

THE Servant of India

Editor: S. G. VAZE.

Office: KIBE WADA, BUDHWAR PETH, POONA CITY

VOL. V. NO. 22.]

POONA—THURSDAY, JUNE 29, 1922.

{ INLAND SUBSN. Rs. 6.
{ FOREIGN SUBSN. 3. 10.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
TOPICS OF THE WEEK --	253
ARTICLES:—	
Burma Reforms	255
Quo Vadis?	256
The Administration of the Central Provinces	258
The C. P. Legislative Council.—Last Budget Session.—V. By Sitabaldi	259
A LETTER FROM LONDON	260
MISCELLANEA:—	
Mr. Sastri at Perth	261

TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

Sapping the Moral Basis of Civilized Life.

THE two murders of Sir Henry Wilson and Dr. Walter Rathenau, following each other in rapid succession, throw a lurid light on the disintegration of civilized life which the "Great" war has brought upon Europe. It shows once more how utterly impossible it is to go on for five years teaching that the only cure for all evils is wholesale killing, and then suddenly to expect, because somebody signs a "peace" treaty that people will discard the teaching hitherto so strenuously inculcated, as if the human mind was an electric current, capable of being switched off and on at will. For five years men who maintained that killing opponents solves no problem were thrown into prison and held up to moral obloquy because of their conscientious objections: to-day it is the men who think that assassination does solve problems, who evoke the detestation of the very same publicists who were loudest in their war propaganda. One is glad of their conversion; one would be still more glad if one felt that it was a radical and permanent conversion. At least, if Europe to-day suffers from the wholesale perversion of the moral instincts of man during the war: will India take a warning from the imminent dissolution of western society, before she lightly proceeds on the path of "civil disobedience", "responsive violence" *et hoc genus omne*—a path which can lead to one goal and to one goal alone: that of universal anarchy?

A Portent.

THOSE who know how keenly sensitive Mr. Jayakar is to public opinion will regard his resumption of practice at the High Court as an infallible indication of the falling fortunes of non-co-operation. His was indeed a pathetically memorable sacrifice.

Among the many that have embraced the faith of non-co-operation, few there are who are prepared to be martyrs to it. Mr. Jayakar became a martyr to non-co-operation without believing in any of its cardinal tenets. He was won to this movement by the halo which popularity threw round it; but in his case no conversion ever took place. A Liberal by conviction, he allowed himself to be enrolled among the non-co-operators. We are not disposed to cavil at his gratuitous martyrdom, with so little of the spirit of sacrifice in this world. Nor is it our purpose to compare his great monetary sacrifice with the sacrifice which the unflinching advocacy of their unpopular opinions entails upon the Liberals—ostracism. We know that non-co-operators will say—in fact they are saying it of him—that he owned allegiance to Mahatma Gandhi so long as the Mahatma was in the ascendant, but deserted him the moment a dark cloud seemed to envelope him. But this is a most ungenerous criticism. For our part we congratulate Mr. Jayakar upon the fact of his having retrieved himself from what he never ceased to regard as a mistake. Having wrenched himself from the non-co-operation party, we are entitled to look upon him as a likely member of the next Legislative Council, and of those men who have abstained from the elections he is pre-eminently one whose return will be a distinct gain to the country.

Panditji's Disobedience.

If the U. P. Government finds itself in a difficult position on account of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's disobedience of the gagging order of the District Magistrate of Gorakhpur, it has only to thank the Magistrate's folly for it. Everyone knows that Panditji is the last person likely to inflame a mob, that he is a man of peace and conciliation—in fact, one that attempts to bring about conciliation even under what others would consider impossible circumstances. No doubt he was visiting the neighbourhood of Chauri Chaura, but there was absolutely no ground for the District Magistrate to apprehend a breach of the peace as a result of Panditji's speeches. He was preaching the use of khaddar, not the practice of civil disobedience, the question of adopting which is to be considered by the Congress authorities at a later date on the receipt of the special committee's report. It looks very much as if the Magistrate was trying to suppress political life by an arbitrary use of his powers. One can understand how sinister

must have been this attempt when even the Panditji, whose influence has been cast consistently in the scale against civil disobedience, was provoked into a deliberate violation of the Magistrate's order. It is an isolated act, directed against an individual magistrate and not meant to paralyse the administration.

Governorship
of U. P.

* * *

A MOVEMENT alleged to be popular but engineered by the Talukadars of Oudh has been set afoot in the United Provinces to secure the extension of Sir Harcourt Butler's term as Governor. Everyone is aware of his abilities but those abilities cannot alter the fact of his being a civil servant; and it was to escape the civil service rule and get the services of experienced British statesmen that all sections of the public in the U. P. joined some years ago in an agitation for raising the status of their province to that of a presidency. When that status was actually raised as a result of the reforms, Sir Harcourt was already in office and it was only natural for the public to acquiesce in his continuing till his term ended. But any extension of it would be indefensible on every ground. When the term of an office is fixed it would be a violation of principle to extend it in reponse to an interested or even disinterested suggestion. Some one or other would always be found to agitate for the continuance of every Governor and if such agitation be heeded serious evils would creep into the administration. The Talukadars of Oudh have indeed every reason to wish for Sir Harcourt to remain. He has been their consistent friend and very recently lent them the whole weight of his Government in resisting the demand of their tenants for hereditary occupancy rights. That demand is likely to be made again very soon and the good Talukadars therefore want their patron to be with them to help them again. But their move cannot but be seen through. It is possible that the familiar argument of the existence of political and agrarian unrest in the province will be urged. But as a matter of fact, Sir Harcourt's wrong policy has greatly aggravated that unrest—the policy of befriending the rack-renting oppressive landlords against the tenants and of giving a free hand to the executive in putting down political agitation by repression. We hope neither the Government of India nor the Secretary of State will countenance the proposal.

The Dividends of
Empire.

* * *

THE die-hard section of the Lords took recently the opportunity of raising the question of the Hydro-Electric Jordan scheme to which we have already several times alluded. Who was the concessionaire? A Jew! Was he going to buy all his supplies in England? No—he had the effrontery of wanting to place his orders in the cheapest market! What kind of mandate was this then, which was going to let the Jews' country be exploited by Jews and for Jews, instead of by the British Profitocracy? Away with the mandate! And away

it was done with in the Lords, and we notice that the press stunt against "that Russian Jew Rutenberg" is still merrily being carried on in our news cables by that gang of anti-semitic die-hards, whose ranks are adorned by the Sydenhams and O'Dwyers, and whose anti-Zionist shrieks are so loudly applauded by our own Khilafatists. But the incident is far more important in that it has brought once more to the surface the true inwardness of that powerful group of English capitalists to whom a mandate (as an Empire) is but a private property to be exploited for their own benefit and for none other. "Has British blood been spilled in the conquest of Palestine in order that a Russian Jew should make money?"—thus ask these great patriots, who apparently expect an awed world to exclaim "No, three times no—for the men that were killed in Palestine gave their life, of course only that the friends of Lord Sydenham might make a fat thing out of it!"

European Schools.

