) which from 66 in 1908 had been reduced in 1919 to 8: not because it just happened, but because the Government of Malaya insisted on all estates incurring an amount of expenditure on hospitals, drainage and similar works, which would probably raise the hair of every Assam tea manager and of his Calcutta agent.

For in Assam apparently, to provide medical treatment and even hospitals for one's labourers is still a "concession"—and the labourers apparently may thank their stars that they are not charged for it! But what is most distressing, is the Government attitude to it all. There is apparently a fine central hospital in one place in Cachar serving 14 estates, described (p. 22) as "in every way an admirable institution and probably *unique*". Just note the quiet resignation to its *uniqueness*! Why should there be any estate in the whole of Assam, not connected with a similar central hospital? Why should Government allow this Labac hospital to remain *unique*? In the Surma Valley, we are told that "indoor accommodation of hospitals is often of an inferior character" (*ibid.*); elsewhere "*generally speaking*, the Indian medical staff is qualified"; "*most* gardens are equipped with an ample supply of medicines" (*ibid.*); "latrines are *sometimes* attached to hospitals" (p. 97)—and all this is said, not as utterly damning, not as a serious shortcoming of the estates and as a dread-

ful indictment of the Government of Assam, which allows such a scandalous state of affairs: but, forsooth, as singling out for special praise those estates which do not utterly neglect their responsibilities!

THE TASK BEFORE THE NAGPUR FEDERATION.

THE demand is made from all sides for a big step forward in Constitutional Reforms. The question is what the forthcoming Conference of Liberals at Nagpur is going to say to that universal desire. After the *débâcle* in the Congress, the temptation to sit still will be very great. "Let us pass on," "business as usual," are convenient formulæ which appeal to minds not accustomed to quick march and apprehensive of radical changes. The feeling of relief at the comparative quiet that now prevails in the country may induce some people to believe that the country has after all returned to the normal mood and therefore to look askance at proposals which might encourage or bring about fresh agitation. Such a view would be disastrous, for India is not quiet, much less contented. There may be no ripple on the surface, but the current for the time is passing below and its appearance above may be expected at any time. The Nagpur meeting would be therefore committing a huge blunder if it heeds to the policy of let alone, which is advanced by a few Conservatives who are unable to march along with the times and whom the time spirit considers as encumbrances which are best allowed to lag behind.

What have the Reforms done in the nation-building Departments? Have the Ministers the wherewithal to finance long-deferred reforms? Thanks to criminal mismanagement and manipulation of our finances, we are nearing bankruptcy. The Government of India have respected the Central Legislature except in one case, but that case proves the need for changing the law. Dyarchy is a dismal failure, and Ministers are not being consulted in important matters connected with the maintenance of peace and order. It is the firm opinion of the writer that, so far as information available to the public is concerned, the presence of Indians in the Executive Councils has not proved the blessing it was expected to be. Lord Reading, from whom much was anticipated, is the same Sphinx he was when he arrived, and he is perhaps now a convert to the view that the best that a Viceroy can do is just to allow things to go in the old groove, taking as little responsibility on his shoulders as possible and making as few changes as possible. The general opinion now held of His Excellency is that he will do nothing striking.

It is commonly believed that the Viceroy's natural tendency to leave things alone and not to take extra care to ascertain and conciliate public opinion, has been strengthened by certain instructions stated to have been sent down from England, that the Reforms should be worked with re-

ference to the strict letter of the law and that no changes should be effected which, though they may be construed to follow logically from the provisions of the Act, are not definitely required by them. That is to say, the hope of those who believe that we can achieve swaraj by the gradual development of conventions, practices and understandings is a vain one and ought to be abandoned. This rumour may be right or may be wrong, but the policy of the India Office, ever since Viscount Peel has assumed the *gadi*, has been so reactionary and retrograde as to arouse a suspicion that the authorities in England are determined to withstand all pressure from India for a liberal carrying out of the Reforms, in consonance with the spirit of the times. The Cabinet, at the instigation of the War Office, has, it is understood, rejected the proposals of the Government of India for Indianisation of the Army and further ignored the recommendations of the Military Requirements Committee. It has also been dictating the policy which India should pursue on the Frontier. Viscount Peel, on his part, began his career by asking Lord Reading to reduce the increased excise duties, and has followed it up by refusing to consider the Assembly's demand for the full budget right and for further constitutional reforms, by turning down the proposals of the Racial Distinctions Committee and by proposing to improve the pay and prospects of the Imperial Services. One may incidentally take note of the effect, which Mr. Lloyd George's "steel frame" speech and the public utterances of the Secretary of State and his understudy have had in India. The European members of the Services are more than ever entrenched in their impregnable position and feel that they can pursue their old policy with every assurance of its being supported in England. They hate Mr. Montagu, they hate the Reforms, and naturally they acclaim the coming into power of Conservatives as an act of deliverance for which they have to be grateful to Providence. It is pretty obvious that from the Secretary of State we cannot expect anything but fresh trouble and humiliation.

