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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
TOPICS OF THE WEEK	157
ARTICLE :—	
In True Colours	160
SPECIAL ARTICLES :—	
Permanent Settlement. By A Critic	161
Indians in East Africa	162
Maternity and Infant Welfare. By N. L. Ranade, B. A., M. B. B. S.	165
SELECTION :—	
Mr. Tilak's Electoral Programme	165
Asiatic Trading in the Cape Colony	167

TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE approach of the first elections is indicated by a crop of manifestoes. They proceed mostly from parties. We fail, however, to see why the Congress should be represented in Madras by the Nationalist Association as well as the "Congress Party." We will examine here the manifesto of the former. Our first complaint is that it contains no mention of the relations between the Congress Party and the Nationalist Association. Its claim to separate existence is based apparently on its superiority to the Moderate party, whom the manifesto convicts of diverse sins of commission and omission. These, however, are of the well-known variety. The literary subtlety of the *Indian Social Reformer* has suggested a formula, Freedom versus Power, for the purpose of distinguishing between the standpoints of the Nationalist and the Moderates. The manifesto under criticism adopts this formula as the basis of its programme instead of supplementing and correcting its implications, which is the only way of treating pointed and epigrammatic generalisations when one wishes to discover the truth.

THE danger of surrendering to an epigram is well illustrated by a glaring self-contradiction into which the authors of this manifesto have been betrayed. We will overlook the discovery, doubtless recent but startlingly simultaneous, on the part of the Nationalists that there have been "vital" and "emphatic differences" between Nationalists and Moderates. It is asserted in the manifesto that one of these differences relates to the relative importance assigned by the different parties to questions of freedom and those of power. In a subsequent paragraph, the authors are at

pains to establish the priority of freedom problems and show great anxiety to bring these to a satisfactory solution while yet there is "unanimity in regard to the vital questions affecting the freedom of person and press." If there be unanimity on these vital questions, there cannot at the same time be "vital" and "emphatic differences."

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NOR do the Nationalists seem so averse from power as they profess. The programme detailed in the manifesto deals at length with education, labour, railways, forests, medicine, industries, salt and abkari, fiscal autonomy, franchise, and what not. There is no indication that these subjects will be postponed till freedom, entire and undiminished, has been won. It is impossible to keep apart programmes of freedom and power. The Moderates recognise it frankly. The Nationalists recognise it also, but resort to a camouflage to cover it. In a passage marked by sonorous rodomantade, they declare that the Moderates, with the assistance of scheming bureaucrats, will address themselves in the beginning to these questions of power, thus destroying unanimity, creating parties and delaying the acquisition of freedom, for which the presentation of a united front by the people is essential. Look at the puerility of it all. We are now unanimous on vital matters of freedom. While yet we are in this blessed state let us win freedom. When we have done so let us think of the power questions, and break up into parties over education, sanitation and industries.

1. The manifesto denies the existence of this unanimity. Much of it is devoted to the misrepresentation and ridicule of the Moderates.

2. It recommends not the consecutive but simultaneous treatment of problems of freedom and power.

3. The acquisition of freedom is not opposed to or incompatible with the increase of power: on the contrary, the two processes are interdependent and mutually helpful. While you are adding to your power, you are conquering freedom. In fact, so obvious is this truth that it has been one of the commonplaces of political controversy in India that the bureaucracy have hindered our progress in education, industries and so on, chiefly to check our advance in freedom.

* * *

ELECTION manifestoes, like lovers' promises, are not meant to be put to a literal test. They are meant to woo, to captivate, to allure. The lover

who weighs his phrases may have to die a bachelor. The constituency has yet to be found which can be trusted to value the man who scorns to say more than he means. Is there much beyond attitudinising in the following item ?

If, in this endeavour, the defects of the dyarchic constitution bring about friction between the two branches of the provincial Government, this party will courageously face the situation whenever an honourable and healthy compromise is impossible.

In such a case we undertake to say that the Moderate party will do more than "courageously face the situation." It will abstain from the use of undignified swear-words. An instance of a different tenour is in the determination expressed in the manifesto to reduce the salaries of the superior grades of the services "consistently with the requirements of efficiency and conditions of supply." The limitation within quotation marks is not italicised, but the sternness of the actual facts will enforce its importance. The Moderate party have opposed the recent increases in these salaries, and whenever occasion offers will do so in the future. Their difference with the Nationalists is that they will not make a boast of "reducing" them and at once withdraw from the boast by enunciating an inexorable limitation. They know when to give battle and when not.

IN fact, the two parties differ in nothing so much as in their power to appreciate facts and recognise limits. The whole of this Reform Act is based on a division of functions at present and a gradual elimination of this division. The Moderate programme would make a clear difference between their aims in the transferred sphere and their aims in the reserved sphere. Not that they care more for the one than for the other. Not that they value freedom less and power more than the Nationalists. But they certainly will not make a fetish of provoking conflicts with the bureaucracy. The insinuation made in the manifesto of the Madras Nationalist Association that one of the motives of the Moderates is to avoid such conflicts is baseless and unworthy. Pledged as they are to make the most of the Reform Act and secure the fulness of responsible government without unnecessary delay, they are ready to co-operate on honourable terms with the bureaucracy, with the Nationalists, in fact with all organisations and individuals whose aims are good and methods clean, to the greatest extent possible. Naturally they believe most in their own policy and programme, but they do not make the mistake of setting their party above the country, of protesting that the salvation of the people of India lies entirely in their hands, or of making a virtue of antagonism to Government and courageous defiance of it while at the same time beating their breasts and tearing their hair and invoking the pity of the world's nations when they are not admitted into the constitution of sundry advisory and consultative bodies.

THE *Mahratta* in its last Sunday's issue has put in a defence of the permanent settlement of land revenue, which forms one of the principal planks in the platform of Mr. Tilak's party. So reactionary is this proposal that the *Bombay Chronicle* has rushed to Mr. Tilak's rescue and sought to explain it away by putting an ingenious, if untenable, construction upon it. Mr. Tilak could not have meant, it suggests, that the State was not entitled to take unearned growth of the rent; all he meant was perhaps (though he put it in cumbrous language) that the subject of land revenue should be transferred to popular control. This attempt at putting a good face on a bad programme only shows that the *Chronicle* dissents from the "democratic" plan, but it does not avail Mr. Tilak much. For, in the first place, Mr. Tilak would have mentioned transfer of land revenue if he had meant that, instead of permanent ryotwari settlement; in the second place, there was no occasion for the mention of the transfer of land revenue, after that of full provincial autonomy; in the third place, Mr. Tilak would not mention transfer of land revenue and leave out law and police. There is not the shadow of a doubt that Mr. Tilak meant what he said—permanent settlement, and nothing else.