* * *

IN Burma the subject of European and Anglo-Indian education is to be transferred to the control of ministers. This was greatly facilitated by the abolition, which the Local Government had already effected, of the distinction between European and Anglo-Vernacular schools, as a result of the popular agitation against the European Code. Now there is no European Code as such, there being only a European curriculum adapted to the needs of those whose home language is English, or whose knowledge of English is sufficient to enable them to take a curriculum in which English is the sole medium of instruction. And managers of schools chiefly attended by non-Europeans are freely permitted to adopt, if they so choose, the European in preference to the Anglo-vernacular curriculum. Nor are non-Europeans now excluded from schools designed for Europeans and Anglo-Indians, the rule limiting the number of non-Europeans into such schools to 10 per cent. being abrogated. In Government schools all non-Europeans who possess the required knowledge of English are eligible for admission. The new policy has thus reference to the linguistic rather than the racial qualifications of students. After the adoption of this policy there remained no valid reason to reserve the subject of European education for official control. We find that in the Punjab some of the racial distinctions allowed by the law have now been removed. There the Indian scholars admitted into European schools were charged higher fees, and for certain scholarships there was a racial qualification. This discrimination has now been eliminated. But there still exists the rule which limits the proportion of Indians to be admitted into European schools to 15%. What Burma has done in this respect, surely the Punjab and all other Provinces can as well do: they can remove the racial character of the distinction between European and other schools.

BURMA REFORMS.

THE papers dealing with Burma Reforms—the Whyte Committee's Report, the opinions expressed by the Burma and India Governments on the Committee's recommendations and the Standing Joint Committee's report with the Draft Rules as approved by this Committee—are now to hand, and we are enabled to gauge the measure of self-government to be conceded to what was regarded as the Indian Arcadia. When the discussion first started, constitution-makers assumed as an axiom beyond the region of dispute that the political immaturity of Burma prevented the conferment upon her of reforms of anything like the same level as had fallen to the lot of India. No doubt there were certain other conditions—the wider diffusion of literacy, the absence of racial, communal, or linguistic differences which are so rife in India, the greater freedom enjoyed by Burmese women—which told on the other side and established Burma's fitness for more far-reaching reforms than were introduced in India. But it was generally felt that political inexperience more than counterbalanced the favouring conditions, and the net result seemed clear to most people that, in the interest of progress itself, Burma should "hasten slow". Judged by the conventional standards, their conclusion was not wrong. At present, there is not a single elected Burman on the Legislative Council, and in every other respect Burma is now at the pre-Morley reforms stage. The next "natural" step would therefore be an enlargement of the Council with a modest elective element and with power to make recommendations to the executive Government, which the latter should be at liberty to set aside at their pleasure. The Local Government framed some such scheme, but the central Government thought it too backward and sent it back to Sir Reginald Craddock for reconsideration. It did not emerge from the combined excogitations of these authorities in a much improved form, and if there had not been at the head of the India Office a statesman who insisted upon casting the puny scheme into a really large mould, England would have palmed off upon Burma a constitution which no Burman would have cared to look at. It is, however, doubtful if Mr. Montagu's generous instincts, unaided by impressive demonstrations on the part of the Burmans of the phenomenal growth that has recently taken place in their political consciousness, would have ultimately succeeded; but the incessant agitation carried on by the Burman leaders left the Local Government no alternative but to carry the reform even farther than in India and to implore the people that now at least they might accept it. Instead of the Secretary of State urging forward Sir R. Craddock's Government, the latter was reduced to the necessity of emphasising the need of expediting and liberalising the reforms. "Delay or niggardliness," it wrote three years ago, "in the grant of reforms to Burma as compared with India may deeply wound the Burman's *amour propre* and even throw him into the arms of

the agitator and revolutionary." This warning the Burma Government had to repeat at later stages, and it is at its pressing request—at the pressing request of no less a die-hard than Sir Reginald Craddock—that the present reforms which Col. Wedgwood rightly regards as "a real democratic constitution" are being enacted!

Now, however, the constitution is conceived on such liberal and even generous lines, it would be a mistake of the first order to reject it. We wholeheartedly endorse Col. Wedgwood's remark that "the Burmese regarded the Bill as reactionary, but it was far ahead of similar legislation for other provinces of India and deserved acceptance as a step forward in representative constitutional Government." The advance which it makes over the Indian constitution is marked. First, in regard to the additional subjects which have been transferred to the jurisdiction of Ministers: (1) regulation of betting and gambling, (2) prevention of cruelty to animals, (3) protection of wild birds and animals, (4) control of dramatic performances and cinematographs, and (5) pounds and prevention of cattle pounds. All these are no doubt minor items, but the real advance consists in the transfer of Forests and European and Anglo-Indian Education. In Burma the forests yield a net revenue—102 lakhs in 1919-20—which is more than double the net revenue derived from this source in any other province in India, and yet Burma's forests are comparatively undeveloped and represent an asset of almost illimitable potentialities. The Local Government of course could not think of making over this source of revenue to popular control especially when they could plead in their defence the general indifference of the educated public in the matter of the conservation and development of forests. The transfer, it was urged, would violate one of the criteria, laid down in the Montagu-Chelmsford report, in the determination of reserved and transferred subjects, viz. that those subjects are unsuitable for transfer "which vitally affect the well-being of the masses who may not be adequately represented on the new councils." But the Burma Reforms Committee could fortunately see far and deep: it argued that if at present there was no popular sentiment in favour of conservation, there was the need of creating it; and what could better help forward the creation of this sentiment than the administration of this subject by a Minister amenable to the control of a popular legislature or better retard it than the practical withdrawal of that subject from the jurisdiction of the legislature? Sir Reginald Craddock could of course retort, not without reason, that if this argument is to be accepted, there is no subject which is now classed as reserved which it is not necessary to transfer equally with forestry. And if His Honour of Burma eventually yielded, he did so not because he adopted the Whyte Committee's reasoning, but only because the transfer of forests was now regarded by the Burmans as the acid test by which the sincerity of Government in granting substan-

tial reforms to Burma was to be judged. To understand what an advance this transfer constitutes in Burma, one had better calculate what larger proportion of the provincial revenues would be devoted to transferred subjects in that province than in other provinces. It was computed that in Bengal the reserved subjects had a share of 65% and the transferred only 35% of the revenues; if such proportions are worked out for Burma, we have no doubt that the share of the transferred subjects will exceed that of the reserved. Little need be said of European education; as the Government of India observe, it would have been difficult, in view of the abolition of the distinction between European and Anglo-vernacular schools, to maintain the exemption from transfer of this portion of the subject of education, which prevails in other Indian provinces.

