

# THE Servant of India

Editor: S. G. VAZE.

Office: KIBE WADA, BUDHWAR PETH, POONA CITY

VOL. IV, No. 23.]

POONA—THURSDAY, JULY 7, 1921.

[ ANNUAL SUBSN. Rs. 5-

## CONTENTS.

	PAGE
TOPICS OF THE WEEK	265
ARTICLE:—	
Compulsion on Municipalities	268
SPECIAL ARTICLES:—	
The Asiatic Enquiry Commission.—I. By C. F. Andrews	268
The Ethics of Violence. By H. C. E. Zacharias, Ph.D.	270
A LETTER FROM LONDON	272
REVIEWS:—	
A Tamil Anthology. By R. Rama Aiyar, M. A.	273
CORRESPONDENCE:—	
The Indian States and the Indian Army. By Indian State Ratepayer	274

## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

ON June 7th the Ulster Parliament at Belfast was constituted by the Viceroy. This first fruit of the "Better Government of Ireland" Act has received a frigid welcome indeed. In his opening speech, the Viceroy himself had nothing more cheering to say than that the Act was not perfect and wanted amending already! On the same June 7th at Dublin there were hung two Sinn Fein prisoners, whilst the streets outside Mountjoy Prison were black with kneeling figures, praying for them. In their farewell message, these two men say:

"Fight on; struggle on for the honour, glory, and freedom of dear old Ireland. Our hearts go out to all our dear old friends. Our souls go to God at seven o'clock in the morning and our bodies, when Ireland is free, shall go to Galbally. Our blood shall not be shed in vain for Ireland, and we have a strong presentiment, going to our God, that Ireland will soon be free. We gladly give our lives that a smile may lighten the face of our dear 'Dark Rosaleen.' We will see that Ireland will be free—farewell, farewell, farewell."

Who can read such words unmoved? And now comes word that the latest peace move on the part of Mr. Lloyd George is coming to nothing apparently, as Mr. De Valera refuses to go to London. How dark is this Irish darkness! It is overshadowing the whole world. Will nothing ever lift it?

THE misrepresentation, which this refusal of the Dail Eireann President to go to London, has received at the hands of certain Anglo-Indian journals is truly amazing. The old Bolshevik bogey is being trotted out once more and, of course, all the blame is being laid on Mr. de Valera. Yet what are the facts? The whole history of Ireland consists just in that, that a small group who would domineer over the whole of Ireland—the Ulster Orange party—

have ever been backed in this design by an outside power, England, which has hitherto made of Ulster its own agent for keeping the rest of Ireland in bondage. If ever Ireland is to have peace, real lasting peace, it is the Irish themselves who have got to settle their own difficulties and differences, without one Irish party or another receiving any backing from outside. That is what Mr. de Valera evidently wished to do. He wished to meet the Ulster Premier and leading Southern Unionists first, in Dublin, agree with them on some principle and then, with such an agreed All-Irish platform, proceed to London, and there negotiate peace with the English.

\* \* \*

BUT what good would it be, if he went to meet Mr. Lloyd George, not, as representing an All-Irish policy, but merely that of one of several Irish factions? Once more Ulster and England would have been leagued together against the rest of Ireland, and once more there could have been nothing but another failure. Such failures must continue, until England refuses to load the dice against Sinn Fein Ireland; until there is a genuine recognition that the Irish question is one for the Irish to settle in Ireland; and not one for an English army in Ireland to throttle, not even one for a Welshman (wizard or no wizard) to wangle in England. The man who has shattered the hopes, which Mr. Lloyd George's invitation had raised, is not Mr. De Valera, but Sir James Craig. It is he and his followers who refuse to meet any Irish man outside their own narrow bigoted orange circle, even "on the square." What other conclusion can one under such circumstances arrive at, than that these Ulster separatists are not out for a square deal, but for the maintenance of "the ascendancy of Ulster"? Mr. De Valera regrets the impossibility in the circumstances of "accepting Mr. Lloyd George's proposal in its *present form*." A loophole is therefore still left open and everybody will devoutly hope that it may be availed of and yet lead to a happy ending. But if once more all one's fondest hopes are going to be dashed to pieces and the bloodstained history of Ireland is to continue in its present unrelieved horror—surely Sir James Craig and the followers of his whom he cannot control will have to bear the principal, if not the sole, responsibility.

\* \* \*

MEANWHILE the bye-elections continue to reveal the loosening hold which the Coalition Government have on the British electorate. First of all

a Coalition Unionist-candidate is beaten by an independent Tory at St. George's, Hanover Square; a week later a Coalition Liberal loses Heywood to a Labour member! For the old fashioned Tories, Mr. George is not reactionary enough; for the Progressives he is not progressive enough—and after all, if the former predominate in the present "Khaki" Parliament, the latter are rapidly recovering the country itself. At Heywood the former member at the General Election was elected by 14,250 votes 6,827 Labour votes: the other day, Mr. W. Halls (Labour) was elected by 13,430 votes. And it is not as if this bye-election result had been the first, by a long way. Nor is it likely to remain the last.

THE Swaraj Fund of a crore of rupees which was resolved upon at Bezwada has been fully subscribed. This is a tribute to the profound reverence in which Mr. Gandhi is held by all classes of people in this country. It would perhaps seem very captious to say so, but one can say it with entire truthfulness, that the collection of the Fund is evidence more of the appreciation of the great personal worth of Mr. Gandhi and a desire to help forward the humanitarian work on which he is rightly laying so much stress than of the determination of the people to non-co-operate with the Government or of their support of the several items in his programme. Many of the biggest donations have been earmarked for the promotion of work which has no conceivable relation to a movement for the withdrawal of co-operation from Government, and, it may even be argued that the success of the Fund is in large measure due to the fact that the really non-co-operation part of his movement has been definitely thrown into the background, if not altogether suspended. In regard to the constructive parts of what still continues to be called non-co-operation, there is and can be no difference. On prohibition and the removal of untouchableness, some of the opponents of non-co-operation are at least as keen as the professed followers of Mr. Gandhi; and in regard to *charka*, also there is no disposition in any quarter to recognise the element of usefulness in hand-spinning as a subsidiary occupation. In the article contributed by Mr. Thakkar to these columns, the limitations of the spinning movement as well as the economic advantages that flow from it have been clearly defined. To the extent that the Fund is applied to such objects, there will be perfect unanimity.

NO news has yet been received of the resolution on the status of Indians in the Dominions and Crown Colonies which was to have been moved by Mr. Sastri at the Imperial Peace Cabinet on June 24. A detailed summary of his speech in which he foreshadowed his plea for full Imperial citizenship is to hand. In this speech Mr. Sastri referred to the unsatisfactory manner in which the Indian representatives to Imperial Conferences are selected, and hoped that at the next Conference the delegate of British India would be elected by

the central legislature. He next referred to the terms of the Turkish peace; the portion of the speech dealing with this topic has been evidently very much condensed by Reuter, but when the full text is available, it will be found to have voiced the feelings of our Moslem brethren accurately. On the question of the Indian settlers in British colonies, it will be agreed on all hands that his advocacy left nothing to be desired. What we have been asking for is not unrestricted emigration to these lands; it is not to our advantage that such emigration should take place. But it is our bounden duty to see that those who have already been settled in those lands "must be admitted into the general body of (Imperial) citizenship without deduction from rights that other British subjects enjoyed."