THE fact that the *Mahratta* refuses to take the cue from the *Chronicle* is proof that Mr. Tilak intends, or at any right had intended, in right earnest to put before his electors the cry of permanent settlement and to get his party to work for it. We shall watch with anxious interest how this shapes in the end. If he holds by his programme he will furnish ground on which parties will immediately divide. But Mr. Tilak's party, it would appear, has yet to form its opinion on the question, nor has Mr. Tilak any very strong conviction. He says in effect: "I really want to have a good programme; the present one is good in my opinion, but if you think it bad and wish to substitute for it a proposal in just the contrary sense, well, I don't mind in the least. I shall drop mine and take yours." Verily, some persons have a remarkable facility in taking up and putting away opinions on important public questions, just as it may suit them. There is no doubt a great advantage in having such a plastic conscience, but does Mr. Tilak realise what would be the consequence of such a change of front under responsible government? If his proposal were defeated on such a vital question he would immediately have to tender his resignation.

A RESIDENTIAL qualification is to be applied to candidates for council election in Bombay, the Punjab and the Central Provinces, but the mode of applying the qualification is not the same in each province. In Bombay actual residence in the constituency is insisted upon, save for the fact that a person having a voting qualification in a rural but residing in an urban constituency of the district will be allowed. The Punjab rules say

that the candidate must have possessed a residential house in the constituency for four years before the date of the preparation of the electoral roll and must not have let it on rent during one year preceding that date. The Punjab Government have adopted this definition, because they fear that actual residence for a certain period, besides opening the door to conflicting evidence, will in many cases be too restrictive. The possession of a residential house for four years is prescribed, for the reason that the period will cover two elections, so that the protection hereby afforded to the rural constituency may be available at least for two general elections. It is hoped that rural opinion will organise itself during that period. As the member in charge said, in replying to the Hon'ble Mr. Fazl-i-Hussain's resolution on the subject: "After that it may be possible that the residential qualification may be dispensed with, for the rural interests in whose behalf it is now considered more particularly necessary will probably be able to look after themselves. The condition that the house must be unlet for one year secures under existing circumstances that the house is a real family residence belonging to the candidate, and it also ensures that something about the candidate and his family will be known in the constituency for which he stands. . . . It is not irksome or unduly restrictive."

* * *

MR. BEN SPOOR asked the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies on February 23 whether his attention had been drawn to the suggestion that taxation should be varied in British East Africa according to the capacity of natives to labour for settlers; and whether he would inform Sir Edward Northey that His Majesty's Government was not prepared to permit taxation imposed with the object of forcing labour in the interests of a particular class. Lieut.-Colonel Amery replied that the whole question of native labour and taxation was receiving careful consideration and would be discussed with Sir E. Northey by the Secretary of State on his return. In the meantime, we find that the Uganda Commission have recommended the adoption of the principle in question. The report of the Commission says:

We have been much impressed by the evidence given by one of the most enlightened native officials in the Buganda province. His view is that if a man does not work it is because he possesses sufficient wealth to enable him to live a life of ease, and that he should contribute accordingly towards the revenue of the country from which are provided all those institutions which make for his betterment. The poll tax in the Buganda province is Rs. 7-50 per annum; he suggests that the rate should be Rs. 5 for those who can show that they have worked a prescribed period in each year, and Rs. 27-50 for those who cannot. The principle is sound, and we recommend it cordially.

This is the White Man's Burden!

* * *

THE reader is aware how much store the Government of India set by their modification of the Craddock scheme of reforms for Burma, which

consisted in the substitution of an executive council for the boards. What difference is this likely to make to the growth of popular power? The Lieutenant-Governor himself sees practically none. He observed, in bringing the budget discussion to a close on April 17: "The change in the designation of the boards by which both the members of each board will be executive councillors, although great in regard to the statutory sanction on which it will rest, will not in actual working amount to such a signal departure from the scheme which I had drawn up as is sometimes assumed. When I went to Delhi, therefore, and found that the Government of India preferred a statutory basis for the new form of collective government, I readily acquiesced." We daresay the change will be only in the name, and are not surprised at Sir Reginald's ready acquiescence. Sir Reginald tried to impress his council with a sense of political immaturity and inexperience of the Burmans and exhorted the people not to hanker in their youth after duties which can come to them only in adult age. If as the Government allege, Burmans as a race are politically immature does it therefore follow that there are not available even a few persons who individually are qualified to assume responsible office? The Government of course go the length of making even such an allegation, but who can believe it? And that is the only justification for the Government not instituting an executive council of the normal type.

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ON the question of the position of Indians resident in Burma we agree with Sir Reginald's remarks. "The Indians," he said, "will be the first to admit that the Burmans have a prior claim to appointments in the public service in Burma. While there were not Burmans qualified for particular departments, Indians were freely imported for that purpose, and those who are in the service have a right to be treated with strict impartiality and full consideration. But as education has spread in Burma and the people have gradually qualified themselves, it would be in the highest degree unjust to withhold from them the same privileges in Burma which the Indians have enjoyed or claim to enjoy." It will of course be possible for evil-minded officials to put back Indians under the cloak of encouraging Burmans, but Indians for their part must do nothing calculated to hinder the progress of the indigenous population. They may offer such help as may be willingly accepted, but they must not stand in the way. In this way alone will their presence in Burma be justified. Nor must they think of claiming separate representation for themselves. Their number is fairly large, and if they have won the good-will of the Burmans they can certainly return an adequate number of representatives who will protect their interests. If the Burmans are hostile to them, they have no right to be where they are.

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IN TRUE COLOURS.