But it is not only in respect of the subjects to be transferred that the Burma reforms are more advanced than those introduced in other provinces, but also, and even more so, in respect of the franchise, which is very much broader in Burma than in other Indian provinces. The rural electorate alone will be in Burma 2,394,670 out of a total population of 10,730,000, and the proportion of the electors to the population, in rural districts, will thus be almost exactly 2 : 9. Adding the urban electorate, the total electorate will be three millions. This is of course highly satisfactory, and is due to the favouring conditions to which reference is made in the earlier portion of this article. There is of course to be no sex disqualification as regards voting from the start and the Legislative Council is given the power of removing, by resolution, the sex disqualification from candidature. In order to provide for adequate representation for all the different communities, separate communal electorates have been decided upon and as many as fifteen are communal seats out of the total 79 elected seats. This is very much to be deplored, and we deplore it the more because half the communal seats—8—are for Indians. Separate communal election stereotypes existing divisions of race, caste and creed and has therefore to be avoided so far as possible. In Burma we are not satisfied as to its unavoidable necessity. In regard to the representation of Indians, however, it has to be borne in mind that the measure was suggested, not for safeguarding the interests of Indians but for preventing them from sweeping the board at elections. In certain places where they form a considerable portion of the population, special provision will be made for them, so that they may not win more seats than are meant for them. Thus, communal representation is forced upon the Indians. The case of the Karens, however, is entirely different. Five seats are set apart for them because it is feared that otherwise they will not have sufficient representation. Europeans and Anglo-Indians are each given one communal seat. The Government of India were of opinion that, on the analogy of what is done in Bengal, Europeans should

be given more, *i. e.* three representatives. The Local Government itself was opposed to this proposal, for, as it pointed out, the Burma Chamber of Commerce and the Rangoon Trades Association will elect Europeans; and if the number of Europeans is increased, Anglo-Indians will have a valid claim to be given an equal increase in representation. Plumping of votes is to be allowed. This is a questionable practice, and why it was allowed when separate communal representation was introduced to provide for different interests is hard to see. The hill tracts in seven districts are to be excluded from the operation of the Government of India Act as too backward, but there are 31 other districts excluded from the scope of the Rural Self-government Act which the Local Government desired to exclude from the franchise. The Government of India strenuously opposed this proposal and we have not yet been able to discover what the Standing Joint Committee's or Parliament's decision is on it. The Standing Joint Committee say in their report: "The draft rules as approved by the Committee represent in all essential features the proposals of the Government of Burma" and that is why we have misgivings on the matter. If the Government of India have been overruled on this point it is much to be regretted, for their argument is cogent and there is no sufficient reason for the exclusion from the franchise of the districts in question.

QUO VADIS ?

To be sure there is mighty little in world politics to-day to cheer its student. After a devastating world war of four years and a still more devastating world "peace" of equal duration; with one-fifth of the world's surface from Cologne to Vladivostok still in Coventry; with unemployment rife, industries lamed and trade stagnant—he is surely an incorrigible optimist who could to-day descry the "world made safe for democracy and fit for heroes to dwell in" which a definitive victory was to have ushered in. Hopeless as the utter mess to which the world has since been reduced instead may seem, hopelessness has never yet helped man to extricate himself out of difficulties, nor will it serve to-day to bring order out of our after-war chaos. Disillusioned as we all are, callous cynicism and the peevish mentality which can say nothing better than "I told you so" will only aggravate the evil state in which we all find ourselves. Not an easy irrational optimism of course, but that virile hope is wanted which bases itself in quiet strength on the unshakable conviction that there is a moral government of the world; that if wilful going against its eternal decrees must necessarily bring evil in its train, the cure of all ills will perforce lie in the retracing of steps and an endeavour of conforming henceforth more faithfully to those moral laws without which after all no order of any kind is possible.

During the war the great directors of propaganda succeeded in making people believe that man-

kind consisted, on our side, of angels and nothing but angels, whilst the other side was with equal uniformity composed of devils and nothing but devils. Obviously, Paradise Regained must result if only the knock-out blow could be administered to the devils and Satan were gagged and put in chains for ever and ever? Thus argued propaganda on both sides. As the full effects of the overwhelming victory of one side were making themselves more and more felt, the phantasmagoria of that theory of course quickly dissolved and disclosed instead the spectacle, not of devilry enchained, but of universal selfishness unchained. The high-sounding phrases of war time propaganda were safely put away and instead, how to make Germany pay, how to get oil wells and nitrate deposits, how to retain supremacy and yet escape military burdens, how best to exploit and aggrandize, how most cleverly to outmanœuvre present rivals and former allies, became the sole and frankly avowed preoccupations of contemporary "statesmanship". And as a consequence, a new theory was adopted, or rather the old pre-war theory was reverted to: that two blacks do indeed make one white, and that if only you have unrestrained selfishness all round, the sundry partial selfishnesses must necessarily cancel out each other and result in complete harmony all round and a world concert of peace.

Of that policy our Mr. George, needless to say, is the past master and chief exponent, and one ventures to say that if only the underlying theory happened to be true, surely success must have smiled upon the all-surpassing skill and unrivalled qualifications of the world's leading Premier. If then the policy of opportunism and grab-as-grab-can has utterly failed—as it unquestioningly has—even under his leadership and with the wits of all the world's most astute diplomats pitted against each other: it is safe to say, that as the doctrines of the old Manchester school of unrestricted competition in business have been incapable of bringing about peace and order in industry, so too must a doctrine of unrestricted competition amongst nations necessarily and by the very nature of the case fail in bringing about peace and order in international relations. Mr. George has had his ample opportunities. He has tried and tried again—but from Versailles to Genoa the result has been, not universal peace, but stultification; not increasing harmony and co-operation, but ever more patent antagonisms and more strident recriminations. The peoples of the world have patiently borne with the cleverness of their masters and given them the very fullest chance of proving the efficacy of their nostrum. But signs are not wanting that even their patience is being exhausted and that everywhere the conviction is gaining ground, that expedients are no substitute for principles and that in so grave a malady nothing will do but a resolute return to first principles.

Indication of such popular feeling is the significant rise to power of professedly "Christian Socia-

list" or "Catholic parties" on the continent of Europe. The most surprising probably was that of the *Partito Popolare* of Italy which was only a few years ago created by a very remarkable Roman Catholic priest, Dom Luigi Sturzo, but at the last elections secured the largest number of votes and a relative majority in Parliament, where ever since it has occupied most of the ministerial benches. Of course there had been many clerical and papal parties even before the war. But they differed *totò còelo* from the modern "Catholic" party, such as the Italian "Popular Party." The old type was a party of reaction pure and simple, bound up with autocracy in politics and capitalism in industry; feudalistic, militarist, obscurantist. The new type of these parties on the contrary is fiercely opposed to the ultra-patriotic parties of die-hards and reactionaries, of Torydom and landlordism, of trusts and combines—the type of man found to-day in such parties as the "Fascisti" of Italy, the *Bloc National* of France, the Monarchists of Germany, the Republicans of America and the Conservatives of Great Britain. In Italy the very birth of the *Partito Popolare* in fact was due to the revulsion of feeling against the mad antics of the *Fascisti*; it stood for sanity in international relations, for fairness towards vanquished foes; for the substitution of principle for "Realpolitik." On the other hand it was the sworn enemy of the big feudal landlords and stood for the partitioning of their estates and for peasant proprietorship. Similarly in industry, it put the worker's interest first and capital's last; and if it opposed the communist attempts at capturing by force factories, it joined with them in denouncing the existing basis of production as utterly wrong. The reactionaries of the Curia looked with anything but favour on so daring an innovation as that of fighting against reaction and working for progress in the name of religion. But the wisest counsels prevailed in the end and, after some initial hesitancy, the *Partito Popolare* received officially, if not the *placet*, at least the *nihil obstat* of the Pope himself. Its success as a party has been wonderful—or perhaps not so wonderful after all amongst people, who had become so utterly disillusioned with the violence of Fascist and Communist alike and who, after the constant Proteus-like changes of opportunism, were crying out for some trustworthy, because permanent, landmarks.