THE President of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau of Bombay, in his interview with the member for industries in the Government of India, roundly taxed the Secretary of State with sacrificing Indian interests by ordering that all the stores required for India should be purchased in England alone, when it is known that British materials are often some 30 per cent. higher in price than foreign materials. This statement was made on the strength of Mr. Montagu's answers to two questions, of which the full text is not yet to hand in India. Whether the answers bear out the charge one cannot say till one knows what they are, but the experience Indians have had in similar matters in the past predisposes them to read into the telegraphic summary a meaning which perhaps it may be found that the answers, as given by Mr. Montagu, do not bear. Mr. Lalji Naranji pointed out that his Chamber had to protest against a clause, originally proposed in the terms of tenders of the Development Department, to the effect that "only British-made stores should be used by the contractors," and that, as a result of the protest, the clause was eventually deleted, Sir Thomas Holland passed by this remark and reassured the Chamber that as the purchase of stores was entrusted to the High Commissioner who was directly responsible to the Government of India, the remedy really lay in their own hands and promised to look into any cases of irregularity which the Chamber might bring to notice, wherein the principle laid down by the Stores Purchase Committee was infringed, viz. that purchases for India should be made in the cheapest market.

SOME concern is felt by Indians as to the probable composition of the Tariff Commission which will soon be appointed. It has been rumoured for some time that an Englishman "of confirmed free trade leanings" is thought of as Chairman of this Commission, but Sir Thomas Holland was able to give the assurance that the name of this gentleman "has never been considered, either as Chairman or even as a member of the Commission." Indian opinion is, at present, overwhelmingly protectionist, and to have appointed a determined free trader head of a Commission which is to investigate into

the fiscal arrangements which will suit Indian conditions and meet Indian sentiments would have been tantamount to prejudging the whole question in an adverse sense. Sir Thomas also stated his personal conviction that Indian interests cannot be fairly represented "except by a Commission composed of at least half Indians." This is about the most important of the Commission appointed of late. It will probably set the course of India's economic development for the next generation. On it, therefore, Indian interests must be adequately represented. If India is at all to enjoy fiscal autonomy, though subject to certain restrictions, it follows that she must be allowed to determine freely for herself how that autonomy can best be exercised.

\* \* \*

MR. GANDHI has entered a passionate protest in *Young India* against certain leading non-co-operators who criticise the working committee's resolution as to the boycott of law courts in the public press and who go even the length of saying that "its rulings may be disregarded." This protest is, we believe, really aimed at the Deccan non-co-operators, whose organs are engaged in proving how unsound and mischievous the resolution is. No other paper to our knowledge has so definitely unfurled the banner of revolt in this matter as the *Kesari*, the editor of which, Mr. N. C. Kelkar, was personally involved in the condemnation implied in a that resolution. Mr. Kelkar's scepticism in regard to non-co-operation has really a wider range: last week he laughed to scorn the idea, put forward by a thorough-going, if inconspicuous, non-co-operator, that home-spinning, introduced in schools, would finance elementary education throughout the country. Mr. Gandhi makes a definite claim that it is quite possible, by means of *charkas*, to provide the necessary funds for universalising primary education "without any extra taxation;" but Mr. Kelkar has absolutely no faith in the claim. To return to the resolution on the boycott of law courts, Mr. Gandhi says that non-co-operators must loyally abide by the decision of the working committee, which should as far as possible be unanimous; if any member disapproves of them, it is open to him to resign, but not open to carry on a public discussion about them. Mr. Gandhi's protest, however, is not heeded, for the newspapers, which objected to the resolution, are now using the acquittal of Dr. Cholkar (Nagpur) and Mr. Deshpande (Bijapur) for pointing the moral that the inhibition recommended by the working committee is injurious to the best interest as of the country inasmuch as it unnecessarily puts several tribunes of the people out of action.

\* \* \*

NOTHING demonstrated the complete abandonment of the Fourteen Points of Mr. Wilson at the Versailles "Peace"-making so clearly, as the denial of the right of self-determination to the Germans of what was left of Austria. It was evident that, once the Dual Monarchy was broken up, its

German provinces could not do otherwise but join up with the German "Reich." Neither economically nor politically is it possible for these *disjecta membra* to exist in separation. Yet facts were the last things considered at Versailles, if they were unwelcome. So the "Republic of Austria" was produced and told to set up house. The Government at Vienna could but agree on paper. The provinces, however, were not bound even to that extent. No sooner was peace ratified, we find therefore the province of Vorarlberg (which adjoins Switzerland) voting itself out of Austria for union with Switzerland. Whereupon the Allies of course enter their veto with the Big Stick. A few months ago the Tyrol took a vote for joining Germany on its own—with the same practical result, of course, which is nil. Yet these constant revelations of public feeling are not pleasant: so Austria is told that these provincial official referenda must stop. Whereupon Salzburg last month takes the referendum unofficially! Styria is about to follow—when Vienna is now told that if there is any more such nonsense, that province will be handed over to the Yougo Slavs! Ah, yes—Self Determination of Nations.

\* \* \*

THE University of Patna feels that the conditions in that province do not call for radical changes in its system of education like those recommended by the Sadler Commission for special application to conditions in Bengal. It has therefore decided to leave things practically unaltered so far as intermediate education is concerned and to introduce suitable changes in its system of secondary education for its reform on the general lines laid down in the Sadler Report. It is not for us to pronounce any opinion on the merits of this decision. That is the business of the people there who know best the local conditions. But we must say we are unable to appreciate the measures now proposed to be taken for the reform of secondary education. The University proposes to create a Board of Secondary Education, but is not ready to place entire confidence in it. Thus it proposes that the powers of this Board should be limited to mere administrative control of secondary institutions and that the work of framing the curriculum and conducting the examinations should be entrusted to a University Delegacy on which the University and the Board should have equal representation. We cannot help saying that we fail to appreciate the caution with which the University intends to move in this matter. The proposed constitution of the Board makes it clear that it would be a strong and representative body worthy of confidence. We, therefore, fail to see why the functions of the proposed University Delegacy could not be entrusted to this Board. We wish the Patna University had done this and saved its new machinery for the reform of secondary education from unnecessary complications which are sure to result from its joint control by more bodies than one.