THE party which acknowledges the leadership of Mr. Tilak has assumed a new name and embraced a new programme of work. Among the ideals which it proclaims will guide its future policy is the eventual and conscious removal of all civic disabilities resulting from caste distinctions. This figures prominently in the introductory part of the manifesto, but is conspicuous by its absence among the definite items of constructive work which the party proposes to itself. This discrepancy does not help to dispel the suspicion that the mention of civic equality has been forced upon the Deccan Nationalists by the recent vigorous agitation of the non-Brahmans seconded throughout by the Liberal party and is only meant as a vote-catching device, with the additional object, perhaps of saving its face with the progressive Nationalists in other provinces. No one will rejoice more than ourselves if this party leaves behind its past which does not exactly redound to its glory, and we will do nothing to add to the very serious handicap with which it starts in retrieving its credit if its future is going to reveal something very different from its history of the last fifty years. Its tradition, which has been maintained unbroken throughout these years, is one of uncompromising opposition to all rational reform. Its methods of engineering this opposition cannot bear scrutiny. It has won its way to popularity mainly through its social reactionaryism. This position it has only slightly varied of late. Finding that social reform gained ground throughout, the party sought to represent social reform as of no consequence till self-government was won; thus evading, where possible, a pronouncement on the desirability of social reform, it still tried to relegate it to the background and declared all those as unpatriotic and even subservient to Government who would press forward questions of internal reformation. But now the march of events has rendered this intolerable, and here the party appears in its new pose as the opponent of all the inequalities and injustices which it upheld for half a century. No one would accuse us of uncharitableness if, in discussing this party's programme, we paused for a while on its antecedents and were a little sceptical in accepting its bona fides. Apart from other things, as a matter of mere tactics, with a view to induce a belief in its sincerity in regard to this programme, the party should have mentioned some item in social reconstruction for which it would work in practice. A mere academic adherence to this policy, though it means much coming as it does from Mr. Tilak, is of no practical value. The Liberal candidates, we are sure, will place in the forefront of their programmes social legislation with a view to bring the ancient law now in force into conformity with modern requirements, and then Mr. Tilak's opinions will be immediately put to the test.

But recently we have had, in the utterances of two prominent members of the party in the

Deccan, a sharp reminder of the Nationalist conceptions of social equality and of the way in which those conceptions will find practical expression. Mr. V. R. Shinde of the Depressed Classes Mission is busy getting members of the so-called untouchable classes to assert their claim to civic equality. The Depressed Classes Conference, which met at Sholapur at the time of the Bombay Provincial Conference, passed a resolution to the effect that the depressed classes should have unfettered access to all public roads, dharmashalas, schools, wells, temples, &c. maintained or aided out of the public funds. No possible exception could be taken to this resolution. It is an essential attribute of democracy that all public utility services should be thrown open indifferently to all classes of people. Mr. Shinde is trying to induce local leaders in the various districts to give effect to this resolution. The Belgaum municipality, accordingly, resolved to throw open to the depressed classes the public wells within its areas, which till now were taboo to them. The resolution was passed, but it seemed a difficult matter to carry it into effect. The Mahars and Mangs of the place could not be persuaded to tread the forbidden ground. Therefore, Mr. Shinde visited the place, and in the presence of the local gentry who held liberal views induced the depressed class people to draw water from a well which for years past was closed to them. The Liberals are in a strong position at Belgaum, and Mr. Shinde's assault on the privileges of the higher castes won an easy victory. At Satara, however, which is a stronghold of the extremists, his activities encountered a stiff opposition. Mr. R. P. Karandikar, a lieutenant of Mr. Tilak and a veteran Congressman of the Nationalist persuasion, made a most unseemly and insensate attack upon the whole of Mr. Shinde's propaganda. We mention this fact, only because it gives us a foretaste of the manner in which the programme of civic equality will very likely be carried out by the Nationalists. Mr. Karandikar, uniting as he does social reaction with political radicalism, is sure of a seat in the new legislative council from a Deccan constituency. There is no knowing that he will not be a minister, and that his policy will not be in the ascendant. It behoves us therefore to mark his words. He roundly declared that he was opposed to the movement for the emancipation of the untouchables which was being conducted by Mr. Shinde. He was on the contrary for maintaining intact the endless divisions which separated different sections of the depressed classes, one from another. The restrictions placed by custom, he said, ought not to be abrogated. They must be respected by all. This movement for the enfranchisement of the untouchables was really directed against the Brahman ascendancy, but, he warned Mr. Shinde, that the ascendancy would not be broken. He appealed to the audience not to listen to Mr. Shinde at all. Mr. Shinde was accused of fomenting hatred between class and class; this is an accusation freely levelled against a man who

is suspected by the general non-Brahman community to favour the Brahmans more than the non-Brahmans. If he cannot escape such a charge who can? We need only add that Mr. Karandikar represents, if anything, a more liberal type of Nationalism.

Mr. Karandikar forgot all reasoning in the violence of his language, but the defect was amply supplied by a namesake of his on another occasion. This gentleman is in charge of Mr. Tilak's paper, the *Kesari*, and his ideas are faithfully reflected in it. Speaking at a celebration in honour of the Shankaracharya last week, he denied that untouchability involved any humiliating restrictions upon the untouchables; the higher castes rather, he declared, imposed restrictions upon themselves with a view to preserve cleanliness and saintliness. The Brahmans with memorable self-sacrifice had devoted themselves to contemplation, which particularly needed a pure atmosphere. If they refused to have any social intercourse with low castes who lived a filthy life, why, the untouchables, instead of feeling aggrieved, should feel thankful to the Brahmans for their wonderful self-mortification! Untouchability implied nothing offensive. Were not members of their own families untouchable for some space of time? The life-long untouchability of the depressed classes was only a logical extension of the same principle, which was essentially sound. How delicious all this! We owe an apology to the reader for putting before him this stuff; much worse things appear daily in the vernacular papers; the Nationalists' popularity is mainly built upon them and upon irresponsible criticisms against the Government in political matters. We have reproduced here this particular passage, because it reveals as nothing else will the real attitude of the average Nationalist towards the question of establishing "civic equality," to which the "Congress Democratic Party's" programme makes a pointed reference.

PERMANENT SETTLEMENT.