As in Italy Signor Facta, the Italian Prime Minister, belongs to this party, Herr Wirth, the Chancellor of the German Republic, belongs to what there corresponds to it and is called the "Centre Party." Less divorced, than in Italy, from the mentality of pre-war Catholic parties, the German "Centre" yet stands to-day definitely against Monarchism (*i. e.* Kaiserism) and for a genuine desire of fulfilling all legitimate obligations. It refuses to subserve the ends of super-exploiters like the Stinnes group and is pledged to all the economic planks of the majority socialists; it is in deadly opposition to the East Elbian *junker*

no less than to the wild men of the deft who take their orders from Moscow. Again, as in Italy, it is a party which goes back to and bases itself on principles, and there is little to be wondered at that it should for that reason have attracted so many adherents, when as a result of war and defeat all moral restraints were giving way and there seemed no alternative but anarchy²—from whether below or from above.

In Ireland too it is such a party as these two, which, one may confidently predict, will come into its own and into power when the present death agonies of the old and the birth pangs of the new regime will have come to an end. Irish Labour is closely identified with Catholicism (as naturally is the peasantry) and steers equally clear of domination by the Vatican as by the Kremlin. The hierarchy has ever been nationalist, but has never countenanced the impossible republicanism of the men that are pushing Mr. de Valera into political self-extinction; and everything therefore points to it that in the new Ireland, as in the new Germany and Italy, it will be a crew of the *Popolare* type that will man Erin's ship of state.

What of England? The Roman Catholic population of Great Britain amounts to 2½ millions only out of a total population of nearly 43, so that—especially with the ingrained anti-Romanism of the English people—there can be no question of any party which in any sense could be called Roman Catholic. But the opportunism of Mr. George—one may safely say without fear of contradiction—has so utterly disgusted all decent people, that the stage is ready set for any leader who will take his stand on the simple old-fashioned principles of right and wrong. Many see in Lord Robert Cecil the man of the future for that very reason—because with him the people at least will know exactly where they are and will not be called upon to curse to-morrow what they have adored but yesterday. Ever since Anglicanism pledged itself to social reform and its leaders became identified with the "Church Socialist League" platform; ever since Anglican bishops took the side of Ireland at a time when Black-and-Tannery was the official programme: an observant onlooker could but realize how rapidly England was emerging out of its old warmentality and, coming to itself, was ready to respond to leaders in the Gladstonian succession, who would make questions of right or wrong to rank before the petty exigencies of the day and who would bring their governance of the country into consonance with the external fact of a moral government of the world.

The day of the men who produced a Peace of Versailles is past. Two only survive: Mr. Lloyd George and M. Raymond Poincaré, *par nobile fratrum*. To-day the world knows that, if Germany was one of the causes of the war, it anyhow did not bear that sole responsibility for it on which alone the monstrous punishment inflicted upon it

by the victors can be based. To-day the world knows also that Germany accepted the Armistice and the offer of peace on the basis of Mr. Wilson's fourteen points—and it knows that whilst Germany did its part of that bargain the "associated and allied Powers" (subsequently substituted for such a peace the Peace of Versailles). The world has tried to carry out that peace and it knows to-day that this way lies madness.

Mr. George still tries to square his Versailles circle, but nobody any longer believes that the problem is soluble. The world—not excepting the people of England—is longing for a man who, instead of trying to shift his own responsibility on to the shoulders of his former associates, will have the courage of admitting that the Versailles Treaty is morally wrong and that therefore that wrong must be undone, before order can be restored in the world; a man who will make the League of Nations a reality by curtailing the sovereignty of his own country as a start; a man who will unflinchingly subordinate to the indefeasible rights of human personality the phantom claims of national prestige and material prosperity.

Because the subjective ideas of right and wrong in the human mind are the perception of an objective, solid fact—the fact of the moral government of the Universe—it is impossible in the long run to run counter to them. As elemental Nature will crush him who disregards her laws but will gladly serve him who obeys them: so also will in the moral universe disregard of or obedience to its laws lead to its own inevitable consequences. The British Empire is still to-day the leader of the world's nations: let it take the lead in the right direction and it can almost force the rest to follow—but let it take the lead in the wrong direction and even the most strenuous efforts of all the rest will hardly be able to keep the world from going utterly astray.

What a responsibility, what an opportunity! But who is there to lead the world's leader? Whither bound, British Empire?

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE C. P.

IN a short compass which will suit the convenience of the busy man interested in public affairs the report of the administration of the Central Provinces and Berar during the period April, 1920, to December, 1921, describes the main features of the working of all the departments under the new regime. It was a period of famine and distress such as was not seen since the famine of 1900. The monsoon of 1920 was one of the worst on record. *Juar* the most important food crop, completely failed over large areas and the cotton crop, particularly in Berar, was the worst known for many years. The total outturn of both autumn and spring crops was only about 42 per cent. of the normal. At the same time there was a slump in the cotton market and the price of cotton was very low. Famine relief works had to be opened in several districts.

and at one time more than 180,000 persons were getting relief of one kind or another. But the distress would have been very much greater but for the high prices of agricultural produce in previous years and the prosperity of the mineral and textile industries. It is undoubtedly a fortunate circumstance that the tracts which are most liable to failure of rain are the centres of manganese, coal and cement industries; and also supply labour to the collieries and iron works of Bengal and Bihar. Owing to the absence of Russian competition there was a good demand for manganese ore, the production of which consequently increased. The number of collieries rose from 16 to 18 and there was a marked increase in prospecting activity. A large Indian-managed enterprise has begun the manufacture of pottery and tiles and from the number of licenses that have been taken out for prospecting clay, we should be justified in anticipating a development of that industry in the near future. Eleven new cotton ginning and pressing factories were started. The mills had quite a prosperous year and though there were numerous strikes they were all amicably settled. Increasing attention was paid by the mills to the welfare of their employees. One mill opened a fund for the benefit of the heirs and relatives of the workers, while the Empress Mills initiated a social welfare scheme of considerable importance, embracing medical relief for its workers, a children's crèche, night schools, cinema entertainments and other activities.

The evil effects of the non-co-operation movement were most visible in the collegiate and secondary education of the Provinces. The average strength of the colleges fell from 989 to 911, while the attendance at the end of the year was only 664. The results of the B. A. and Intermediate examinations were very poor owing to the unsettling of the minds of the students. The number of pupils in English high schools and middle schools decreased by more than 3000, but there was a satisfactory increase both in the number of vernacular middle schools and the pupils attending them. Non-co-operation had no effect on primary education, there being a normal increase in institutions and attendance. Similarly satisfactory progress was made in the education of girls, Muhammadans and backward classes and in special and technical education. But it is regrettable to note that owing to the distractions created by the non-co-operation movement no serious attempts have yet been made by any of the local bodies in the C. P., as indeed in any province excepting Bombay, to introduce compulsory education. A Municipalities Bill has, however, been introduced by the Minister for giving them wider powers of taxation and administration and when it becomes law some municipalities may be expected to adopt compulsory education.

