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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE Gokhale anniversary was as usual celebrated at all the principal Liberal centres in the country. But particular importance attaches to the celebration at Poona organised by the Deccan Sabha. The occasion was utilised for formally restarting the scheme of a memorial to Gokhale in Poona which was first mooted soon after his death, but which the organisers wisely decided to hold over in view of the prevalence at the time of war conditions. We are very glad indeed that the scheme has now been taken up in right earnest. There can never be two opinions as to extreme desirability of a Gokhale memorial in Poona where he lived and had his real centre. Even when he was no longer a mere Indian politician but was regarded as a statesman of imperial repute, Mr. Gokhale, had, as emphasised by Sir Mahadeo Chaubal on the occasion, a soft corner in his heart for Poona, to the service of which he unstintedly gave his very best. Madras had led the way by having a Gokhale Hall and the statue to be unveiled by His Excellency the Governor to-day in Bombay would be a standing monument to his unique services to the motherland, while Poona, which owed so much to him, had taken no steps worth the name to repay, in however small a measure, its debt to him. The renewed activity that the Deccan Sabha was now exhibiting in the matter is therefore all the more welcome and deserves every assistance at the hands of the generous public. The whole scheme is estimated to cost a lakh and it has progressed so far that arrangements have already been made to acquire a valuable plot of land for the proposed Hall at a cost of Rs. 30,000. Sir Mahadeo Chaubal has appealed for the whole amount before the next anni-

versary and looking to the promises of support so far obtained, the public response may be said to be anything but disheartening. We wish the scheme every success and trust that the well-known liberality of the Bombay millionaires and the Native Chiefs and Princes will come to Poona's aid in no sparing manner in satisfying what we cannot help regarding as a public necessity and one which will be of increasing value in days to come.

* * *

COMMENTS in the public press on the reversal of the non-co-operation policy have naturally been very

variegated, and even some of those organs of public opinion which saw in the inauguration of a campaign of mass civil disobedience nothing but an orgy of bloodshed and anarchy have not shown as much enthusiasm as one might have expected them to do over its sudden suspension, the reason evidently being that they feared that the suspension would be of a very short duration. Considering how soon after the Bombay outrages, which for the moment moved him deeply, Mr. Gandhi resolved to resume civil disobedience, this impression was not altogether without justification. Newspapers in Bombay and Poona however were in a more fortunate position in this respect, for they knew from private advices that this time the suspension would be, if not quite till the Greek Kalends, at least for a year, and therefore could welcome the news with a warmth which would have been shared by all if it were generally known that it had now been brought home to Mr. Gandhi that the birth of a spirit of non-violence over the length and breadth of India was not a matter of a few days or weeks. Mr. Gandhi has since made known his personal opinion that the suspension must last for a year at the owest, and there is no doubt that the All-India Congress Committee will ratify the decision of the Working Committee in this sense. Surely it is no light gain that, for a year at least, the blight which had settled on the public activities will be lifted. We should of course have much preferred that the whole programme of non-co-operation had been turned down and that all the unmeaning and profitless taboos imposed by it completely removed. But we are not on that account disposed to minimise the importance of the step that the non-co-operation leaders have already taken which must go far to reassure those who have looked upon the non-co-operation movement and particularly its aggressive forms as nothing but "heroic folly".

The Return to
Commonsense.

IT is to be hoped that no one will be alarmed at Mr. Gandhi's declaration that the practice of civil disobedience will still remain the end and aim of the activities which he will conduct in the meanwhile. What are these activities? Hand-spinning; use of khaddar; temperance; removal of untouchability; and so forth. None of these things is evil and some of them supremely desirable. They do not become bad because Mr. Gandhi chooses to make them the ingredients of non-co-operation. Everyone who can think for himself must see that there is no conceivable relation between these activities and non-co-operation. The staunchest opponents of non-co-operation may be and often are the firmest believers in swadeshi, temperance and removal of untouchability; and, *per contra*, the most strenuous believers in non-co-operation may and often do cherish profound suspicion of the economics of spinning as put forward by Mr. Gandhi and hatred of the movement for the removal of untouchability. Mr. Gandhi may proclaim that a course in hand-spinning and so forth will pave the way for mass civil disobedience; we know that it does nothing of the kind, and, knowing it, let us not work ourselves into a passion that the activities to which the Congress workers will now turn their attention, though seemingly innocuous, will culminate eventually in the passive revolt which Mr. Gandhi has been planning all the while. They will not lead to mass civil disobedience any more than the habitual use of foreign cloth and the countenance of all caste distinctions and disabilities in the most orthodox fashion will lead to it. It is of course true that the policy of non-co-operation still holds the field and that all its taboos remain; but we know how this policy has proved a miserable failure, and we need not be perturbed overmuch as to the success which will attend the efforts which will now be made by the non-co-operators to promote it. On the whole therefore we feel that those who are opposed to non-co-operation may well feel greatly relieved at the course which that movement is taking.