HOW will Indian Nationalism deal with the question of land revenue under self-government? Will it adhere to its traditional policy of seeking to put a permanent limit upon the State demand, or, will it yield allegiance to sound economic doctrine and recover for the State the increment in rents which accrues apart from the exertions of the owner of the soil? That there is no injustice in the general community appropriating what is strictly the result of his own collective energy no one can gainsay. Any additional value which a piece of land receives from the general growth of the country beyond the value of the improvements made in it by the owner rightfully belongs to the State, and it would be madness on our part, just when we are casting about for a large expansion of our resources, to think of permanently alienating this unearned increment, merely because in former sessions of the Congress we set up a demand for a

permanent settlement. Politicians of a generation ago were placed on the horns of a dilemma: while they knew that the principle underlying periodical reassessments of land revenue was entirely just and in consonance with advanced theories in the domain of economics, they were faced, at the same time, with enhancements which were out of all proportion to the natural growth of rent and which often bore hardly upon the cultivator. Neither in determining the amount of increase, nor in applying its yield to public purposes had the people any voice, and it is nothing strange if, at a time when the Government themselves were generally believed to be favourably disposed to the project of permanently fixing the State's share of the land produce, the popular leaders also asked for a permanent settlement, believing that that was the most promising method of securing an exemption from the extortionate demand of the revenue officials. The circumstances have now radically changed. Full popular control has not yet been established over land revenue; still, duly elected representatives of the people will wield enough power to check any abuses that may arise in practice in applying the essentially sound theory of rents. The rules governing assessments will be codified and any proposal for an increase in the scale of the land tax will come up before the legislative council. With the power which the popular element will enjoy hereafter both in regard to the budget and legislation, we may fairly anticipate that no serious injustice will be done to the rayat if the council is determined to prevent such injustice. We need not therefore feel constrained by our loyalty to the Congress to repeat the demand for a permanent settlement, but must be prepared to throw overboard this ancient cargo, if we find that it does not suit the requirements of the present time.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's authority may be cited in support of the view above formulated, for his endorsement will carry conviction to many minds. Mr. MacDonald thinks it a mistake on the part of the British statesmen to have converted tax farmers into landowners, and the real landowners into mere tenants. "But," he says, "the practical difficulties in the way were so great, the sacrifice of State rights and the handing over to private pockets as a gift what belonged to the Indian nation were so obvious, that a combination of simple justice and common-sense thwarted the Secretary of State; and in 1883 Lord Kimberley declared against the extension of the Bengal system. Ever since then the enlightened opinion has rejected it, and were it possible it should be undone. It is not now possible, but Zemindar incomes in permanent settlement districts ought to be subject to income tax." The abrogation of the permanent revenue settlement in districts where it now obtains is out of the question, but its extension to temporarily settled tracts must not be thought of. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, after stating objections to freeing the land of India and allowing it to be

regarded as a personal possession, upholds the principle of temporary settlement. He says: "The sums levied in this way appear to be colossal, but the principle is sound, and its apparent oppressiveness disappears when the real economic nature of the impost is understood. It represents precisely what land reformers in this country and elsewhere are now endeavouring to persuade our Governments to institute, not because they wish to oppress the cultivator, but because they wish to help him, and because they believe that they can prove that a system of private ownership of rents is bad for tenants and evil for the State. It provides revenue which if, justly assessed, does not enhance prices nor affect the standard of living. The same amount of revenue raised in any other way would add to the poverty of the people. . . . A rack rent is an oppressive rent, but a true rent is not oppressive, and it had always better be a State revenue than a private income." He proceeds: "Indian Nationalist opinion has never taken kindly to this rent tax, and if it had a chance it would probably try to modify it. The motive for this is complicated, and self- and class-interest are not altogether absent. But apart from that, the tax when considered erroneously and simply as a tax, does look oppressive, and in a complete indictment of British administration and exploitation it does look formidable. I defend it stoutly in principle, but I think it has been raised too often oppressively, and that is where the Nationalist attack cannot be rebutted. The error lies here. In theory, the tax is a rent; in practice, a rent should be fixed on an open market by competition between competitors of a decent standard of living and in relation to the amount, above that standard, the land competed for will yield; in other words, it should be assessed with that standard as its first charge. The habit of the Government, very often under the pressure of an all too limited exchequer, has been to exact from the cultivator the uttermost farthing, over and above a standard of life which has been much too low. In theory again, the annual fixed revenue was supposed to be an average in which both good and bad years were computed; but whilst this assumed that the cultivator would average his own annual expenditure, as a matter of fact he did not do so, and in bad years he did not go to his savings, but to the moneylender. Over-assessment and the rigidity of the payments, therefore, have undoubtedly tended to impoverish the people, and a system of revenue collection, thoroughly sound in theory, and meeting the requirements of unassailable economic doctrine, has in practice become a grievous method of oppression, and the subject of formidable attack."

If the principle lying at the base of periodic settlement of land revenue is unexceptionable, we can devise safeguards to prevent its unjust working. That will be well within our power. Let us direct our attention to that aspect of the question rather than to the introduc-

tion of permanent settlement whose very basis is unsound. Let us not for the sake of mere formal consistency saddle the country with a system which is not to the interest of the general mass of the people. As Mr. MacDonald has acutely observed, it is to be hoped that "the Nationalists will regard consistency as all honest men do—as a very valuable possession, but not quite so valuable as to be bought by the sacrifice of justice." Mr. MacDonald thus sums up his remarks on this subject, with which I am in entire agreement:—

"If the financial policy of self-government would make the land revenue a real rent on the principles I have indicated, it would be all to the good; if it is to set up a new claim to proprietorship it will be all to the bad. The following points may be stated categorically as they indicate the policy which ought to be pursued:

1. The Permanent Settlement typified in Bengal was wrong not only politically, but economically, because it was neither a State rent nor had it the advantages of a flexible tax.

2. The periodic valuation of land for the purpose of fixing a State rent tax is sound economically, because it aims at securing for the State values which have not been created by the labour of the cultivator. The tax, however, should never exceed an economic rent.

3. Whilst mistaken impositions may impoverish the cultivator, that is not a necessary consequence of the land tax; and the cultivator is more impoverished under the Bengal system unless it is guarded by a code of land legislation, and even then his economic position as a tenant is not so good as it is when he is an occupier under the State.

4. The land tax requires elasticity of imposition and its changes should be gradual.

5. Irrigation justifies a larger percentage of the net produce being taken, because it is not what is taken, but what is left, which determines whether the cultivator is justly done by.

6. The gross yield of the land tax ought to increase as the agricultural prosperity of India advances and as prices rise.

7. The economic condition of India is such that rent paid into the public funds is necessary unless taxation of an oppressive kind is to be proposed on consumers and paid from the incomes (in the form of high prices) of the very poorest grades of the people."

A CRITIC.

INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA.

THE following memorandum was submitted on April 19 to the Secretary of State for India and the Secretary of State for the Colonies by a deputation under the auspices of the Indians Overseas Association:—

INTRODUCTORY.