What then should be done when not only the Secretary of State, but our friends in England are against any action on the part of India to demand a forward move? Three courses are open to Liberals. They can quietly swallow every insult and pray God to shorten the days, so that the ten-year period of probation may be reached soon. Or they may summon sufficient courage to prepare an elaborate representation to the Mother of Parliaments to be so good as to remove the defects in the Act, by granting Provincial Autonomy and by making a few changes here and there. There is a variant of this plan, and it consists in the suggestion that the statutory Commission should be asked to be appointed now, and at once. It is clear, however, that the present British Government is not likely to favour either of the proposals, and a Commission, if it ever came to be appointed, would consist surely of a preponderance of Die-hards.

There is one other proposal before the country which already claims many members of the existing legislatures as its supporters. It is that the electorates should be asked to elect persons at the next General Election who, whatever their political persuasion, would agree to constitute Provincial and Central Conventions for the purpose of preparing a scheme of swaraj, or, to be modest, a constitution for India, which, after approval by the various Legislatures, should be presented to Parliament for being enacted into law. The advantages of the plan are that the Constitution would have been prepared by the mandate of the electors, that India would have prepared her own scheme, that Parliament would hesitate to look askance at it because the will of the electorate had been expressed in a clear and unequivocal manner. Moreover, the state of the country is such that in the interests of peace the necessity for reaching swaraj as early as possible is overwhelming. What chances are there of Congressmen accepting the plan? There would be many if the Congress removes the mandate against Council-entry; there would be none if it does not. But if really India secures Freedom, Congressmen are not going to say that they would not have it because they did not put their hands in the pie. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari's article in *Young India* on the point is worth perusal. At any rate, the Nagpur Federation should do what it can to have the political prisoners released as an act of amnesty—that is absolutely necessary. Are there any chances of Parliament accepting the scheme? It is a difficult question to answer. What can be urged upon the British Government is that, if they do not pass the Act as India would have it, they run greater risks than they have ever done in the past. If they are not going to listen to the voice of their own creation, the Indian electorates, then they are hard-hearted, and India should then consider as to what should be done to maintain her self-respect. It is better to concentrate upon a plan which promises, if successful, to bring us to the goal, than to utilise our energy on a minor enterprise the prospects before which are recognised to be poor. The one would take longer time, but then it would have the support of the electorates. In any case, we shall have done our best to put sense into England, and we should leave the rest to Providence. If England is determined to remain blind, then God help her!

V. S. RAMASWAMI.

THE COMPULSORY EDUCATION ACT.—I.

IN passing the Compulsory Education Bill, said Mr. Findlay Shirras at its first reading, the Bombay Council "is adding another pebble to the cairn of India's future prosperity." This is no small praise, and the Council deserves it, but it underates the effects of the measure if it has reference only to material progress. For the influence of the Act will be even more marked on the moral wel-

fare of the people of the Presidency. It is well said that "education is a most important part in the spiritual foundation on which the character and stability of the social edifice will rest." One can therefore confidently look forward to a considerable amelioration of the moral as well as the physical features of the social structure as a result of the universalisation of elementary education, and we for our part value the former far more than the latter.