\* \* \*

### COMPULSION ON MUNICIPALITIES.

IN writing on Mr. Paranjpye's elementary education policy, we said that if Government gave a two-thirds grant ( as they have already promised ), and if the municipalities adopted a double shifts system recommended by the Rajwade Committee with a view to effecting an economy in expenditure, it ought to be possible to introduce compulsory primary education for both boys and girls in urban areas. This will become apparent from a few figures. At present, in the Bombay Presidency, 60% of the boys and 20% of the girls of school-going age are at school; that is to say, 40% of the total number of children who ought to be under instruction are now attending school. This means that the municipalities will have to spend  $2\frac{1}{2}$  times as much money as they are now doing on primary education, if they enforce compulsion on all children of school age. But if the shifts system is applied, there will be a considerable reduction, for it is calculated that, with 25% additional expenditure, municipalities can bring 100% more children under instruction; *i. e.* if they spent only Rs.  $1\frac{1}{4}$  where they are now spending Re. 1, they would be able to provide education for 80% of the children of school-going age; and for making elementary education available to 100% children, the expenditure will have to be increased to  $\frac{5}{4}$ ths of this amount, or Re. 1-9-0. Of this amount, the Government will contribute two-thirds, leaving one-third to be paid by the municipalities out of their own resources; which means, roughly, that the municipalities will have to pay eight annas. This is exactly the share of the educational expenditure which the municipalities are bearing at present, with the grant-in-aid standing at half the total cost of education. Thus, we arrive at this conclusion, that, by availing themselves of the enhanced grant and by using the two-shifts system which recommends itself to educationalists on other grounds than economy as well, the municipalities can arrange for the education of all the children in their areas at practically the same cost as they are now incurring for 40% of the children. It must be noted, however, that, in this calculation, the additional cost entailed by the increments already made and proposed to be made in the salaries of primary teachers has been left out of account. It is a large figure; the municipalities and the Government will have to spend half as much again on that account. That is to say, the municipal expenditure on education will then be 12 annas, instead of 8. It will be allowed that the municipalities must be willing to increase their own share of the educational cost by 50% if they wish to put in hand such a large undertaking as the universalising of education; they can certainly levy additional taxation, if necessary, to the tune of half their expenditure on education at present.

Our purpose in quoting these figures is to show that if the municipalities are in earnest, they can introduce compulsory primary education without overstraining their resources. But will they in-

roduce it of their own accord? Can we trust local bodies to do so without any unnecessary delay? We know of no instance where such local option in the matter of adopting compulsion has succeeded in making education universal without a preliminary compulsion on local bodies to provide the necessary educational facilities. At any rate, it would not be unreasonable if Government required local bodies, as was done in England by the Act of 1870, to provide sufficient accommodation for all the children resident in their areas. Of course, a calculation based upon the average financial strength of the municipalities in general cannot apply equally to all. It is quite possible that there may be some hard cases which may require exceptional treatment; they may either have to be given a more liberal subvention or perhaps to be excepted from the obligation which it is suggested might be cast on the municipalities in general ( though in England no such consideration was shown to local bodies ). In any case it would be right, in the circumstances, for Government to take power to themselves to compel the municipalities to provide sufficient accommodation, or, rather, to pass an Act imposing this duty on the municipalities and also giving power to the Government to exempt any of these bodies, whose resources are found to be unequal to the burden, from its operation. In view to such an enactment, we would suggest to Government to undertake an investigation into the possibilities of the shifts system ( which Mr. Paranjpye has already promised ) and into the financial ability of the municipalities to bear the burden of universal education under the conditions mentioned above. Even if this is done, the much larger problem of the diffusion of education in rural areas remains unsolved; but, even so far as urban areas are concerned, we feel that unless some such step is taken, there is little hope that compulsion will be introduced on an appreciable scale.

### THE ASIATIC ENQUIRY COMMISSION.—I.

THE full report of the Asiatic Enquiry Commission has been lying before me, but I have not been able to touch it for some days on account of the incessant occupation of every one of my own interests and emotions in the fate of the Chandpur refugees, who have come down from Assam. All that I have seen there at Chandpur seems only to represent to me another tragedy of emigration. It goes to swell the long catalogue of failure, so far as the United Provinces are concerned. Later on, it may possibly happen, that the gloom of what I have seen with my own eyes at Chandpur, and Goalundo and Naihati,—the unspeakable misery and destitution,—will be partly lightened, when I am able to go to Assam and to investigate conditions on the spot. But certainly the misery I have been brought face to face with during the last five weeks ( whatever might be the original cause of the exodus ) can only have one word written upon it, the word "disaster." For the real trouble is this, that, in these various

emigrations from Northern India, *there is always the greatest difficulty in coming back again to the old village life, after once the emigration has been effected.* This is the lesson, that I am learning, by bitter experience, and it is a lesson that is very hard to learn, and still more hard to accept.

When I was in South Africa at the time of Sir Benjamin Robertson and Mr. G. L. Corbett's visit, working side by side with them, but independently of them, this same problem stared us all in the face. I had come to Natal a few weeks earlier than they had done themselves. It was some time before their landing that I had made my own investigations; I had been already to many places on the main route up the North Coast, where Indians were employed on the sugar plantations (a large number of whom were still under indenture), and I had seen at close quarters and carefully inspected their condition of life, their "barracks," their general appearance, their physique; I had heard their prayers and petitions; my heart had been moved to its depth by their wretched condition, and I had made up my own mind, on the evidence and had come to a definite conclusion. Afterwards, I had discussed this conclusion with all the leading Indians in Durban, who had at heart the interests of their poorer fellow-countrymen, and they gave their unanimous assent to it.

My own conclusion was this:—It would be far better for these poor wrecks of humanity to come back to India, if they could get a free passage and a little help to start life again, rather than that they should go on sinking lower and lower,—actually falling below the level of the Kaffirs, who were being imported from the bush to compete with them on the plantations. I found out, from the actual statistics of the province (which were very accurately and carefully kept by the special Government Department), that this deterioration in Indian wage earning was universal in Natal; that the Zulu and Kaffir wages were both rising while the Indian wages were falling. I found still further that, even though indentured labour had been actually ended and the last of the old indentured labourers had been set free (about the year 1915 or 1916), yet in the subsequent years, Indians had gone on and on, re-indenturing themselves into a fresh bondage, simply because they were compelled by the force of hunger and misery to do so. I shall never forget how, on one estate, a hovel was shown to me, (the habitation of a whole family,) into which I had almost literally to come down as if going into a kennel. And when I got inside, it was quite impossible to stand upright. The filth inside was beyond words, and the air was putrid. But what else could be expected, when human beings were treated in this manner by overseers, who were living in palatial buildings themselves? I remember one appalling contrast. The Indian barracks were hardly a stone's throw from the house of the Manager of the Estate. The Manager's house had all the perfect air and light arrangements of modern sanitary science; the Indian quarters were so

sanitarily neglected, that I could hardly bear to stay in them even for a few moments, the air was so foul and the drainage was so filthy.

This experience made me restless night and day. I did not know what to do. All my Indian friends wondered at the moodiness, which had come over me, and the gloom, which settled down more and more upon me. They had themselves grown used to these sights and these conditions. But, for myself, I had not seen anything so bad, even in Fiji. And this re-indenturing business roused in me almost furious indignation. I knew it was under terrible temptation or under some irresistible compulsion, that re-indenture was acquiesced in by Indians themselves. Stories were told to me about the recruiting, which were every bit as bad as the *arkati* stories, that I had heard in India in the old evil days of indentured labour in the past. And, in Natal, there was a temptation, that was hardly known in the United Provinces, and that was quite impossible in Fiji—the temptation of intoxicating drink. I found that, in a very large number of instances, the Indians were made drunk with the intoxicating liquor by the recruiters, in order to get them to affix their thumb mark to the new indenture. They were given £2-10-0 on signing, and this only too often went in "drink."