In the year 1920 it might seem a work of supererogation to insist upon the fact of the ancient association of India with the Eastern Territories

of the African Continent. The local Administration of the British East Africa Protectorate and His Majesty's Government should be fully aware of all the facts relating to that association, but that they are in danger of being forgotten is clear from Part 1 of the final Report of the Economic Commission issued last year by the Government of the East Africa Protectorate. That Commission was appointed by the Governor of the Protectorate and was presided over by a high officer of the Administration. The Report was signed by him in common with the other members of the Commission. In Chapter 2 a historical survey of East Africa is given. It is incredible that the signatories of this Report were ignorant of India's historic connection with these territories, yet the astonishing fact remains that this chapter contains not a single reference to India or her people, and the only conclusion that can be properly come to by a perusal of this chapter, together with Chapter 7, is that the omission of any such reference was deliberate. It will be necessary at a later stage to revert to the allegations contained in Chapter 7.

HISTORICAL.

Indian trade connection with Zanzibar and the East African Territories is almost pre-historic. It is, at any rate, upwards of three centuries old, and it is notorious that since the middle of last century, from the time of Lord Canning, British Indians and the Government of India have taken a very active part in extending British influence in East Africa. It was admitted before the Sanderson Committee, in 1910, by Sir John Kirk, with probably an unequalled knowledge of the Protectorate, that "but for the Indians we (the British) should not be there now. It was entirely through being in possession of the influence of these Indian merchants that we were enabled to build up the influence that eventually resulted in our position." One of the main grounds stated for granting the Royal Charter to the Imperial British East Africa Company in 1888 by Queen Victoria was that it was calculated to be advantageous to the "commercial and other interests" of the British Indians and that "the possession by a British Company of the East Coast line" would protect British Indian subjects from "being compelled to reside and trade under the government and protection of Alien Powers." In the early days of the conquest and pacification of the Protectorate, Indian soldiers bore a very honourable part, and the history of events in Natal at the outbreak of the Boer War was repeated when, at the beginning of the late World War, the timely help given by India in men, money, and material to East Africa saved the country from complete destruction and its occupation by the German forces. The earliest transport facilities in the Protectorate were provided by Indian contractors and labour. The main factor in opening up the interior of the country was the construction of the Uganda railway, entirely by Indian labour and

subordinate staff, under the most trying conditions and with considerable loss of life. Since then very large numbers of Indian traders, merchants, agriculturists, artisans, and labourers have migrated to the country at the express invitation of the local Government, and relying on justice and equal treatment under British rule. This enterprising, loyal, simple-living, and law-abiding Indian population has rendered invaluable service to the country in its industrial and commercial development, and has introduced into and invested in it very large sums of money in the erection of large numbers of substantial and permanent buildings, comprising several streets and bazaars entirely owned by Indians, in the chief towns of the Protectorate and also in Uganda. In his book, "My African Journey" (a journey undertaken by him as Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies), the Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill, at present the Secretary of State for War, wrote: "It is the Indian trader, who, penetrating and maintaining himself in all sorts of places to which no white man could go, or in which no white man could earn a living, has, more than anyone else, developed the early beginnings of trade, and opened up the first slender means of communication."

THE PRESENT POSITION.

By far the greater proportion of the clerical and mechanical staff on the Uganda railway and in its workshops consists of Indians, and large numbers of Indian clerks are employed in the Government offices and commercial houses. The erection of buildings throughout the country is carried on by Indian contractors and artisans, and about 80 per cent. of the trade and commerce of the Protectorate is carried on by Indians. The present European population of the Protectorate is said to be approximately six thousand, and includes a considerable proportion of officials, military, and missionaries. In 1911 slightly more than one-half of the European population was actually engaged in the development of the country. The proportion to-day so engaged is believed to be not very much greater. The present Indian population of the Protectorate is certainly not less than 25 thousand, and it is estimated that it is between 30 and 35 thousand.

It is thus clear that, apart from the pioneer character of Indian enterprise in East Africa, the Indian population of the Protectorate is considerably greater than the European. Its invested capital is far greater, its hold upon the trade and commerce of the Protectorate is four-fifths of the whole, and it pays a very much larger proportion of the taxation of the country than does the European population. No impartial observer could fail to come to the conclusion that in all essentials, including those of climate, the Protectorate is, in fact, apart from the native population, an Indian and not a European Colony. Indeed, Indian law is, and was as a matter of course, administered in East Africa. So distinguished and disinterested a traveller as Dr. P. Chalmers Mitchell, in a dis-

patch appearing in *The Times* of March 16, 1920, says: "The retail trade is almost wholly in the hands of the Greeks as far as the Sudan, and to the South, of Indians. Indian and Japanese products are ousting British. . . . The goods are adapted for local European and native requirements. . . . Indians are rapidly gaining control of the ivory, hides, and other markets. There are branches of Indian banks in every centre." Dr. Mitchell, being a stranger, could not have known that Indian trade existed in the Protectorate generations before any British goods were introduced.

EUROPEAN AND INDIAN RELATIONS.

In spite, however, of their prior claims to consideration at the hands of the authorities, due to their pioneer work in the carrying of the products of modern civilisation to the barbarous and semi-barbarous peoples of the country, and the vital and trading risks incidental thereto, and notwithstanding their numerical preponderance and the immensely superior proportion of private Indian capital invested in the country, the Indian settlers did not adopt a dog-in-the-manger policy. They did not demand preferential treatment. They did not demand European exclusion, nor did they agitate for the imposition of disabilities upon such Europeans as were already settled or might be allowed to settle in the Protectorate. On the contrary, they were not afraid of competition, and welcomed and were willing to co-operate on a basis of equality with all new-comers, whether Indian or European. Some prominent members of the Indian Community even went out of their way to recommend the country for European settlement as well as Indian. In the early days of the British administration of the Protectorate, the relations between the Indian Community and the Administration were of a very friendly character. The Foreign Office, which at that time controlled the Administration, fully recognised the invaluable and indispensable services rendered by India and the Indian settlers. Shortly after the Boer War, a number of malcontent Dutch settlers from South Africa, dissatisfied with the conditions in the neighbouring German Territory, migrated to the Protectorate, and eventually settled in the area known as the "Highlands." These settlers brought with them the bitter South African racial prejudice directed against coloured people, and together with other white settlers, with experience of conditions in South Africa and other self-governing portions of His Majesty's Dominions, but entirely ignorant of Indian traditions and customs and of the earlier history of the Protectorate, commenced an agitation against the Indian settlers with the object eventually of reducing them to the same position of inferiority as has been the unhappy fate of their countrymen in South Africa. At first these efforts met with no success, to the great chagrin of the white settlers, who pressed for the transfer and the control of the Administration from the Foreign Office to the Colonial Office,