The Act, though warmly welcomed in all quarters, was not free from criticism in the legislature. In fact non-official criticism was both general and varied, but, to a large extent, ill-informed and superficial. The main object of the Act is to supersede the principle of optional compulsion embodied in the Act of 1918 by one of absolute compulsion. The 1918 Act only empowered the municipalities to apply compulsion within their borders if they chose to do so; now the Government have decided to take the initiative themselves, and the present Act enables them to do so, in that hereafter they can require municipalities, and local boards as well, to introduce compulsion. This legislative reform was pressed on the Government by most of the witnesses that appeared before the Compulsory Education Committee and the Committee themselves recommended it. The Act effects this reform in a satisfactory manner, and yet the constant complaint was heard in the Council that, even after the changes made, the Act still remained one of optional compulsion and was destined to remain a dead letter even as the Act of 1918 has been. "A new edition of the Patel Act" was the phrase repeatedly used by several members in describing the provisions of the new Act.

Now, a little reflexion ought to convince everyone that that is exactly what the present Act is not. Being convinced that compulsion will not be introduced on any appreciable scale so long as its introduction is left to the discretion of local bodies, Mr. Paranjpye has now taken power to force compulsion on them as soon as funds and other conditions permit, and he hopes to be able to cover the whole ground within a period of ten years. But, say the critics, though the Government have taken power to compel local bodies to apply compulsion, they are themselves under no statutory obligation to do so. If the 1918 Act made compulsion optional in case of local bodies, the present Act makes it optional in case of Government; but it is optional all the same. If the former remained inoperative because of the inaction of local bodies, the latter will be equally inoperative because of the inaction of Government, unless some provision is inserted in the Act itself which makes it illegal for the Government to remain inactive. This objection would be sound if it was possible at one stroke to introduce compulsion everywhere. In those circumstances the Act would not have given power to introduce compulsion, but would have declared the introduction of compulsion. But that being out of the question, and compulsion

having to be introduced by gradual stages, nothing remained for it but to take general power in the matter of applying compulsion and to leave it to the executive, under the control of the legislature, to call it into exercise according to a definite programme. The only possible alternative to this procedure was to embody the whole of this programme in detail in the legislation and thus to prescribe when compulsion will come into force in each particular locality. Nobody could of course maintain that such a thing was feasible, and therefore no valid objection could be urged to the line taken by the Bill, to the use, e. g., of the word "may" instead of "shall" in clauses dealing with the application of the power conferred on Government to call upon local bodies to resort to compulsion. Reference was made in the Council to section 11 of the British Education Act, 1921, on which the Bombay Government was urged to model its legislation, but, after all, what does this section say? "Any such (county) council from time to time *may, and shall when required by the Board of Education, submit to the Board schemes,*" &c. Thus it is clear that the present Act closely follows the British Act, which was held up to emulation by critics.

That no programme of educational extension has been incorporated in the Act does not surely mean that no programme has been framed; all it means is that, however minutely a programme may have been worked out, it can never take the cast-iron shape required in order to be made part of a legislative enactment. Thus there was no room whatever for alleging, as was done, that the scheme made by the Compulsory Education Committee was set aside by the Government. On the contrary the Minister of Education stated in plain terms that not only he, but the whole Government, accepted the scheme in general and would adhere to it as far as possible, hoping to carry out the entire scheme in ten years. But, asked the critics, if the scheme cannot be given the force of law, why not at least bind the Government to complete the whole programme within a certain period? The absence of a time limit was made by several critics the ground on which to condemn the whole Act as useless and to foretell its miserable failure. Attempts were made in the Council to insert a time limit first in the operative portion of the Act, and then in the preamble, but they were ruled out by the President on a technical ground. This is somewhat unfortunate, for it afforded no opportunity to the Council to discuss the merits of the suggestion. In our view the time limit is of no practical value, though it may have some psychological effect. From its nature it cannot be very rigid; words like "so far as possible" will necessarily have to be introduced so as to make allowance for unforeseen contingencies. The insertion of such words, however, neutralises all the value that may possibly attach to a time limit, in that it gives to the executive a ready-made excuse for the non-fulfilment of the scheme within the prescribed

period. Again, how is a time limit to be enforced? If a ten-year period is specified, no one can be held to account in the first nine years, and if in the tenth the Minister pleads inability to carry the scheme into full effect because of the remissness of the previous Ministers, he cannot be justly censured and anyway the scheme remains partially unexecuted. If a time limit inserted in the body of the Act thus fails of effect, one can imagine how utterly ineffectual it must be if it finds place only in the preamble.