All these things, as I have said, weighed upon me, night and day, and I kept brooding over them. I was ill at the time, and I began to wonder if I had become morbid through illness. It was not possible for me to go down to coast, southward; but I received letters from Indians there, whose word could be relied on, that conditions in the South were exactly similar to conditions in the North. They also complained about the manner in which the Indian merchants in Durban had been profiteering in rice and thus making the lot of the Indian labourers still more miserable.

Then came Sir Benjamin Robertson, and Mr. G. L. Corbett, and Mr. Lolit Sen. At first, the Indian leaders were inclined to be somewhat aloof. They had been bitterly disappointed at the refusal of the Hon. Srinivasa Sastri to accompany the Deputation. The position was taken up by some, that because Mr. Sastri had not been able to come, there must be something wrong somewhere; and therefore the whole Deputation should be left on one side. There was, at the same time, a section of the Indian community, who wished to boycott altogether the Asiatic Enquiry Commission, and to have nothing to do with the Deputation from India on that account.

It was very difficult to come to a common agreement, and at first things seemed to go quite wrong at the time of Sir Benjamin Robertson's landing. I was in the country districts when the ship came in, and the news reached me by telegram, that the Deputation had actually landed. At once, I hurried back to Durban, and saw Sir Benjamin Robertson and Mr. Corbett that night. There had been the usual difficulties about Mr. Lolit Sen's accommodation. Being an Indian, no Durban hotel

was likely to take him in, on account of the acute racial prejudice. He was therefore still remaining on board ship. The same difficulty had been experienced in the case of Mr. Sarkar, on the former visit of Sir Benjamin Robertson; and I had fully anticipated it. We at once offered hospitality among the Indian merchants in Durban, and the offer was accepted; but, in the end, Mr. Corbett was able to obtain a room in the hotel itself, though even then it would not be possible for Mr. Lolit Sen to have meals except in his own room in the hotel. It is these indignities, which bring, like a sharp lash, to Indian minds the helplessness and the hopelessness of their racial position in certain particulars. Probably the sensitiveness about such things happening had a great deal to do with the Hon. Srinivasa Sastri's refusal to come out, and I can very well understand the feeling and share it. There were, I know, other extremely cogent causes besides; but I believe I am not wrong in saying, that this question of racial treatment weighed heavily with him. The difficulties connected with the late Hon. G. K. Gokhale's visit in 1912, were overcome by Mahatma Gandhi's continual presence; but, even in Mr. Gokhale's case, there was no other method of travelling by steamer to South Africa except by occupying a whole three berth cabin by himself alone. For no South African would travel with him. I know full well, how great the danger of racial intolerance would have been, if Mr. Sastri had come out; but all the same I believe that it could have been surmounted, and I am sorry that he found himself unable to come, when the time drew near.

But, to return from this necessary digression, (for this question of racial exclusiveness is the fundamental question in South Africa), on that same evening after our conversation it was as clear as possible to me, that, in Mr. G. L. Corbett, we had one of the truest friends of India in the Civil Service that this Service possessed. He would very rapidly overcome any shyness or aloofness from the Indian side. This anticipation was soon realised. In the very briefest time, after he had come round to meet the Indian leaders at the house of Mr. Parsee Rustomjee, or Mr. Mian Khan, he won golden opinions from all. Thenceforward, there was no trouble whatever about the Deputation being cordially received by Indians, all over South Africa. I would like to bear personal testimony to the truly remarkable way in which Mr. Corbett mastered each Indian problem and recognised almost immediately the Indian point of view. I have since heard, both from East Africa and Uganda, how he showed the same capacity of rapid understanding there also.

After Sir Benjamin Robertson and Mr. Corbett and Mr. Sen had been in Natal for a few days, they went out to visit the Mount Edgcombe estate. This was by no means the worst estate that I had seen in Natal. I gave no hint as to my own opinion, but asked Mr. Corbett specially to consider the condition of the Indian labourers. He came back in a

state of complete dejection about it. He told me, that he had no doubt whatever, that these Indian labourers would be much better off in India. The best thing would be to repatriate them; and if the Union Government were willing to do it, this would be the quickest way to solve an altogether intolerable situation.

What happened after that, I shall relate in my next article.

C. F. ANDREWS.

## THE ETHICS OF VIOLENCE.

(Concluded from last issue.)

WHAT then is left to the people, whose rights are being encroached upon by unscrupulous invaders? What of people, who are being oppressed by such invaders establishing themselves as a ruling caste over them? The answer must be, that it is just only to use force negatively against them, not positively; to restrain them, not to injure them. This conclusion will seem to the majority of people quixotic and absurd, though logically unimpeachable—but that is so only, because the majority of people are only prepared to act justly, as long as that entails success, but not, when it entails suffering. Yet the only remedy for violence is suffering; because the only solvent of hatred is love. "Love your enemies" is not a silly paradox, but the fundamental principle of all ethics—for, love my enemies means that whatever happens, even if a man or a people should seek to do me evil, I must go on seeking his good. If he uses "violence," I must, even if I use force, use it only for his good, on the peril of becoming myself evil, even as he is evil.

If on the one hand we must go on remembering the good of our fellow-man as if it were our own, it is on the other not demanded that we should love him more than ourselves: "love thy neighbour as thyself." That will suffice. But that much we can do, if we will keep ourselves free from violence. Yet such non-violence does not imply that we should servilely submit to whatever the neighbour demands. On the contrary, if his act is evil, we must refrain from sharing in it, even at the price of our suffering. Non-co-operation of an evil act therefore is a necessary accompaniment of non-violence.

This point is of fundamental importance in the case of what is called civil disobedience. All government is only just, as long as it is carried on for the common-weal. As soon as it ceases to do so it becomes "tyranny" and no obedience is due by the people to a "tyrannous" government. This point is clear in theory but a very difficult one to decide in practice. Tyrants of the old style, i. e. autocratic rulers, who treat the ryot as merely intended for their own private use, are becoming rare now-a-days. Not so tyrannous governments, i. e. governments which have in view, not the welfare of all the people, but of their own class alone. The difficulty lies in the fact that, as the number of members of a ruling class increases, does it become

less easy to decide whether all the members of that class are intending their own good alone or that of the governed as well. Evidence should be very strong before the evil intent of a very numerous governing class as a whole can be taken as established; and until it is quite established, civil disobedience cannot be safely resorted to, seeing that as a consequence it would substitute necessarily, even if only as a first step, anarchy for tyranny, neither of which promotes the welfare of the people at large. The only morally safe course therefore would seem to be, to judge every act of government separately as to its intention and to decide on that evidence as to whether the governed should or should not co-operate with the governing in carrying on that piece of government.

But that leads to a further difficulty. How is the intention to be established? How know, whether a certain measure is intended to promote public or private welfare? No man can look into another man's heart. True; but for our purposes it suffices for the governed to establish that the consequences of a certain action are injurious to the public good. If the governed can show to the governing, who profess to intend the public good, that in fact this professed intention cannot result in a certain contemplated action: then the natural conclusion will be, if the governing persist in the said measure, that as a matter of fact they do *not* intend the common-weal, and that they are acting hypocritically and deceitfully.