His Majesty's Indian subjects in East Africa date their principal troubles from the beginning of Colonial Office administration in East Africa. Without endeavouring to determine how far the Colonial Office was responsible for the change, they nevertheless believe that a deliberate attempt was made at that time to alter the whole character of the Administration—which, before then, had been equitable and even-handed to all sections of the Community, but which thereafter, under the growing influence of the South African immigrants or other settlers having similar experience in European-controlled British Colonies, so as to give advantages and preferential treatment to the white settlers under the pretext that the Protectorate should come more and more under European influences in the interests of the native population. In August 1907 the Land Board of the Protectorate recommended that Government land in certain specified areas should not be allotted to Indians, but should be reserved for European settlement. In transmitting the resolution to the then Secretary of State, Lord Elgin, the Commissioner of Lands reminded him that the claims of the Indian Community could not be lightly disregarded, seeing that they were in the country long before Europeans had settled there, that but for Indian labour the Uganda railway would never have been constructed, that most of the trading wealth of the country was in the hands of the Indians, and, finally, that Indians were British subjects. Unfortunately, as had happened some months earlier in the case of Indians in South Africa, his Lordship did not give to these powerful considerations the importance that they merited. In a dispatch to the Governor, dated March 18, 1908, Lord Elgin said: "With regard to the granting of land to Indians, it is not consonant with the views of His Majesty's Government to impose legal restrictions on any section of the Indian Community, but as a matter of administrative convenience, grants should not be made to Indians in the upland areas." It is submitted, in the first place, that the rights and the well-being of His Majesty's Indian subjects ought never in a territory such as British East Africa to have been subordinated to mere "administrative convenience;" but, beyond that, it is common knowledge that no question of "administrative convenience" was at issue at that time. The European settlers wished to reserve the whole of the uplands area, one of the healthiest and best parts of the Protectorate, for themselves. Not that they wished themselves to develop the country. They relied and still rely entirely upon native labour for that purpose; but they wished to live a life apart from and out of contact with the Indian Community, and to reserve for themselves the most favourably situated areas, access to which has been made possible only by Indian enterprise and labour. The departure from principle on the flimsy ground advanced by His Majesty's Government was disastrous, and from

that time the Indian position has gradually gone from bad to worse. And whereas, in contrast with the reservation of the upland area for exclusive white settlement, it was generally understood that the lowlands were to be reserved for Indian settlement, it is significant and characteristic of the unfairness of the white settlers that they are to-day engaged in an endeavour to secure the assent of the Colonial Office to an encroachment upon the Lowland areas.

When the war broke out the Indian Community was specially requested and loyally consented to abstain from controversial agitation. Their consent was obtained on the understanding that such abstention was to be reciprocal. Unfortunately, neither the Government nor the European settlers abided by the agreement. Racial differentiations of an administrative, as well as of a legislative, character have followed fast, until to-day the situation is such as to agitate the people of India, who are asking with the utmost anxiety whether the tragic history of the Indian population of South Africa for which, to a very large extent, they hold His Majesty's Government responsible, is to be repeated in East Africa, with far less possibility of justification, and where the Administration is not, as in South Africa, that of a self-governing Dominion enjoying responsible government, but of a Protectorate directly controlled by His Majesty's Government, who must bear the full responsibility for all the consequences of the adoption and continuance of the present racial policy which they have initiated or permitted.

(To be Concluded.)

MATERNITY AND INFANT WELFARE.

THE majority of women in India look upon pregnancy and motherhood as a natural part of their lives—nay a slight delay in it causes anxiety; One is, however, sad to think how inadequately the Indian woman is equipped with the necessary knowledge that an expectant mother has got to have. In the first place, she is too young as a rule, when the duties of a mother fall upon her. Secondly, as times are changing, circumstances very often deprive her of the experience and knowledge which other grown-up ladies in the house have, as she has to live away from them. This makes her position very difficult indeed if she does not know anything about her duties as a mother. Prevention is always better than cure, and a young woman who knows all about pregnancy and the care of a child will not only help herself but would add to the strength of the country by fostering a strong and healthy generation.

Mrs. Ruth Young's book on "Maternity and Infant Welfare" written in 185 pages will meet with the want so keenly felt by parents who are bringing up the present generation. The book is divided into three parts and a very useful appendix. The first part treats of pregnancy—its

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normal and abnormal course and the puerperium or the period immediately following upon a delivery. The second part treats of Infant Welfare and the third of the work of Health Visitors. Each part is again divided into different chapters and treats the subject in an easy language, which is intelligible even to a layman. The book, however, assumes a certain knowledge of midwifery. The question of septic fever after delivery is very properly emphasised. This calamity is better prevented than cured, and hence it is very necessary not only for a lying-in woman to know everything about it, but also for all who move in contact with her. Many a life has been lost for want of such a knowledge. The general care and feeding of a baby have received due attention and very useful information is given in part two on Infant Welfare. The subject is really so important and of such far-reaching results that every grown-up girl ought to receive some knowledge about these things before she becomes a mother. One would welcome such books in different vernaculars regularly taught in girls' High Schools. For those who cannot go to schools and learn such an important subject different centres with facilities to give advice and help to expectant mothers would prove of immense value. We therefore look upon such books with great satisfaction and hope they receive due appreciation from all who are concerned.

N. L. RANADE.

SELECTION.

MR. TILAK'S ELECTORAL PROGRAMME.

WHY CONGRESS DEMOCRATIC?

WE have received from Mr. Tilak for publication a copy of a manifesto of what is called "The Congress Democratic Party" enunciating certain general principles and outlining a programme of work under the reform scheme. The Congress Democratic party, we are told, is a party animated by loyalty to the Congress and by faith in Democracy. Has the Congress no faith in Democracy? Or is there a "Congress Autocratic," or a "Congress Bureaucratic" party from which Mr. Tilak has deemed it necessary to distinguish his party? It is not consistent with the profession of loyalty to the Congress to adopt a course which suggests that adherence to that movement does not necessarily mean adhesion to the principle of democracy. The public is entitled to know how far the contents of this manifesto have received the stamp of approval of the Congress, and how far it is a personal production of Mr. Tilak, which might pass off as a programme with the official sanction of the Congress, though it has not received such sanction. It is hardly likely that the word "democratic" has been interpolated in the title of the party through inadvertence, or merely by way of supererogatory emphasis. Another point on which the public will be glad to have an explanation, is whether it is intended to bring this programme into operation immediately or fifty years hence.