This is not, however, to say that the legislature has no remedy against a Minister who does not put the Act vigorously in force. Mr. Paranjpye himself indicated it: "the guarantee of that policy lies in the hands of the people who control the persons who have the reins of Government in their hands." If the legislature has reason to know that the plan formulated by a committee and accepted by the Minister on behalf of the Government is not being loyally carried out, it can mark its withdrawal of confidence in any of the received ways, e. g. by withholding the necessary funds, and thus force the Government to carry the scheme into operation. Naturally hereafter the present Minister and his successors will render every year an account of the progress achieved by them in introducing compulsion, just as it happened in England after the Forster Act of 1870; and if it is found that the Minister is not sufficiently in earnest in the performance of the task entrusted to him or that he has relaxed his effort, the legislature will have the means of turning him out of office. But some members fear that the legislature will not be as wide-awake as it should be, and they therefore want a law which will of necessity have to be enforced whether the legislature is keen on it or not, and whether the executive is friendly to it or otherwise. No human ingenuity can devise a law which, once made, will like an automaton come of itself into operation, without any exertion on the part of anybody. Eternal vigilance is the price of educational progress as of freedom, and no law will be worked satisfactorily if the legislature is lethargic. Mr. Paranjpye himself sounded a warning that "the Council will have to keep a close eye on the educational progress of this country."

What the Council did not quite realise was that although a change in law is often necessary for the solution of a question, it is never the only element, and it may often be the least important element, that enters into a satisfactory solution. Let us take, for instance, the Development Scheme in Bombay. It was heralded by an amending legislation, but how little of the works that have since progressed is due merely to the Act of 1920 and how much to executive action! Similarly if the Compulsory Education Act just passed provides a remedy for the defects that existed in law, it can only be the first, if the most important, step in attaining universal education. But other steps must follow, in sympathy with the law. The taking of these steps is ensured in the present:

instance by the control which the legislature exercises over the executive. What legislation alone can do the present Act has done. The 1870 Act in England did not lay down any definite scheme of educational expansion in the body of the statute, nor did it prescribe a time limit. Still the Act was successful, since in ten years it paved the way to universal and absolute compulsion. In the same way there is no reason why the present Act should not be equally successful—provided only that the legislature and in the last resort the constituencies do their part of the duty.

THE WORLD OUTSIDE.

HOW many people realize that *Liberia* is a colony where 16,000 Americans rule over 2,000,000 Africans? Yet this is really the fuller truth than merely to say that Liberia is a Negro Republic. True, the Americans concerned are negroes; and the Africans concerned are negroes: but this racial identity only emphasizes that what really differentiates man from man is not his physique, but his mentality. And here we have a typical American community holding under its sway a score of African tribes, whose culture ranges from one with a Moslem background, as in the case of the Mandingo and Vai, to that of primitive savagery and cannibalism, as in the case of the Buzi and Mano.

The influence of the Afro-Americans as a matter of fact was at first entirely restricted to a narrow strip of coast belt and is only gradually penetrating into the hinterland. Two stories from Mosambolahn in this hinterland, which we have just come across and take from the October number of the *Hinterland*, the organ of the Liberian Mission of the American Holy Cross Fathers, illustrate forcibly and pathetically the fact of what a "desperate scourge the white man has been to Africa", as the Fathers themselves put it. Both stories deal with the African belief that it is often possible to "wake up" people from death.

The first story is that, when a man dies, another dead man comes to him and asks him why he died. He replies, "I got tired of toting load and carrying hammock." The other answers, "You must go back for we have to tote load and carry hammock here, too." Then the dead man thinks he may as well go back, and "wakes up."

Another custom, that of putting money in the hands of the dead is thus explained. As a man goes into the other world, he is met by another dead man, and the following colloquy takes place; "Why did you die?" "I build house and white man come and make me pay hut-tax. I am tired of paying hut-tax, so I die." The other replies, "You must go back. White man die too. He make you pay hut-tax here too." Again the poor harried soul decides it is just as well to "wake up."

THE "New Economic Policy" inaugurated by Lenin early this year is indeed progressing at a terrific rate in Russia. After the Bolshevik Revolution of five years ago the world was promised the spectacle of a new society, built up on altogether new lines.