But what if the governing retort, that their interpretation is the true one, and that the measure is in the true interest of the governed, although the latter do not see that—simply because the governed lack understanding and are, say, "a child race"? We then come to the case, above illustrated, of a difference of opinion between a parent and his child. But do we? We have seen already, that the parent is justly using force towards his child, because he has been invested with the necessary "authority." But who has given such "authority" to the alien bureaucracy which has come to govern the "child race"? The Mailed Fist? But we have already seen, that ordeal by battle does not establish the justice of a cause. What then? The consent of the "child race"? Exactly. But what if the consent is withdrawn? Good government against the will of the governed is as reprehensible, as my dragging our old friend with the swollen face against his will to the dentist: for it robs such people of their own free will, it therefore stunts their responsibility and reduces them to the level of machines. In short, it dehumanizes their actions. And that is exactly why the "White Man's Burden" is so rapidly developing into a "White Peril." Black or white, red or yellow,—the "Peril" consists in the sweeping away, not of the privileges of the few, but of the consent of the many.

The many of course may be in error. Their opinion may be wrong, after all, and that of the few right. What then, if the stewards of public force

are precluded ethically from using that force against the people, whose consent they cannot win? Obviously, their only legitimate, nay, necessary answer must be the same as that of the people in the previous case: viz. Non-co-operation. If those governing really have the common-weal and nothing else in view: neither the satisfaction of their own lust for power nor greed—then, why do they not on their own part practise non-co-operation and resign the exercise of a power which public opinion does not endorse? Because public opinion is ill-informed? Then inform it. Because the opinion so loudly voiced is not that of the whole people really, but only that of a minority? Then why not ascertain what the majority really do think on that point? Why not feverishly develop the self-expression of the people—by a free press and by the introduction of all the democratic devices available to-day for ascertaining the will of the people? Why indeed?

To sum up. Force may be turned to good account or to evil account. It is always morally wrong to employ force for an evil purpose; but it is equally wrong to employ it for a good purpose against beings endowed with a free will, except purely defensively, restrictively, negatively. Not the best intention in the world justifies the breaking of another's skull, even less so of his will. Non-violence therefore means, never to use force towards our neighbour, except negatively and even then only lovingly. Against an evil will our only weapon is to stultify it (if it is possible to do so without injury to the evil agent), to refuse to share in the evil enacted and finally and supremely—to suffer in oneself the evil consequences of such evil.

Let it not be said that however fine, however true, however perfect so austere a philosophy may be, that yet it is not one that is practicable for every-day life, that it makes such heroic demands on human nature, as the average human being is totally incapable of meeting. People who argue thus seem to imply that suffering is only for those who accept the rule of Non-violence: a most patent and most vicious fallacy. In the last war, did the combatants escape all suffering? Was suffering restricted to the small group of conscientious objectors and were the rest of the people excepted from all suffering? If evil is done, suffering must result; and the only difference between a man who adheres to non-violence and one who does not, is, that the first suffers willingly and the second unwillingly: but suffer they do, both of them. There is always the selfish hope in the latter class that perhaps, somehow or other, they may escape suffering in themselves; that the universal suffering all round them will, somehow or other, perhaps just pass them by and visit their neighbours only.

No, says the combatant; it is not that we seek to escape suffering. Why we object to Non-violence is, because the suffering in that case would be only on the part of the innocent, whilst the invaders, the evilly intentioned, would be spared all suffering.

Then what would you? Would you buy justice at the price of your own innocence? Would you do evil yourself, would you kill and lie, so that good, that justice, may ensue? And who made you judge of these people, who inflict suffering on you? Are you not their accuser? Then how may you also be their judge and their executioner? Is this indignation of yours for the punishment of the evil doer, this thirst for Justice and for the vindication of Right, are they quite untinged by the passion of Anger, by the fierce longing for personal revenge? And if not, if you really only hate the sin, but continue to love the sinner: how can you show that love, by lying to him and ultimately killing him?

There is no answer, there can be no answer. If we believe in God, we must have faith in Him that He will be able to bring about justice in some other way; that, after all, He is ruling this world; that He does not depend on us to effect such rule; and above all, that He cannot really be helped by killing and lying. Free will entails the possibility of evil; evil entails necessarily suffering. And since we live, not in a Pluriverse, but in a Universe, the effects of each evil must be felt universally. But the glory of man is just this, that free will beings have the opportunity of annihilating these evil effects i. e. suffering; and they can do this by freely and voluntarily taking such suffering upon themselves out of the love which they bear to all.

Suffering in itself therefore, mere non-violence, is of no positive value. The sufferings of the craven, who suffers because he sees no way out of it, but who would soon wreak his revenge, if only he could safely do so: they are of no remedial value. Non-violence must be practised, not by the servile, but by the heroic; not as a means towards success, but as a means of preserving one's own innocence; not in stoic resignation, but out of a burning love, which gladly accepts suffering in the overwhelming desire of pulling down the entrenchments of evil, which separate us from each other—and from God.

H. C. E. ZACHARIAS.

### A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, JUNE 16.

MR. SASTRI AT THE ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE.

THAT very egregious body, the Royal Colonial Institute, though it has recently added to its other attractions an Indian section, remains pre-eminently a body in the main interested in Colonial problems from the white point of view. This was exemplified in unmistakable fashion the other day, when Sir John Findlay, one of the Dominion representatives, delivered a long and instructive paper on the future of the British Commonwealth. It was followed by a series of valuable comments and criticisms by some of the distinguished statesmen of this country and from overseas, and, at the end of a patient hearing Mr. Sastri, who was present, asked

permission to say a few words from an altogether new point of view. As it was at the end of a lengthy meeting, the Chairman was obliged to limit Mr. Sastri's remarks to five minutes, but this was quite enough for the courageous representative of India, who spoke his mind, with great effect in the following words:—

"Neither in the interesting paper to which we have listened, nor in the subsequent speeches, was there any allusion made to India. The very idea of the British Empire owes its origin in great part, to the fact of India being within it. It is strange that in a discussion of this sort, which deals with the future of the Empire, people should forget that India is to-day within the Empire, and, if it is made at all possible, wishes to remain so. But this should be made possible by the future connection being entirely on a footing of absolute equality with the Dominions, and India being made to rise as expeditiously as possible to full Dominion status. A very strong feeling has grown up in my country, of which the full force is not realised here, which demands satisfaction by an answer to the insistent question: What is our position within this Empire? Are we going to be serfs and holoets always, or shall we be allowed to walk erect the same as any other British subjects? Subjected to indignities and humiliations in South Africa, excluded from Australia, treated as undesirable in Canada, tolerated, but just tolerated, in New Zealand—where are we? So long as this question is not settled so as to satisfy the growing self-consciousness of India, you are doomed in trying to settle the problems and the future to perpetual conflict and eternal defeat. I would urge on you and on others whose business it will be to consider such questions, before all things, settle India's position.

"I heard some people talking of the British race, and others talking of the English-speaking peoples. They are narrow and restricted categories. India cannot come within either. With India within the great Commonwealth, especially after the War, with its exalted aims and the League of Nations, you must rise above these small categories, and begin to comprehend higher ones—peoples and nations that appreciate and value your jurisprudence and parliamentary institutions, and aim at the policy of the open door and justice and brotherhood and equality amongst all communities. So only would you be taking a step towards that ideal that Sir John Findlay referred to, namely, the Parliament of Man and the Federation of the world. Let it be clear when you quote Lowell or Tennyson, and other great thinkers, that you really care for their thoughts and do not quote them merely to adorn your perorations."