WHAT IS ITS SOCIAL PROGRAMME?

The Congress Democratic party, we are told, "advocates the removal of all civic, secular, or social disabilities based on caste and custom. It believes in religious toleration, the sacredness of one's religion to oneself, and the right and duty of the State to protect it against aggression." What precisely does this mean? Having regard to the fact that the boundary line between social and religious customs is notoriously

indeterminate in this country, it is excusable for those who are not total strangers to Mr. Tilak's marvellous capacity for sophistry in such matters to entertain lively apprehensions as to the exact purport of these sentences. Does Congress Democracy believe in caste or does it not? It is significant that in the detailed programme in the manifesto, not a single head or measure of social legislation finds a place.

MORE MOSLEM THAN ISLAM.

The manifesto supports "the claims of the Mahomedans for the solution of the Khilafat question according to Mahomedan dogmas, beliefs, and the tenets of the Koran." A valued Mahomedan friend's mordant comment on this is worth quoting: "If Mahomedan dogmas and the Koran are the tests, the Khilafat question falls to the ground. These were settled in the life time of the Prophet several centuries before the Turks established themselves in Constantinople or even in Assia Minor." Responsible and enlightened Mahomedans do not expect an international dispute to be settled according to the religious dogmas of one of the parties to it—and that, too, a defeated party who entered into a war in which he was not concerned. They also recognise that nothing is to be gained by ignoring the changed conditions of the twentieth century as compared with the tenth. All that they ask is that the settlement of the Turkish question should be substantially in accord with the Prime Minister's famous declaration two years ago. In this demand they have with them the strong support of every thoughtful and patriotic Indian irrespective of race and creed.

A STRANGE OMISSION.

The manifesto states that it is the intention of Mr. Tilak's party to have introduced in Parliament, "with the aid of members of the Labour Party," a new Reforms Bill establishing full responsible Government in India, including full military control, full fiscal freedom, and an exhaustive Declaration of Rights with constitutional guarantees. Meanwhile, it will work the Montagu reforms for all they are worth. And, by way of sample, it offers a list of eleven subjects on which it appeals for votes for its candidates in the ensuing elections. Several of them such as the repeal of repressive laws, jail reform, retrenchment in military expenditure, recruitment of all public services by open competitive examination, free and compulsory education and so on, are common-places of every political gathering. One of the most important reforms which the National Congress has pressed forward since it came into existence, has been left out of this list, namely, the separation of executive from judicial functions. The list, no doubt, does not profess to be exhaustive, but no one who had an organic view of administrative reform could have ignored even in a much less exhaustive list this subject which touches the administration of justice. The omission is due, of course, to inadvertence, but inadvertence in regard to such an important question discloses lack of perspective and failure to grasp the fundamental principles of a sound administrative system. It may be said that the question does not lie within the competence of Ministers. No more do some others prominently included in this catalogue, such for instance, as the repeal of repressive legislation, the nationalisation of railways, the creation of a citizen army, and the permanent Ryotwari settlement of land revenue.

NEGATION OF THE DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLE.

This last, and the control of export of food stuffs by a tariff are two original planks in this Congress Democratic platform. Did anybody ever hear of a permanent revenue settlement as a democratic measure? The whole trend of democratic legislation is to insist on the national ownership of land and of the right of the State, that is, of the community, to a large share of the unearned increment. But here is a party calling itself by the double-barrelled name of Congress Democracy which deliberately embodies in its programme a policy which is the most emphatic negation of democracy wherever it still exists. The late Mr. Romesh Chander Dutt, at an early part of this public career, coquetted with the idea of a permanent settlement of land, but eventually gave it up in favour of the

rational idea of the long term settlements, liberal allowance for the ryot's improvements, and the fixing of a moderate maximum limit on periodical enhancements. These provisions will give the ryot all the relief he requires while safeguarding the permanent interests of the nation. We can only explain the resuscitation of this idea in Mr. Tilak's programme as a device to catch the votes of the ignorant peasantry without any regard to political principles.

FISCAL QUACKERY.

The same observations apply with, if possible, greater force to the proposal of an export duty on foodstuffs. Even in the most intensely protectionist quarters, an export duty is regarded as an act of oppression. The father of the National system of Political Economy, Friedrich List, has laid down that prohibition of or duties on exports can only be thought of as an exceptional thing. If it is said that the measure is recommended not as one of protection but as a means of reducing prices, the answer is that the present high prices are not the result of exports from the country but of the inflation of the currency in most countries of the world including India. Further, an export duty on foodstuffs may have the effect of a further rise in prices, for foodstuffs are necessities and not luxuries, and the demand for them cannot be appreciably reduced by putting up prices. An elementary knowledge of economics is enough to show that an export duty operates in a totally different manner from an import duty. Apart from theory, however, what will be the effect of an export duty on food-grains? For a year or two after levying it, there may be a fall in prices, though even this is doubtful, as grains keep. After that, there is sure to be a contraction of the area under food-crops, which will be given over to more paying export-crops. The extension of the area under food crops under the stimulus of the export trade operates as a valuable stand-by to the country in times of scarcity or famine. The rains may fail or floods rise in one part of the country, and the exportable surplus in the others automatically flows towards the area in deficiency in preference to overseas markets. And is Indian Democracy going to follow such a churlish, not to say, inhuman policy as to refuse to fellow-nations the food which they need and can pay for, and which she can produce beyond her own needs?

A POLICY OF DISUNITING INDIA.

The Tilak electoral programme reveals a grievous lack of constructive statesmanship. It does more. It shows that if the party which has adopted it, gets the control of national affairs, the beneficent, nation-building work which has progressed during the last century, will be undone. We have called attention above to the significant omission of measures to give effect to the flamboyant declarations of the manifesto in regard to the abolition of social abuses and privileges. We have pointed out the utterly undemocratic character of the proposed land policy and to the charlatanism of the fiscal policy foreshadowed in the manifesto. Two other items in the programme deserve attention. One is the declaration in favour of linguistic provinces. We are quite alive to the advantage of having one vernacular for one administrative area. But linguistic provinces, that is, the constitution into a single province of all people speaking the same vernacular, in other words, making language instead of administrative convenience the basis of main administrative divisions, is an anti-national policy. If all Marathi-speakers, all Hindi-speakers, all Bengali-speakers, all Telugu-speakers, and so on, are to be constituted each into a province of their own, the unification of India and a united Indian nation will become the wildest of chimeras. This is what the Tilak programme aims at doing. The sounder policy, in our view, is to have small sub-provinces, say, of an average of five millions of population each, and each of these small sub-provinces should as far as possible have only one vernacular. That is to say, there will be three or four Marathi administrative divisions, two Gujarati, perhaps ten or twelve Hindi, three Tamil, four Telugu and so on. These, while securing all the advantages of single-language provinces, will not lend themselves to the danger of linguistic provinces. Economic and other considerations will have to be taken into consideration in forming the administrative sub-provinces.