Nothing was to remain as it had been in the wicked and crazy old world hitherto: the Marxist reconstruction was to result in something startlingly and radically novel. Alas for such dreams! One by one the old features reappear, like mural paintings from under a coat of whitewash; one by one the old methods, not to say the same old dodges, are being resorted to. How else describe the latest scheme for "raising the wind"—a scheme which consists in the issue of a State loan, which, in order to popularize it, will combine the features of a State Lottery! Gone indeed is the austerity of principle which at first characterized the newly born Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, when the worst abominations of the *ancien régime*—such as lotteries undoubtedly are—can be quietly reverted to. "Nothing is eaten as hot, as it is cooked", says a proverb, and the first frenzy of revolutionary fervour certainly must have cooled down remarkably, if such things are possible. What grounds, by the way, can the "Great Powers" still advance, after such convincing proof, for refusing recognition? With the overthrow of Mr. George, M. Lenin's government is now the most senior in the world; and if it continues much longer along its present lines, there is every chance of its soon becoming the most reactionary too. Could Lord Curzon perhaps oblige with a definition of principle on which he distinguishes between the oligarchy of Bolshevism in Russia, that of Fascism in Italy and that of Toryism in England? Do not all three agree in repudiating democracy, because the people cannot be trusted to know what is really good for them?

In Praise of Complexity.

IN the course of a book review on another page we are referring to the common fallacy of dismissing machine production as intrinsically evil and painting instead an imaginary golden age of village simplicity and the fanciful idyl of a self-contained rural community. Complication, however, is not an evil, but on the contrary the only method whereby altruism, initiative, will power, inventiveness can be stimulated into play and the whole of human personality be enriched and brought to fruition. Hence to say that a cottage industry is simple and a factory industry complex, is not to disparage the latter, but the former. Again, the advent of the machine which enables one man to do what it formerly took 100 men to do, is not a calamity, but a boon; since it makes possible by increased production not only increased consumption, but increased leisure. Man, being a free will being, can of course make an evil use of a good thing: and thus that modern industrialism has turned out to be a very evil thing—resulting in plutocracy on the one hand and wage slavery on the other—does by no means prove that it could not have been and still can be put to the very best of uses. In fact a highly and efficiently organized factory should be a liberal education for all who form part of it—by

the very fact of its embodiment of human reason. To be a necessary part of it, to share in the working out of ends, to have before one's eyes the logical interrelation of highly complex processes and divisions of labour, is surely at least as much of an education, as it is to read about it all in books. If factories were not run for profit, but for service, factory workers would not be degraded but elevated by working in factories, where they have to harmonize their own personality not only with the few members of their own family, but with perhaps many hundreds of strangers who now have become their fellow-workers.

**The Factory's
Educational
Value.**

WHAT does education aim at, if not character, culture, the disciplined mind, citizenship, service, vocational usefulness? 90% of the means employed to-day towards that end are lectures. If we look at what factory work should be and could be: is it not obvious that to take one's part in a great co-operative enterprise such as that of a big modern factory would be much more of a true education, than merely to absorb words and phrases, as a sponge absorbs water? One of the greatest indictments of modern capitalism is just this, that it has turned into a soul-destroying engine what is in itself the greatest potential vehicle for uplift that humanity has known. Once mankind has come to its senses and refuses to work any longer for profit, service in the factory will be as much part of all education, as, say, games are now-a-days; and in addition, labour conscripts might then well take the place of the army conscripts of our times. To blame the factory, because we have prostituted it, is as sensible as to disparage chemistry, because we choose to apply it to the manufacture of explosives and poison gas, wherewith to kill each other. No, as Prof. H. A. Overstreet of the City of New York College said the other day in a very thoughtful article (the *New Republic* of Sept. 13th):

The factory has come to stay. Must it forever be a menace to our civilization? The answer is emphatically "No." The factory, in an unprecedented way, has the resources of science and culture at its command. It needs only understanding and will to put into effect methods of organization that will yet make of the factory one of the most effective sources of education in our civilization.

The slums are only one side of modern industrialism, after all. Even under capitalistic conditions it is agreed on all sides that factory work makes for mental alertness; that the dullness and slow-moving brain of the rustic get transformed in one generation of city life. And it is not only that factory workers become more quick-witted: with it goes an appreciation of cultural values which escape the country yokel altogether.