Compared with some other provinces, there was not much of repression in the C. P. Only 8 persons were dealt with under the Penal Code and 88 under the preventive sections of the Criminal

Procedure Code. Much of the credit for this, we believe, should be given to the Hon. Mr. M. V. Joshi who is in charge of the portfolios of justice, police and jails. Another probable reason is the fact that the politically advanced Marathi-speaking tract has never been honestly enthusiastic about Mr. Gandhi's programme. There was a fall of less than 3 per cent. in excise revenue though the consumption of country liquor decreased by 31 per cent. What proportion of this reduction was due to picketing, we are unable to say, because the C. P. Government has itself accepted the goal of total prohibition and in the period under report had enhanced the price of country spirit by 25 per cent., reduced the number of shops and the strength of the liquor and also curtailed the hours of sale. It is also satisfactory to note that there was a decrease of 25 per cent. in the total volume of reported crime and also in the number of dacoities. This is in marked contrast to the state of things prevailing in some provinces where the general spirit of lawlessness engendered by non-co-operation has led to an increase of crime generally and of dacoities particularly. On the whole the report is a thorough vindication of the Reforms and of India's claim to complete self-government.

THE C. P. LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL. LAST BUDGET DEBATE.—IV.

AN attempt was made in the previous article to give a general idea of the present condition of our Provincial Finance and indicate the causes which led to the defeat of the first measure of taxation, viz. the C. P. Court Fees Bill introduced by Government. It should not be understood, however, that the Council contented itself with the work of mere destructive criticism. The members also indicated various ways in which, in their opinion, the deficit could be met. The Finance Member himself, at the close of the general debate on the Budget, classified the proposals made in the Council under various heads.

"I have made a note," he said, "of the principal methods suggested by the speakers for meeting the deficit and they may be classified as follows:—

- Reduction of salaries.
- Reduction of staff to be obtained by abolishing the supervising staff; reducing the number of Districts and delegation of powers.
- Reduction of Districts and delegation of powers.
- Reduction of the expenditure on civil works.
- Reduction of touring.
- Reduction of the statutory payments into the Famine Insurance Fund and of the contribution to the Government of India."

To this enumeration of heads for the reduction of expenditure we must add one more which was intended to bring in more revenue, viz. the economical management and development of forests. As regards salaries it was contended by Government that they must ensure to their employees the same standard of comforts which was virtually promised to them at the time of their entry into service.

If the value of money has gone down now and its purchasing power is less, their reasonable expectation as regards the standard of comfort to which they were entitled during the continuance of service must be fulfilled and the recent increase of salaries was absolutely necessary. There could be no reduction in that. In England they could reduce the salaries of establishments because increments were granted there when prices were at the top level during the war and there has now been a big drop in prices. In India these increments were not given "till the course of future prices could be judged to some extent and were so framed as to leave most of the services poorer than before." There is, however, another aspect of the matter. It was contended during the course of the debate that in the higher grades at any rate the original salaries themselves were too high. "This is a different question," said the Finance Member, "the solution of which affects future recruitment and even if solved in a manner favourable to the public purse, it cannot reduce our present expenditure. This to some extent depends upon the recruitment of the Imperial Services in England. As members of Council are aware, this matter is now under consideration. It is emphatically not a matter in which a single provincial Government can strike out its own line. The whole subject is to be discussed by the Central Governments with all the Local Governments at an early date."

With regard to the reduction of various intermediate supervising agencies in all the departments, Government assumed the same non-possimus attitude. Mr. Standen fortunately or unfortunately selected that very class of supervising officer whose abolition or reduction was most insistently asked for (viz. the Circle Inspectors in the Police Department), both during the course of the Budget discussions and the debate on departmental demands, and insisted that the maintenance of this cadre at full strength was absolutely necessary. There are at present 77 Circle Inspectors in our Province. A considerable reduction in this cadre seems quite possible, and even departmental opinion does not seem to be averse to it. In the Bombay Presidency, it is understood that the abolition of this class of supervising officer has been recommended by the Retrenchment Committee. And yet our Finance Member entered the following plea for the retention of this officer:

"It has been suggested by several members in the course of this debate and by one member by means of a resolution that the posts of Circle Inspectors of Police should be abolished. As the members of the Council are aware, in the Police Department we have large numbers of young men of some education living as Sub-Inspectors of Police in remote and isolated places without any congenial society, exposed to many temptations with the minimum of the usual restraints which help a man to keep on the rails: temptations to slothfulness, to dishonesty of several sorts, to vices of one sort or another. If these men are left entirely to themselves, we can imagine how they will go astray. Is it fair to expect them to keep straight without an occasional visit from the Circle Inspectors? I doubt very much whether the member who

suggested there should be only one Circle Inspector per District or the other member who has given notice of a resolution to abolish all Circle Inspectors, have considered what would be the effect on the discipline of our mofussil police stations. A police station without discipline would be an unpleasant neighbour."

Similarly in the case of Commissioners and Superintending Engineers, it was pointed out how in certain cases their supervision and technical skill had either prevented waste of money or pointed out ways of more economical construction of work. They had saved and would continue to save to Government by these means the total cost of their own salaries and that of their establishments many times over. Only with regard to the Commissionerships, whose number in our Province is 5, it was indicated that there was now some possibility of a reduction in their number. Summarizing the whole discussion as regards this issue, Mr. Standen said, "Circumstances have altered considerably since Commissioners first came into existence not only in regard to their work, but in other ways, some of which affect all supervising officers, for instance, communications have been improved. We think there may be room for reduction in the number of some classes of supervising officers, but we do not admit the proposition that the supervising staff as a class is unnecessary." And so on with all the various proposals enumerated above. Practically nothing was possible. Some reduction in touring done by officers was possible. But the prices of all kinds of transport and labour having gone up, what may be saved by reduction in touring will all be swallowed up by increased rates at which travelling allowances must be paid. Forest income may increase with increased capital outlay and employment of additional staff and Irrigation revenue may go up when the two productive works of the Province, the Wainganga and the Mahanadi canals, are in full working order. "Eventually we expect to work by water 300,000 acres out of which we are able to supply water only to 100,000 acres at present so that only one-third of the whole area is being irrigated and that pays only one-half of the maximum rates which will be worked up to in a few years." All this is, however, for the future and is of no use for meeting the present annual deficit of Rs. 49 lakhs. Additional taxation was therefore absolutely necessary "unless we were prepared to embark on reduction of expenditure which the Council would like to retain or to completely alter our system of administration in a manner which would be impossible within the short time at our disposal." Even this solemn warning produced no effect on the Council and we have seen already how they vetoed the introduction of the Court Fees Bill."

SITABALDI.

A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, JUNE 8.

ONE of the smaller conferences of the Executive Committee of the International Council of Women

has just taken place at the Hague. At this Congress there were about 150 women present. There were women members of Parliaments of their respective countries from Norway, Germany, and Denmark, London County Councillors and women candidates for Parliament from Great Britain, and women nominated to the Committees of the League of Nations. The present Congress, like some other events happening recently, is noteworthy in that it is the first time since the war that the German Council of Women has sent a delegation to an International Council meeting, and also because there has been a quite definite change in point of view. During and since the war the position of women has changed in most countries. In Great Britain women have acquired the political franchise, and the frontiers hitherto determining women's outside activities have been completely broken down. Probably we live too near to these things to-day to recognise how vast is this difference between now and ten years ago. Few women themselves realise how great is the responsibility now put upon them by this greater freedom. In the past women deplored actions in the world that did not harmonise with their conceptions of right living, but the responsibility for such acts rested directly upon the shoulders of the men who were the active agents and not upon the women who were the passive, so all that was left to women to do then was to cajole, coax or threaten men, to induce them to act in accordance with their desires. Now in the affairs of national and international life, woman has taken her own place and is directly responsible for directing the same. The future world cannot be as the past, a new force is externalising itself and must make corresponding changes in the material around it.