After that, is there anyone who will venture to declare that Mr. Sastri is not a man of convictions, is not a worthy exponent of his country's present aspirations, is not a man of courage, able to say what he thinks, before all men, fearlessly and forthrightly? His final remarks were, in a sense, by way of anticipatory reply also to General Smuts, who, during the week-end, at the Rhodes Trust dinner at Oxford, alluded, in some degree, to the same matter, though from a very much narrower standpoint. Referring to the racial side of the Great British ideals that had been alluded to by some previous speakers, he said:—"That does not appeal to me. I have always felt, and have often said, that the mere bonds of race, the British bonds, the Anglo-Saxon bonds, which are supposed to hold the British Empire together, do not appeal to me. I take a larger view—that there are greater forces at work, deeper human forces in this Empire—and



on that platform of great ideals or great conceptions of human service it is possible for us, to whatever nationality in the British Empire we may happen to belong, to all unite." Had the General stopped there, his remarks would have been unexceptionable. But a little later he made it clear that he had somewhat narrower concepts of Imperial unity, for he declared that "in the union of the great white races and forces in the world alone could they find a true guarantee for Western civilisation in the future." How absurd it is to suppose that any civilisation, whether Western or Eastern, can be guaranteed by the deliberate opposition of the one to the other, which General Smuts seemed to imply, he did not apparently stop to think.

#### ON NON-CO-OPERATION.

On Tuesday evening, at the Royal Society Rooms, Burlington House, under the auspices of the Sociological Society, with Mr. Edwyn Bevan in the Chair, Mr. Sastri delivered a lecture on the "Non-co-operation Movement in India." Having regard to the scientific character of the Society, Mr. Sastri dealt with his subject, so far as possible, dispassionately, objectively, and analytically, and avoided controversy and polemics. He succeeded admirably in giving a most lucid description of the movement and of its author, and gave his reasons for the belief that he held that it must inevitably fail, because not only was it, in fact, the very antithesis of soul-force, though that, of course, was not Mr. Gandhi's view of it, but that soul-force, as applied to the political sphere, inevitably changed its character and became a subtle political weapon. Among those present was Mrs. Whitehead of Madras.

Among other prominent people that arrived in England by the last mail were Mrs. Besant and Dr. Dutta, together with Principal Heramba Chandra Maitra, Sir Nilratan Sirkar, Professor Das Gupta, and Dr. Promothonath Bannerjee. To the last four a reception was given at 21 Cromwell Road by the London Brahma Samaj on Monday, and the Indian Students' Union is going to give to the distinguished Indian and Ceylonese visitors now in this country a reception on the 2nd July. The Students' Committee, with Lord Lytton presiding, is continuing its labours in different parts of the country, but is expected to have a quiet week-end in London this week. The Railway Committee is considering its report. On Monday evening, the High Commissioner for India gave a dinner to a number of distinguished guests in honour of Lord Chelmsford. There were no speeches.]

#### VIEWS OF THE MAHARAO OF CUTCH.

Owing to the Prime Minister's illness the Premiers' Conference (or whatever it is correct to call this series of meetings upon which no-one seems able to agree with anyone else, but which Sir Sidney Low proposes to call the Britannio Congress) has been postponed until next week, though this will put the Canadian Prime Minister's time-table out of joint. Consequently, we shall not know for yet some time more exactly what will be the attitude of

the Conference when confronted with Mr. Sastri's dilemma—"Equality or Separation." I think that a great deal of weight will be placed upon the suggestion thrown out by Lord Lytton and the Government of India for a visit of Dominion statesmen to India during the next cold weather, in order to discuss the situation with leading Indians and high British officials on the spot. His Highness the Maharao of Cutch, in an interview with the *Times* yesterday, alluded again to this suggestion. He thought that it was clear that the political reforms in India had been well conceived and had made a good beginning. More and more, as time went on, would the Indian people, he thought, recognise that the value and glory of India's new found nationality was largely dependent upon her association with the British Empire and the joint work in India of the Englishman and the Indian. But, he was bound to add, one of the greatest obstacles to this realisation was the feeling that the new position of India was not sufficiently reflected in the status accorded to Indian subjects of His Majesty in the self-governing Dominions and other overseas possessions of the Crown. In finding a solution of problems connected therewith, whose difficulty he admitted, great value, he was of opinion, attached to Dominion statesmen with India's representatives at the Imperial gatherings in London. But this contact was not of itself sufficient and the Maharao considered that a great deal of good would be done if a number of Dominion statesmen, from South Africa, perhaps, to begin with, would pay a cold weather visit to India and see for themselves the remarkable developments of Indian public life, and also obtain impressions at first hand of the intensity of feeling amongst Indians of every section and class on this question of status of Indians within the Empire. I understand from His Highness that he has a considerable personal interest in the East African problem, in particular, for perhaps the majority of the Indians of the better classes there are his subjects, and, curiously enough, the spiritual followers of the Aga Khan. A joint sporting expedition to East Africa of these two potentates might do a great deal to relieve the local tension.

It would seem that the handing over of Aden to the Colonial Office is all but settled. On Tuesday Mr. Winston Churchill stated that it merely depended upon the settlement of the financial problems connected with the proposed transfer, and that he was trying to make as good a bargain as possible with the India Office. The feeling is general that the Arab question should not be divided among several Departments with little if any connexion with each other, so far as policy is concerned.

### REVIEW.

#### A TAMIL ANTHOLOGY.

*Hymns of the Saivite Saints. (Heritage of India Series.)*

We do not feel ourselves to be adequately competent to criticize the selections in the book under review, as we have not read through all the writings of the Saiva Acharyas. In-

deed very few could claim to have read through the ponderous Thevāram, bigger than a respectable school dictionary in printed matter. We are glad the book evinces little of the supercilious and patronising attitude of the Christian missionary towards Indian literature, so far as the editing goes. But the reference to idolatry might have been less harsh in the commentaries, which are singularly free from the vulgarity to which the missionary is too often prone. One feels that the introduction to the book is rather *exiguous*, lacking in desiderata of criticism and information. In these hymns, the Christian would find much that suits his groove of thought, many strains of feeling and doctrine he would call in his parlance 'Hebraic' and pant for in the religious literature of India; to wit, the doctrine of redemption, the need of a redeemer for salvation, the deep consciousness of sin, the joyous sense of freedom and deliverance of the faithful. These are elements which it eminently behoves the introduction to have noted. The consanguinity of spiritual outlook between them—the Christian and the Saiva saint is so striking—that men like Prof. Hogg of the Madras Christian College could not explain the phenomenon except on the theory of the direct influx of Christian doctrine into Tamil hymnology from the Saint Thomas Christians of early times. One wonders how the natural and obvious explanation, namely, the omni-presence of kindred religious aspirations, the fundamental unity in the emotional currents of the religious soul irrespective of Christian and Hindu does not occur to the Christian. That other far-fetched theory—the direct indebtedness to Christian teachings—seems the most natural, and comes like a flattering unction to minds which dearly cherish notions of the superiority and antecedence of Christian doctrines.