WE would instance the serious attention that industrial workers, especially in the North of England, are paying to the Arts. Take the Leeds Industrial Theatre, where factory workers both produce and

consume drama and music, and for a weekly subscription of three pence can enjoy such masterpieces as Ibsen's "Peer Gynt", set to Grieg's immortal music, as staged the other day. The Leeds Workpeople Symphony Orchestra played the difficult music splendidly and the employees of a firm of tram manufacturers provided a very strong cast of players whose acting was of no mean order. The fact is that complication is of the very essence of human life—so much so, that when no complication exists in the nature of things, it is invented. Into this category fall all primitive races, who, because they lead a primitive life, do not for that reason also lead a simple life, as the 18th and much of the 19th century believed. Modern ethnography and anthropology are full of the almost incredibly complicated social conventions under which people in the totemic &c. ages live: complications such as intricate taboos, ceremonial acts connected with worship, initiatory rites at puberty &c. &c. The primitive race plays at life being complicated, in order to prepare itself for the time of its maturity, when life has become complex in reality and not in mere fancy alone. This, incidentally, is a good instance of the nowadays well established fact, that the evolutionary stages of the individual (infancy, childhood, adolescence) correspond to the evolutionary stages of the human race—the ages of primitive savagery, traditional conventions and scientific discovery. Man is created to be complex—hence he plays at complexity, until he can take his share in the complexity of reality. And those who in this latter age cry out for simplicity, are the obtuse minds who, shrinking from the effort of adapting themselves to the reality of things, would fain flee into a realm of fancy, where the simpleton can be king.

REVIEW..

ANDREWS, C. F.: CHRIST AND LABOUR. Madras, 1922. 7½ x 5. pp. ii and 146. Rs. 1-3. (Ganesh and Co.)

THE author, in publishing this series of eleven articles in book form, hopes that they " may be found useful for the purpose of social study circles, as well as by individual readers." The former purpose was obviously borne in mind in regard to the first half dozen chapters which deal with The Roman World (Slavery and Property), The Mediaeval World (Monasteries, Guilds and Canonists) and The Modern World (Reformation and Industrial Revolution). The subject is a most fascinating one and to say that it has been treated by Mr. Andrews, is to say that the book is fascinatingly written and that in fact, one cannot put it down, until one has reached the last page.

But for the purposes of a study circle these chapters exhibit a serious deficiency in that, though "giving an outline rather than a complete picture," they do not help the student otherwise to fill in the

details of that picture, since the author gives not a single reference to such works as deal with the subject more deeply. In fact the book before us refrains from giving chapter and verse for anything, and if the main historical facts were collected twenty years ago, it is just possible that some of them have become obsolete in the light of more recent research. A few bibliographical notes at the end of each chapter would thus have served a double purpose.

The prominence given by Mr. Andrews to the "just price" of scholasticism is very welcome and very much needed nowadays; one only regrets that he has not defined it more clearly as the price which is chargeable in order to give a just reward to all services rendered in connection with the article priced. It is from this fundamental point of view that modern prices should be judged: as for instance, when a price to-day depends on a "corner made"—*i. e.* when not a service, but a disservice to the community is being rewarded. Similarly, "usury" comes really under this heading of "just price." Mr. Andrews seems almost to think that when A borrows a pot from B, both are quits when B returns the pot to A: when as a matter of fact, they really will only be quits, if in addition B lends one of his pots to A. It is not in this way that you can assail "interest" but only by way of "just price".

When we come to the Reformation, we find no reference made to the result of common property (*i. e.* monastery lands) being handed over to individual ownership, nor later on the "enclosure of commons," which finally individualized all property in land. Mr. Andrews by the way writes as if *zemindars* were non-existent in India or as if *zemindars* were not capitalists. Throughout the book we are sorry to miss definition of and distinction between property for use (production and consumption) and property for profit. Again to talk of the "Industrial Revolution" without showing the inherent economic effect of machinery (*i. e.* the increase of productivity), and to restrict oneself to showing only its historical effect on the masses, may be good for propaganda, but hardly for "study circles."

In fact, with this chapter on "The Industrial Revolution" the book enters on a different phase altogether and, together with the next two chapters on Imperialism, forms a series of three very good magazine articles, which however are merely juxtaposed to what has gone before; whilst the three last chapters on Christ and Socialism are again of a different order, being sermons—of a most telling and inspiring kind; but sermons for all that. When one finds such words as "charkha" translated in a footnote, one wonders whether the present book is not merely an Indian edition of a brochure intended for Western readers. They certainly should find it a mine of information on account of the wealth of Indian illustrations adduced; but Westerner or Easterner, Christian or Non-Christian, cannot but enjoy the perusal of pages, every one of which is informed by a sublime hunger and thirst after Righteousness.