EMPLOYERS AND EMPLOYED.

The Industrial League and Council for the Improvement of Relations between Employers and Employed is seeking to form a new joint body so as to ensure industrial peace. The destructive strikes with their long drawn-out disputes have proved valueless to the workers and employers alike, and this new body aims at an Industrial Entente. It is recognised that all the interests of employer and employee are not identical. On both sides considerations exist that admit of no compromise. Those on the employers' side centre round freedom of initiative, development and expansion; those on the side of the employed around the problems of security, reward and treatment. It seems, therefore, necessary at the present time to form a group of employers and a group of trade unionists to act together to keep in touch with the facts, opinions and personalities of their respective branches of industry. That these people elected by both sides should meet in more or less continuous session to formulate such a policy in its general bearings, to work out its specific application to the outstanding industrial problems of the day, and to consider ways and means of securing its acceptance by all concerned in industrial affairs,

Such a body should be in effect, the nucleus of an Industrial Parliament, if and when the time comes for such a Parliament to be formed.

AN INDIAN PLAY.

The bid for fame made by a young Indian dramatist is worthy of notice. Never before has an Indian play with a complete Indian setting written by an Indian and played by Indian ladies and gentlemen been put upon the English stage. Old Indian plays have sometimes been produced at social functions, but in a big London theatre before a critical London audience it is a novelty. The author is Mr. Niranjan Pal. The play deals with an unscrupulous Brahman priest who plays upon the credulity of his people to gain tithes and gifts through the temple for himself. A young priest, having become a rationalist, determines to wean the people from their superstitions and fears to the light of truth which he himself sees; but he also is willing to use the arts of deception to do this. Maya, a young girl, beloved by the young priest, has much wordy argument with both the old and young priests and refuses to lend herself to the deception of impersonating the Goddess Kali. Eventually, from mixed motives of saving the people's faith and saving her priestly lover from a threatening mob, she dresses in the garments of the Goddess, shows herself to the people and speaks to them. Immediately after this she takes poison to expiate her blasphemy and dies in the arms of her lover.

The play has some fine dramatic incidents and more could have been made of these. The prologue and epilogue with their western touch could be left out entirely, for in these two scenes the author was not a bit convincing, he was not at home in it. The acting all round was good, the diction good, and the speakers had been taught how to throw their voices so that the audience could hear in a big theatre. India can be rightly proud of developing her art and showing the Western world that she also can produce not only agriculturists and politicians, but poets and dramatists, who find their whole inspiration in India itself.

MISCELLANEA.

MR. SASTRI AT PERTH.

A REMARKABLE ADDRESS.

IN a speech Miltonic in dignity of phrasing and charged with rare eloquence, the Right Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P. C., delegate to Australia from the Government of India, urged the claims of his countrymen to racial equality within the Empire, at a State luncheon at Parliament House, yesterday. The Acting Premier (Mr. H. P. Colebatch) presided over the gathering, which was representative of every phase of the community's political, commercial and cultural life.

The Acting Premier briefly proposed the guest's health. After this had been honoured, Mr. Sastri rose to reply amid sustained applause.

"It is to me a matter of supreme satisfaction," he began, "to have been the recipient of such a glad welcome. I was shown around your city yesterday and I can assure you that this enchanting place disclosed fresh beauties at every turn and gave me transports of joy. Perhaps, like a coy beauty, she has hidden charms to which I will remain a stranger.

(Laughter.) I wish I could stay somewhat longer in this influential and enterprising city and make the acquaintance of some of its citizens who, I understand, are maintaining its credit amongst the cities of Australia and adding every day to its prosperity and wealth.

I am come here, deputed by the Government of India on a mission of some considerable importance. Every one of you has heard of the great Imperial Conference of Premiers which sat in London in June last year. That Conference went a long way to cement the great Empire together. More than anything else it taught us the great lesson that this Empire, like other great political structures, is no longer to be based on domination, on conquest or on exploitation, but that its foundations will more and more be based on ideas of brotherhood, of equality and of absolute and even-handed justice all round. (Applause.) Even as amongst individuals we stand up for those high ideals, so amongst the nations composing the great Commonwealth of Britain those ideals will also, if only we do our duty, prevail. I am not going to dwell on the fundamental ideas of Empire before an audience which, I understand, embraces every profession and every noble calling. It would be impertinent of me to try to instruct you in the basic ideas of your great political fraternity. It would be waste of time, even if I had the power to dwell adequately on those broad

IDEAS OF HUMAN FELLOWSHIP

of which the Empire of Britain is coming to be more and more a synonym. (Applause.) I will give the few remarks I will make to-day a somewhat practical and business-like turn. You are, I understand, nearly all members of the Parliament of Western Australia, or all in positions which are scarcely removed in dignity and influence from that of members of Parliament. You, therefore, are likely to exercise great influence over the electors and over the ideas which sway the minds of electors at great elections. It is therefore very fitting that I should give my ideas that turn which, while it will make my task easy, will also direct your minds to the one or two things to which I shall venture to ask your attention.

In that Conference to which I alluded, it was laid down as a proposition agreed to by all—and this proposition was without a dissentient although its result had one dissentient—that this Empire has a few Dominions as its constituents and that amongst them India has recently acquired a place of undisputed equality—(applause)—equality which has not been won by force of arms exerted by brother against brother, but which has been won by honorable participation in the risks, perils, and sacrifices of a great War. (Applause.) That being acknowledged, it has occurred to the great statesmen of the Empire that it is time to canvass all the institutions of our great Britannic Commonwealth and to pull out, without compunction, anything that may distract from its moral as well as its political greatness. (Applause.) Not a very careful scrutiny is required to reveal the disquieting fact that there are a great many disabilities to which the nationals of my country are now subjected—sometimes by law, sometimes by rules and regulations having the force of law; but very often by prejudices and, it may be, occasionally, by animosities of a somewhat unjustifiable and temporary character. That these disabilities should rest on the shoulders of a people whose country, however, has been admitted to equality in the Britannic Commonwealth, is recognised to be an incongruity which, if possible, must be removed at an early date. In order to remove this incongruity, it was next agreed—the representative of South Africa alone dissenting—that wherever the people of India resided out of their country with the acquiescence and consent of the peoples amongst whom they so resided, those residents of the Dominions should be admitted without delay, and in the acknowledged interests of the integrity and safety of the British Commonwealth, to the full rights of citizenship of that Dominion. Australia has not much to do to arrive at this consummation; but there are one or two little things which

HAVE TO BE PUT RIGHT

even in the advanced and democratic Constitution of Australia.

Western Australia, in particular, has, in its legal system, one disability to which Indians are subjected. I understand that in Western Australia there are only about 100 Indians all told. They might have been more, but they are at present only about that number. They cannot constitute a serious menace either to the general character of the population, to the homogeneity of the indigenous people or to the political institutions which from time to time you are fashioning, I understand, in accordance with the highest human ideals. Now these people have some hardships with which I will not at present trouble you, but which I will, in all humility, lay before the Acting Premier in the course of the day. Your attention I wish in particular to draw to the possibility of finding a remedy which will dispense with advocacy by me or by people of my stamp coming over all the way from India and speaking in person to the authorities and to the population generally of Western Australia.