Regarding this anthology we could only say that the author (for it is only one of the two authors who is responsible for the selection) should have confined himself to the choice of those hymns which are intrinsically poetic and beautiful. On our first glance at the book we expected a *naivete* and freshness of mind, as well as the touchstone of a devout Christian's spirituality to have operated and decided the choice of poems. But we must confess we are disappointed. The selections have been made from the familiar, rather than from the striking and the daringly original. The mere flotsam and jetsam from the writings of these Saiva saints are so enormous in quantity that only the best hymns—not those floating at the top and are in current use by reason of their levity and commonplaceness of ideas—but hymns unknown and unseen save by truly spiritual souls, ought to have found a place in a Golden Treasury of Tamil Songs and Lyrics. We are confident that Tamil has something that is of value to world-literature in her vast storehouse of hymns and songs which she would reveal to such only as are diligent explorers. We are glad that one or two gems of Tamil hymnal literature have fallen within this present book of selections. Here is one: "*Masil veenayum malai mathiyum &c. . .*"

"To what shall I liken the shade of my father's feet?

To the melting music of a perfectly set *veena*, to the rising moon of the evening sky, to the warmth of early summer, or the forest-pool hovered over by humming bees? My father's protection is like all these put together."

Stanzas like these are not so rare in the Tamil saints as the symposium before us would lead us to infer. On page 111 of the book, the 10th and the last stanza of the "awakening song," in addition to the 1st and the 2nd should have found their way as they are singularly pathetic. The Thiruvāsagam again should have been laid more under contribution; and so too should Appar. If Sundra and Jñānasambanda could not show lines of equal beauty and sublimity we must only cast aside our traditional attitude of reverence towards them and dismiss them from the anthology.

There is something to be said also for the hymns which contain commonplace ideas and are favourite with the people. For one thing, they would be popular. Set to music and hallowed by the traditional spirit of reverence, many of them are charming, and some truly ethereal. The music of the two songs on p. 22—"all is safe for the believer" and "everything is holy ashes"—haunts us still, having had occasion to hear

them sung by the Thirunāvukkarasu Nāyanār Vidyāsāla in Tinnevely.

We should like to close this glancing review with the suggestion that the editor of a book which claims to belong to the "Heritage of India" series and garner together the richest of India's spiritual heirloom, should have kept his eclectic sense alert to reject the pinchbeck and welcome the gold.

R. RAMA AIYAR.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### THE INDIAN STATES AND THE INDIAN ARMY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—Mr. Gopinath Kunzru in his letter dated 29th May and published in the SERVANT OF INDIA dated 9th June recommends that the Committee appointed by the Government of India for investigating into the recommendations of the Esher Committee, should discuss the question as regards the contributions from the Indian States towards the expenses of the Indian Army. He suggests that the contribution should be in proportion to the revenues and population of the individual States. The main ground of this proposal is that the Indian States get the full benefit of the Army maintained by the Indian Imperial Government. This proposal on the very face of it appears both equitable and fair. However, the learned correspondent has ignored many aspects of the other side of the said question and has utterly failed in guarding the vital interests of his brother ratepayers from the Indian States.

The subjects of the Indian States are already contributing either directly or indirectly to the Indian Army of defence and also to the revenues of the Government of India. This is a fact and it cannot be ignored. This contribution falls under three heads:

- A. Imperial Service Troops and Local Troops.
- B. Cash contributions and revenues of ceded territories.
- C. Indirect cash contributions to the revenues of the Government of India under the following heads:
  - (1) Import and Export duties.
  - (2) Excise duties on the local cotton fabrics.
  - (3) Income tax.
  - (4) Income from the State Railways.
  - (5) Income from the Posts and Telegraphs.
  - (6) Income from Salt duties, and
  - (7) Profits of the Mint and Currency.

A few words of explanation on the above points will be of some use in this connection.

A. The correspondent admits that some of the big and small States maintain Imperial Service Troops, but concludes that the Indian States Army is mainly intended to supplement the Police. This is an entirely unwarranted statement. The Indian State troops have been of great use both to the States and the Imperial Government in times of peace as well as in times of war. The services of the Imperial Service Troops have been very highly spoken of by the Government of India and by several military authorities during the last war. The defects of the Imperial Service Troops were well known. But they were entirely due to the policy of distrust so long observed by the Government of India. This policy was purposely followed and the responsibility for the inefficiency and defects of the Imperial Service Troops lies wholly on the shoulders of the Imperial Government of India. From reliable sources, it is given to understand that the question of reorganization of the Imperial Service Troops and their place in the scheme of Indian defence is before the Government of India and the Princes and Chiefs of the Indian States since the end of the last war. The said reorganization could be effected only when the Government of India adopts a policy of trust and not otherwise. If this be adopted, the Indian State Troops shall soon be counted as a valuable addition of efficient units in the combined Army of the United India. Why such

units should not be called a part of the Indian Army of defence is nowhere made clear by your learned correspondent. The States are treated as allies and friends of the Indian Empire. They are also an integral part of India and are in theory and practice one with British India. They are bound to defend India as a whole and also the British Empire as a whole. Their loyalty and good faith are unquestionable. The State units are theoretically independent of each other and under the command of their respective States. But there will be no objection in practice at least, to keeping these units under the direct command of the General Officer Commanding the combined Forces during any war or expedition or any other emergency, and also whether the Forces be in or out of India or abroad. This was strictly observed during the last war with great success.

During the war the military defects in the Imperial Service Troops in respect of organization, training, discipline, equipment, arms and maintenance might have been naturally felt from time to time. It was but natural that the States concerned were not able to remedy these defects at once. Everything depended upon the hearty co-operation of the Imperial Government. If facilities are given to equip and train the Indian State Troops as to be fit for active service, the efficiency of these troops would be equal to that of the regular British Indian Troops. For training purposes, British Officers should be lent and army schools and classes for training for war should also be opened to officers and non-commissioned officers of the State forces. In addition to this, equal and fair treatment should be given to the officers of the State forces. These and others are complaints of long standing and unless they are removed, the Durbars are not to be blamed for their patent defects. If the Government of India follows a policy of trust and leaves the Durbars to themselves to keep as many units as their finances allow, the reorganized Indian State units would be as efficient and valuable as the Indian Army itself. The present fixed standard of the Indian Army may then be permanently reduced *pro tanto* the Indian State units are concerned. The present high standard of the Indian Army was fixed with a view to overawe the ill-equipped Army maintained by the Durbars. The bogey of foreign invasion as well as of internal attacks was a myth invented by the Militarist Government. Since the opening of the new democratic era, all right-thinking people have no faith in this bogey. The recent reduction in the Indian Army units fore-shadow the future policy of trust and good faith. Reasonable reduction in the strength of the army is the only solution to meet the heavy deficits and not the policy to raise contributions from the Indian States.

B. The Indian States are bound to defend India from all foreign attacks; so also the British Government has undertaken to protect the Indian States from internal and foreign attacks. For this very purpose, some of the States have already ceded large or small portions of their rich territories to the Government of India, and some of them have undertaken to make annual contributions by way of tributes. These are and were meant for the defence. These solid contributions shall have to be taken into consideration if the question of fresh contribution in proportion to the revenues and population of the individual States be raised. The income of the ceded territories has increased by leaps and bounds. If the proposed proportion be followed in its entirety, I am afraid that the Government of India shall be obliged to rendite some portions of the ceded territories or repay a portion of the tribute which will be in excess of the said proportion. Is the Government of India ready to do as suggested? The plain answer to this must be in the negative. It will also raise the question of revision of the old treaties which could not be effected without the free consent of the Durbars.