Z.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

From the Government Printer, Melbourne.

KNIBBS, G. H.: OFFICIAL YEAR BOOK OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA containing authoritative statistics for the period 1901-1920 and corrected statistics for the period 1700-1900, No. 1-1921. 9½ × 6. pp. xxxviii and 1228.

From T. Fisher Unwin Ltd., London.

BODWAY, JAMES: GUIANA, BRITISH, FRENCH AND DUTCH. Illustrated. Second impression. 1921. 9 × 5½. pp. 318. 15s.

From Gyldendal, London.

GOLOVIN, N. in collaboration with A. D. BUBNOR: THE PROBLEM OF THE PACIFIC IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. Translated by C. Nabokoff. Introduction by Harold Williams. 1922. 9 × 5½. pp. 256.

From the Hogarth Press, Richmond.

SPIRIDONOV, VASILLI: THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF COUNTESS SOPHIE TOLSTOI. Translated by S. S. Koteliensky and Leonard Woolf. 1922. 7½ × 5. pp. 126.

From the University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

THE CHICAGO COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS: THE NEGRO IN CHICAGO, a study of race relations and a race riot. 1922. 9½ × 6½. pp. xxi & 672. Illustrated.

From Government Press, Nagpur.

REPORT OF THE RETRENCHMENT COMMITTEE, 1922. 9½ × 6½. pp. 183. Re 1.

From H. M.'s Stationery Office, London.

COLONIAL REPORTS: Annual. No. 1122. COLONY & PROTECTORATE OF KENYA. Report for 1920-21. 1922. 9½ × 6. pp. 30. 1s.

EAST AFRICA: PAPERS RELATING TO NATIVE DISTURBANCES IN KENYA (March 1922). 1922. 9½ × 6. pp. 22. 6d.

ARMY: REPORT OF THE WAR OFFICE COMMITTEE OF ENQUIRY INTO "SHELL-SHOCK". 1922. 9½ × 6. pp. 215. 6s.

REVENUE: SIXTY-FOURTH REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONERS OF HIS MAJESTY'S INLAND REVENUE for the year ending 31st March 1921. 1922. 9½ × 6. pp. 163. 4s.

DEPARTMENT OF OVERSEAS TRADE: REPORT ON THE CONDITIONS AND PROSPECTS OF BRITISH TRADE IN INDIA, during the fiscal year April 1st, 1921 to March 31st 1922, revised to September 1922, by Mr. Thomas M. Ainscough. 1922. 9½ × 6. pp. 152. 2s. 6d.

Do REPORT ON THE ECONOMIC SITUATION OF THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES to March 1922, by Bluett, H. A. N. 1922. 9½ × 6. pp. 94. 2s. 6d.

PUBLIC HEALTH: ANNUAL REPORT OF THE CHIEF MEDICAL OFFICER OF THE MINISTRY OF HEALTH for the year 1921. 1922. 9½ × 6. pp. 115. 1s. 6d.

BOARD OF EDUCATION: REPORT OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION FOR THE YEAR 1920-21. 1922. 9½ × 6. pp. 77. 2s.

REPORTS OF THE CHIEF REGISTRAR OF FRIENDLY SOCIETIES for the year ending 31st December 1921. General Report. 1922. 9½ × 6. pp. 76. 2s.

FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS: ANNUAL REPORT OF THE CHIEF INSPECTOR OF FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS for the year 1921. 1922. 9½ × 6. pp. 131. 3s.

APPROPRIATION ACCOUNTS: 1920-21. Appropriation accounts of the sums granted by Parliament for Civil Services and for the Revenue Department for the year ending 31 March 1921, together with the reports of the Comptroller and Auditor-General thereon and His reports upon revenue and certain store accounts. 1922. 9½ × 6. pp. lviii & 647. £1 2s. 6d.

THE WAR OFFICE: STATISTICS OF THE MILITARY EFFORT OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE DURING THE GREAT WAR, 1914-1920. 1922. 13 × 8½. pp. 880. 10s. 6d.

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