You who are fairest in Parliamentary methods, you who are accustomed to enjoy the benefits of a fairly evolved political constitution, you need not be cold of the great value which attaches to the possession of the political vote. (Hear, hear.) To you, perhaps, who have always enjoyed such a vote, its privileges and advantages may not be always present in their liveliness. But to those, who like me are comparatively new to the Parliamentary franchise, to those who know by deprivation its advantages, the value of the political vote is of the supremest order. (Applause.) To have your aspirants for civic honor, to have your young candidate, whose mind is full of beneficent laws which he is going to father, come to you and discuss with you your particular grievances, to have him promise minute attention to your grievances—that is to be placed in a position of advantage which, if it is not continuous from day to day, is, therefore, of the greater value when once in three years it recurs and shows you how much of the burden of citizenship, as well as its privilege, is in your possession. (Applause.) The hundred odd people of India who dwell amongst you would be glad of this political vote so that their grievances may receive legitimate expression in Parliament. As I understand it, Parliament is not merely for making laws. Within the ambit of the British Constitution and British institutions, Parliament is there not only to make a Government from time to time, but to keep that Government up to its mark. (Applause.) It is there to inquire continually into grievances. It is there for anybody to find his voice and to speak out the minds and the wishes of any fraction of the population, however small. In fact, the smaller the section represented by a particular member, I know, in chivalrous Parliaments, the greater the attention paid to him when he speaks. (Applause.) My countrymen, I think, will be placed in that position, not of superior advantage, but in that position of the elementary

RIGHTS OF CITIZENSHIP

when they will be able to tell themselves: "Now, we are equal with our fellow-citizens of Western Australia. If we have a grievance, we know whom to go to, and if we can at all control that individual, our grievances will be heard by all the representatives of the citizens of Western Australia."

It is that political vote which I would request you to accord with the full will and complete approval of your fellow-citizens who have come from India to dwell amongst you. This seems too simple a demand, does it not? You would have put it right, probably you would tell me, if they had asked for it in due form. Yes, it is a small matter looked at from that view-point, but it has a larger significance in the councils of Empire. In India as elsewhere, you have a class of people upon whom the recent War and its aftermath have had most extraordinary effect. While, on the one side, you have people who have been more than ever impressed with the beneficence of the Britannic Commonwealth, and its great efficiency as an instrument for furthering human welfare and human civilisation, there are those, one is sorry to think of, on the other side of thought, who look at this thing and that thing and a third thing, and tell themselves, somehow or other, that this is the worst of all possible worlds and that perhaps it is irredeemably so. You know the type of individual whom

I have in mind—the man who specialises in grievances (laughter), who has no better occupation than to dwell continually on the worst aspect of things before him, who is devoid of the power of drawing comfort from his environment and to whom, at every turn, the world has only a sinister and a more sinister significance from day to day. Now that class of individual, whom we have to-day, like other parts of the world, has been, unfortunately, greatly increased by the spread of a big movement called non-co-operation, which, departing from the moral and spiritual directions in which it might have had benevolent effects, has invaded in the political sphere. Its votaries, waking and asleep—it may be with the best of intentions in the world—are doing nothing but unmitigated harm. There they are, at work, all day long and through the night, while honest men are asleep. The result is that the great majority of our people are filled with pessimistic ideas. "What has the War done to us but increase prices all-round, add tremendously to national burdens, and furthermore, disclosed]

THE ROTTEN FOUNDATIONS

of this Empire?" they ask. "Where are we Indians within the Empire? What are we? How are our fellow-citizens in the Empire treating us to-day? Do they treat us even as well as Japanese or Chinese, who are outside the British Constitution, and who may be described as aliens and foreigners?" No; in many places, if the truth be told—and I heard it only this morning from my countrymen of Western Australia—it does often happen that when a man is denied something to which he feels himself entitled, he is told not merely that he is an Asiatic, but that he is an Asiatic coming from India, that he is an Indian—as if, instead of entitling him to a more cordial welcome, it does inflict on him *ipso facto* a greater hardship, a more radical disability.

I am grieved to think that there may be even a little foundation for this here and there. Hitherto there has been in South Africa, more than in any other Dominion, much ground for this feeling that the Indian settled abroad is not welcomed as a fellow-citizen, but stigmatised and oppressed and held up to the ridicule of his fellows for being an Indian. India welcomes people from all the world. Her offices, her places of business, her positions of advantage, her political franchise are open to everybody, even those who do not change their domicile altogether and settle there only temporarily. Nothing that is open to an Indian, unless it be the innermost sanctuary of a temple, is not at the same time open to any Westerner. (Applause.) Nay, more, there are many in India who will testify that he really has an advantage over the Indian. In many ways, owing to our political subjection, it is possible for any impartial observer to find to-day the Indian kept out of his rights in order that the Britisher, sometimes an Australian or a Canadian, may have his fullest opportunities for self-expression. If we treat the Dominions in that way, how would the Dominions reciprocate the treatment? Often, often, we are told we are an inferior people. We are treated like an inferior people and we are made to feel at every turn that we are an inferior people. Now our friend the pessimist, whose reading of history is all awry, dwells on this aspect until the tears come up in his eyes. He asks, what have we to do with this Empire? It may mean glory; it may mean greatness; it may mean added power; it may mean fresh fields—but for others, not for us! Our opportunities are still restricted. We are bidden to keep rigidly within the confines of India. Elsewhere we are outcasts, bearers of burdens; never, never sharers of privileges. In such an Empire India is bound to have

A PLACE OF DEGRADATION.

Honour, self-respect, opportunities of self-expression, India may not have within the Empire."

I have tried to put the case of my pessimist friend as badly as possible. But my friends, patience is a virtue which all of us preach, but few of us practise. Perhaps, now that I tell you of it, you may be able to remind yourselves of incidents that may be made to wear that sinister complexion within your own knowledge and you would tell me: "Now you have

mentioned this matter, don't trouble any more about it. We will put it right." But my point is that not much time should be lost in this, to you small, but to us most essential, matter. Let not my pessimist friend increase in the country until he displaces altogether men of a more wholesome, more promising and more hopeful school of political thought! (Applause.) He is increasing with dangerous facility to-day. I would fain arrest him if I could; and in that work, which I have no doubt you will consider of the highest importance to the Empire, I am really asking your co-operation and assistance. I know that it means to you very little. Then do not grudge it. Give it early and give it willingly, so that I may go back and tell our people: "You are all wrong. The war has indeed changed the psychology of Western peoples. In Australia, to which I went and where I pleaded your cause, I found willing and sympathetic listeners. They were unaware what was happening; but now that they are told, nothing will prevent them from rendering justice at the earliest possible opportunity. The simple matter will be put right." Then we will also receive a lesson of hope that, within the British Empire, there is room for a self-respecting India. (Applause.) It is that message that I want, with your authority, to be able to deliver to audiences in India who will come with scepticism in their hearts, with anxiety to learn what I am telling you; but, audiences who, I am sure, will turn all into many bulwarks of this great Britannic Commonwealth.