C. The British Government from the very start of its Imperial policy has secured for itself either by custom, or by engagements or by consent of the Durbars an exclusive monopoly of raising huge amounts of revenues from the various heads referred to above under C. These taxes are paid by the Indian States ratepayers directly in some cases and indirect-

ly in others. The revenues should thus be charged with the total cost of the defence of India as a whole. If this be done, I am sure the amount of contribution to be raised from the Durbars would be either nil or the Durbars will be entitled to receive something from the Imperial Government. This question is rather a complicated one and could not be solved without adequate data, which are confined to the treaties and engagements with the 600 and odd Durbars.

It is an admitted fact that the incidence of taxation is rather higher in the Indian States. If the indirect taxes paid by the State ratepayers are taken into consideration, the said incidence would be 50 p. c. higher than that of British India. If new burdens are placed on the shoulders of the state ratepayers, their condition would not be better than that of mere labourers. There are no representatives of the Indian States in the Councils of the Indian Empire. The Princes and Chiefs are the hereditary and *de jure* representatives of their subjects, but what is wanted is true and *de facto* representation. Unless and until this representation is not given, the Durbars are not bound to contribute towards the costs of the defence beyond what they are doing according to their engagements. There can be no taxation without representation, and this maxim holds good in the case of the Indian States also.

INDIAN STATE RATEPAYER.

12th June.

### TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

A GOOD deal has been heard lately of the default made on the part of Indian firms in regard to contracts entered into at a time when exchange was to have been fixed at 2s.—with reflexions on the low level of Asiatic business morality, etc., etc. To the mischief makers who would everlastingly drag in racial prejudices we would commend the consideration of affairs in the American business world of to-day—as disclosed in a paragraph which we cull from the June number of the *St. Martin in the Fields Review*:

"If any of you read that wonderful American periodical *The Saturday Evening Post* you will see in the current number a remarkable article on the downfall of business morals in the past few months. The writer gives an amazing story of cancelled contracts, of the breaking of the pledged word, of tricks to avoid taking up a solemn tender when it proves to be unfavourable. Then he sums up the position in these startling words: "American readjustment put tremendous pressure upon business morale and, having become impaired during the war, it broke like the Russian front." It is a statement which must give us pause. We had all felt that a business man's word was his bond. We find that under pressure of readjustment, it has collapsed. It has given way, on the grand scale, to the ordinary commonplace temptation of self-interest."

True, two blacks do not make one white; but at least let not the whiteness of a man's complexion be taken as necessarily indicative of the whiteness of the "white flower of his blameless life." And vice versa!

READY  
BOOK-KEEPING & SHORT-HAND BOOKS  
With Complete Explanations and hints within Rs. 10 only. Helpful to Students to learn the same without the aid of a Teacher at home. Apply to:  
THE TYPISTS AND COMMERCIAL-TUTORS  
Baroda, 25.

## GOOD SEEDS.

We have the best seeds in India,—both vegetable and flower—suitable to our climate. Sow the right kind of seeds at the right time and save disappointment.



As Good as  
can be grown!  
Best seeds  
for Indian  
Climate!!

Large descriptive catalogue with numerous illustrations free on application. Mention this paper when writing.

PESTONJEE P. POCHA & SONS,  
SEED MERCHANTS, POONA,  
Bombay Presidency,  
INDIA.

## TRADE UNION LEGISLATION

OR

### Notes on the Trade Disputes Act.

A reprint is being taken of the four articles that were contributed to the SERVANT OF INDIA by "A Labour Advocate."

To those who wish to study the subject, this little compilation, which puts together materials rather inaccessible to the ordinary reader would be found highly useful.

*Register orders immediately.*

FOR terms of Advertisement, please apply to the Manager, SERVANT OF INDIA, Kibe Wada, Budhwar Peth, POONA CITY.

## READY FOR SALE.

A reprint of the articles  
ON  
**Medical Services in India.**

BY

AN I. M. S. OFFICER,

Price As. 8 Postage extra.

In convenient form. Only a limited number of copies available for sale.

Please order your requirements at once from:—

THE ARYABHUSHAN PRESS,  
POONA CITY.

## Dr. BAILUR'S MEDICINES.

HIVA-JWAR.  
Ague pills.  
Price As. 8.  
Per bottle.



BALAGRAHA  
CHURNA  
Epileptic powder.  
Price Re. 1.  
Per bottle.

As for our catalogue for other medicines & Particulars.

Liberal commission for Merchants.

Dr. H. M. BAILUR,  
Dispensary, BELGAUM.

## 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 COSSI SILK SUIT 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.....

## Currency Reform in India

BY

Prof. V. G. KALE,

Price Re. One.

Copies may be had from booksellers or:—

The Aryabhushan Press, Poona City

AWARDED A FIRST CLASS CERTIFICATE BY THE SOUTH INDIA AYURVEDIC CONFERENCE AND EXHIBITION.

## SIDDHA KALPA MAKARADHWAJA

THE WONDERFUL DISCOVERY IN THE MEDICAL WORLD.

FOR ALL "ACUTE" AND "CHRONIC" DISEASE.

Prepared Scientifically by Ayurveda Ratna Pandit N. V. Srirama Charlu, Ph. D. Sc. Sole proprietor and Senior physician of the Madras Ayurvedic Pharmacy.

This unparalleled and Ancient medicine is prepared in exact accordance with Aurvedic and Western Modern Principles—carefully tested and Standardised by expert analysis and found to be an unrivalled Elixir for the general prolongation of life, and particularly a guaranteed remedy for Nervous Debility, Skin Eruptions, Eczema, Vertigo, Loss of Nerve Power, Vigour, Memory and Appetite, Depression of Spirits, constant Mental Misgivings, want of spirit and energy. Melancholia, Rheumatism, Gout, Paralysis, Insanity, Hysteria, Dropsy, Diabetes, Piles, Asthma, Consumption, Dyspepsia all Uterine complaints, and all sorts of Urethral Discharges, Acute or Chronic, of all kinds and all men and women's ailments, etc. This is the only safe and reliable remedy for all diseases resulting from youthful indiscretions and loss of Vitality. It imparts New life and Energy, by increasing and purifying the blood. It contains such valuable ingredients as Siddha, Makradhwaja, Mukta Suvarna, Loha and vegetable drugs. This can be taken also as a tonic by every one of either sex, without any restriction of Diet Season or Climate. Complete Directions are sent with the Phial one Phial of 60 pills (for a complete cure) Price Rs. 10 (Ten) only. V. P. Extra.

Apply to:—AYURVEDA RATNA PANDIT N. V. SRIRAMA CHARLU, Ph. D. Sc.  
The Madras Ayurvedic Pharmacy,

"Telegraphic Address"—"KALPAM," MADRAS.

POST BOX No. 151, MADRAS

Printed at the Arya-Bhushan Press and published at 'The Servant of India' Office,  
541, Budhwar Peth, Poona City, by Anant Vinayak Patvardhan.