We are not formulating a cut and dried scheme, but only indicating the outlines of one.

UNDERMINING ENGLISH EDUCATION.

The other item in the Tilak programme has a close bearing on this. It is the making of the vernaculars the medium of higher education. We believe that a good deal more than is being done might and ought to be done to raise the importance of the vernaculars in our system of higher education. But any attempt to undermine the position of English in that system will be fatal to national interests. That the Tilak party under the guise of improving the vernaculars contemplates an attack on what for want of a better term may be called English education, is evident. This is precisely what Lord Curzon was accused of doing and the Indian public will remember Mr. Gokhale's famous philippics against that policy. We do not think that the country will accept from Mr. Tilak a policy the suspicion of which roused it to vehement protest against Lord Curzon. The manifesto clears the air. It shows that the Tilak party—not the Congress—though it has assumed the name of "the Congress Democratic Party," believes neither in the principles of the Congress nor in those of Democracy. The name is evidently intended to conceal and not to reveal the true character of the Tilak programme. The Tilak policy is the quintessence of the narrowest kind of particularism. We do not think that the country wants back the rule of the Peishwas.—*The Indian Social Reformer.*

ASIATIC TRADING IN THE CAPE COLONY.

MR. POLAK'S ACCOUNT.

The following is an extract from "The Indians of South Africa" by Mr. Hy. S. L. Polak:—

The Dealers' Licences Act, too, has been copied from that of Natal. Divisional Councils have the power to refuse licences, and there is only the most problematical right of appeal to the Supreme Court. As a result, many Indian traders, have been refused new licences, whilst others have been refused transfers of existing ones. But the worst of all is the wholesale refusal of hawkers' licences throughout the Colony resulting in the ruin of hundreds of Indian hawkers, some of many years' standing whose extinction was specially contemplated by the law, though the Act is in general terms. In Cape Town itself, hawkers can still get licences, but in the suburbs, in each of which a fresh licence is required, no hawker can obtain one. Shortly after the Act was passed, the *Diamond Fields Advertiser*, of Kimberley, said:

We do not think that the majority of thinking colonists have any desire to be unfair to the British Indians already in the country. There will be no wholesale confiscations of vested rights.

Unfortunately, the majority of the colonists are not of the thoughtful variety, and hawkers of many years' standing, as well as traders, have been deprived of their vested rights. And shortly after the Kimberley paper wrote the above, the Mayor of that town said, that

It was the intention of his Council to refuse any application for a hawker's licence which might be applied for in Kimberley. Now they had the power to deal with them and now was their glorious opportunity.

Thus were the prophets confounded! Quite an interesting scene was enacted at the monthly meeting of the Cape Divisional Council held on November 5, 1907, to consider applications for permission to apply for licences to trade as general dealers. The *Cape Times* described it as follows:

Not much time was wanted in refusing the applications or referring them back for further information. . . . Numbers 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7 and 9 (the Indian applicants) were refused straightway and numbers 4 and 8 (the European applicants) were referred back. The procedure was something as follows: The secretary would read out the Sanitary Inspector's Report on the state of the premises. . . . Before Mr. Currie had read half-a-dozen lines, Mr. Gibbs would shout out "Not granted", and the other Councillors followed suit. . . . "Indians," said Mr. Gibbs with great

scorn, "I want none of them—none of that nationality. I am not in favour of these Indians coming here at all, and I would like to see as many of them as possible getting out of this country. . . . Why, they live on the smell of an oil rag and sleep on the butter. I will do everything in my power whatever Council I'm on to drive them out.

A European Law Agent, commenting upon these proceedings in the *Cape Times*, complained that in the majority of cases, the licences had been refused for no reason whatever or simply because the applicant was an Indian or of some other nationality.

In some instances," he proceeds, "my clients have been educated men who could read, write and speak English fluently.

And adds:

It does appear very hard that in a British Colony these men, who are British subjects, and have gone to the trouble and expense of mastering the English language to a certain degree should be boycotted. They employ an agent and go to considerable expense to endeavour to obtain a licence and invariably meet with a refusal for no rhyme or reason.

The *Cape Argus*, a prominent daily, published the following:

It has been brought to our notice that, in many cases, the suburban and Municipal Councils, acting under the powers conferred by the General Dealers Act, have refused the renewal of licences to Indian traders against whose character and business no ward can be said. . . . It is a cruel thing to deprive men with established business of their livelihood. These men can only realise stock at a heavy loss. At the very least, they might have fair warning that their licences would not be renewed after a certain date, though even that would hardly be fair when the men have been allowed to set up in trade with the presumption that their business would be permanent.

Finally, the Hon. J. W. Sauer, one of the Cape Ministers, has thus, in the Cape Parliament, scathingly characterised the Courts appointed under the Licensing Law to decide upon the question of the issue or re-issue of trading licences in the Colony:

It was the only instance on record that he could find in any civilised country in the world where the Judges were interested. (Mr. Sauer obviously does not regard Natal as civilised!) The Act constituted a Court of prejudiced Judges. It was an iniquitous principle and it had worked most perniciously. . . . Don't let them go into hypocrisy of constituting a Court which they knew was biased and prejudiced and which was run in the interests of a particular class to create a monopoly. . . . The greatest injustices had occurred and the most reputable people had been refused licences by interested parties. . . . Don't let them constitute a Court which was biased and don't let them pretend it was in the interests of the white man or in the interests of morality or for sanitary reasons that they did this. The basis of it all was to prevent competition. . . . It was a scandalous thing that there should be a Court constituted like this, and he would do his very utmost to get the law, as it now stood upon the Statute-Book, repealed because he believed it was a piece of hypocrisy, the very worst piece of humbug he had ever seen on the Statute-Book.

So that a man has actually stood forth in Cape Colony to protest against a piece of wicked legislation whose object and effect have been to ruin innocent, hard-working, law-abiding citizens!

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