"In India, I can assure you, there is no feeling of repugnance to the idea of Empire. We have a very good, a very lively recollection of what may happen to India were it to travel away under dangerous impulses from the British Empire. If some generation quite new has no recollection of the time before the great Indian Mutiny, say, we have the great warning of Russia to-day. Believe me, in India all about Russia is well known. India may not be able to relieve out of her abundance the necessities of Russia to any great extent; but some of her political students have found parallelisms deep and significant between the condition of Russia and that of India. They have followed, with a minuteness perhaps not known to many of you here, the events of Russia and of Ireland. They draw from them some wise and some unwise lessons; but they know one thing—that a revolution means dire disaster—(applause)—from which, perhaps Russia, with the aid of America, may recover one day, but from which it is very, very doubtful whether India could recover if

BY ANY FATAL MISCHANCE

she once was plunged therein. We know it only too well, and my pessimistic friend more than others. But still you can sympathise—you will not approve—and you can understand that morbid condition of mind which, in the student of the history of political institutions, is often produced by the contemplation solely of grievances—real, genuine, heart-breaking grievances. In India, some of them inflict on us anguish and humiliation which I cannot adequately describe. . . . But, in spite of ups and downs, anyone who surveys history of the world must, if his judgment is sound, only register progress in capital letters. (Applause.) Help my pessimistic friend to read history as you do. . . . I know you will have to change some of your laws in order to effect for the Indians the political vote; but your laws may not take long to change.

Our claim within the Empire is not that you shall treat us like other Asiatics, but that you should recognise that we belong to this great, beneficent institution of the British Empire like you, recognise that kinship of spirit, and put us really in a position of advantage compared with other Asiatics. . . . I apologise for having referred to what some of you may consider platitudinous affairs. But even platitudes sometimes we forgive. . . . Platitudes, if neglected, often develop into grievances, disturbing our peace of mind. This somewhat undesirable task I have performed with your kind leave."

The conclusion of Mr. Sastri's address was marked by a great outburst of applause. All present joined in singing "For He's a Jolly Good Fellow," following this by cheering again and again. —From a Perth Paper.

Guides for Travellers and Pilgrims in India.

	Rs. A.
1. Rameshwaram. (The Sacred Island) By Lt. Col. H. A. Newell, F. R. G. S.	0 8
2. TRICHINOPOLY. (The Three Great Temples) By Lt. Col. H. A. Newell, F. R. G. S.	0 8
3. TANJORE. (The City of the Mammoth Bull)	0 8
4. SAVEN PAGODAS. (Chingleput and Conjeaveram).	0 8
5. MADRAS. The Birth Place of British India.	2 0
6. POONA. The Peshwa's City, and its Neighbourhood.	1 8
7. THREE DAYS AT AGRA.	0 8
8. DELHI. The Capital of India, ("All-about India" publication)	2 0
9. SOUTH INDIAN SHRINES. (Illustrat- ed) By Jagadisa Aiyar, with a fore- word from Lord Carmichael.	5 0
10. VIEWS OF BOMBAY, OLD AND NEW.	1 0
11. VIEWS OF BOMBAY, CALCUTTA and DARJEELING.	1 0
12. VIEWS OF BOMBAY and KASHMIR.	1 0
13. PICTURES OF INDIAN LIFE. 4th Series.	1 0
14. PICTURES OF INDIAN LIFE. 5th Series.	1 0
15. THREE YEARS IN TIBET. By Sha- ramana Ekai Kavaguchi.	3 0

THEOSOPHICAL PUBLISHING HOUSE
ADYAR. MADRAS.

HINDU LAW.

(3rd Edition.)

BY

J. R. GHARPURE, Esq., B. A., LL. B.,
High Court Vakil, Bombay.

Price Rupees Ten, Postage Extra.

Copies can be had at.—

The Aryabhushan Press, Poona City.

CUT ME OUT

and mail me, with your name and address, to
Good Luck Co., Benares City.

I will bring you, per V. P. P., one **CUSSI SILK SUI**
length for Rs. 12 only. These pieces are economical, hard
wear and handsome ever made.

Test them any way you please—Why not give it a trial

Name.....
Address.....

IMPORTANT.

'Leucoderma Specific' is the only cure for leprosy.
(Any kind of spots on the body either rockbla white red-
even from venereal diseases, vanish within a short time.)

Price Tin Rs. 4-8-0 only.

DR. W. N. DIXIT, Merchant,
Poona City.

"LALVANI'S NERVENTINE"

The Supreme tonic restorative.
Valuable in the treatment of

Digestive disorders, Anaemia, Neurasthenia, nervous dis-
orders, wasting diseases, overworked Brain, Habitual con-
stipation, loss of nerve power, disturbed sleep, defective
memory, organic weakness, lack of vital force, etc.

Surprising results in thousands of cases.

Price Rs. 2-8 a Bottle or Shillings 3-9

at all chemists and stores or from

J. Tirath and Co.

Sole distributors for Lalvani's Preparations.

Chemists and Druggists

BUNDER Rd. KARACHI (India).

Sub agents wanted everywhere.

THE Servants of India Society's PAMPHLETS.

1. **Self-Government for India under the British Flag—** 0-8-0
by the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, President,
Servants of India Society. Crown 16 mo. pp. 91.
 2. **The Public Services in India—** 0-10-0
by Mr. Hirday Nath Kunzru, Senior Member,
Upper India Branch, Servants of India Society.
Crown 16 mo. pp. 175.
 3. **The Congress-League Scheme: An exposition—** 0-6-0
by the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri. Crown 16
mo. pp. 66.
 4. **The Co-operative Movement—** 1-0-0
by Mr. V. Venkatasubbaiya, member, Servants of
India Society and Mr. V. L. Metha, Manager,
Bombay Central Co-operative Bank Ltd. Bombay.
Crown 16 mo. pp. 191.
 5. **The Medical Services in India—** 0-8-0
by an I. M. S. Officer. Crown 16 mo. pp. 58.
 6. **Trade Union Legislation—** 0-4-0
by A Labour Advocate. Crown 16 mo. pp. 32.
 7. **The Conscience Clause for Indians in Indian Education** 0-8-0
Codes (With a reply to certain Criticisms)—
by The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri President
Servants of India Society. Crown 16 mo. size pp. 67.
 1. **Life of G. K. Gokhale—** 0-4-0
by Hon. Mr. R. P. Paranjpye. With nine fine illus-
trations and facsimile of the dead patriot's hand-
writing. (4th edition). Crown 16 mo. pp. 88.
 2. **Life of Prof. D. K. Karve—** 0-4-0
The Great Social Reformer, by the Hon. Mr. R. P.
Paranjpye. Crown 16 mo. pp. 72.
 3. **Native States and Post-War Reforms—** 1-0-0
by Mr. G. R. Abhyankar, B. A., LL. B., Sangli State.
Crown 16 mo. pp. 96.
 4. **A Gist of Gita-Rahasya—** 0-8-0
(2nd edition, reprint) by Mr. V. M. Joshi M. A.,
 5. **Writings and Speeches of the late Hon. R. B. G. V. Joshi.** 5-0-0
Demi 8 vo. pp. 1400. Cloth Bound.
 - Writings and Speeches of Sir N. G. Chandavarkar.** 2-8-0
Demi 8 vo. pp. 660. Cloth Bound.
- (N. B.—The above prices do not include postage, which
will be extra.)

These Books can be had of:—

The Aryabhushan Press, Poona City.

HINDU LAW IN THE NEW ERA

BY

K. K. GOKHALE,

Sub-Judge Jath State.

Crown 16 vo. pp. 80 Paper cover.

Price Annas Ten. Postage Extra.

The Aryabhushan Press, Poona City.