The Role of the
Deccan
Nationalists.

IN order to show that the change which has come over the non-co-operation leaders is of an enduring character, an attempt is made by the *Indian Social Reformer* to show that the indefinite postponement of civil disobedience is not to be referred solely to the Chauri Chaura tragedy, but is due to the growing dissatisfaction felt in the non-co-operation camp itself with the posture of affairs, as exemplified in Mr. Jaykar's speech at Thana. We ourselves would fain believe that the change in the programme has not been brought about by passing events and has far deeper roots, but such a belief derives little support from the facts mentioned by our contemporary. The Nationalists in Maharashtra no doubt raised a standard of revolt against Gandhian non-co-operation on the eve of the Ahmedabad Congress, but if anyone infers from that

fact that the modifications now introduced into the non-co-operation programme are due to the opposition then offered by the Nationalists, he is sadly mistaken. The programme which Mr. Gandhi now presents to Congress workers is not less, but more, objectionable to the Deccan Nationalists. Every single item to which Mr. Jayakar offered belated opposition at Thana or Akola remains intact—boycott of councils, boycott of schools, boycott of law courts, etc. And the complaint of the Maharashtra Nationalists, loudly voiced by their newspapers, is just this, that while a veto has been put upon such developments of non-co-operation as they favoured (e. g. the non-payment of taxes, general civil disobedience), all those items of it to which they took strong exception, are still there, demanding obedience on their part. And the fear is that these protestants will make some trouble at the All-India Committee. In all probability they will be defeated, and if, baffled there, they revert to constitutional methods, we will count it gain; if, however, they only keep on hustling Mr. Gandhi into the more extreme forms of non-co-operation, it will be a matter of grief. The element of the Deccan Nationalists, therefore, instead of adding weight to the present happy change in the attitude of the non-co-operation leaders, only occasions anxiety as to its permanence.

* * *

ASKED to give her opinion of the Bardoli resolutions, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu said that she had always

felt that mass civil disobedience was a very dangerous thing; that for its successful undertaking absolute non-violence must prevail not only in the particular tract which contemplated such disobedience but over the whole of the country; that, as things stood in India at present, very few of the leaders themselves understood the basic principles of the movement and that there was lack of discipline among the masses everywhere; that without such discipline mass civil disobedience could not even be thought of; and therefore she expressed her devout wish that the All-India Congress Committee would not only not relax the Bardoli conditions but make them even more drastic. This is fairly emphatic, but one regrets that a view so definitely adverse to the inauguration of mass civil disobedience should have found public expression only after a sudden postponement of it due to purely accidental causes, instead of while active preparations for it were being made. We are inclined to think that it is not the highest quality of leadership to be tongue-tied when a danger is impending and to issue frantic warnings when it is completely averted; and we only hope that these and such-like exhortations will have the desired—and much needed—educational effect on the masses of the N.C.O.s.

* * *

REFERRING (cf. our article of last week) to the excuse of the Sub-Inspector's failure to warn the crowd before opening fire at Matlari (on July 21, 1921), the

Matlari Firing.

Bombay Government's resolution says : " The Sub-Inspector by his admonitions did, in effect, give the crowd warning to disperse and no more specific warning was necessary or appears to have been practicable as the crowd by its conduct clearly showed its determination not to disperse." The " admonitions " here referred to were to the effect that the crowd should " allow the Banias to go to their houses " without molestation. That these were unheeded is made in the Government resolution a reason for the omission on the part of the Sub-Inspector to give a warning, as required by para. 431 of the Police Manual, that firing was about to be opened! The Government here confuse a warning of the police officer's intention to direct the police to use fire-arms with a mere warning to the mob to disperse. The Police Manual requires warning of the first kind and a warning of the second kind ought not to be made to do duty for it. For ready reference we quote below the relevant paragraph of the Police Manual :—

431. When, in exercise of the powers given by section 128 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, a magistrate or an officer in charge of a police-station engaged in dispersing an unlawful assembly is compelled, in the last resort, to direct the police acting under him to use their fire-arms, he shall give the rioters the fullest warning of his intention, warning them beforehand that the fire will be effective, that ball or buckshot will be used at the first round, and that blank cartridge will not be used. Firing shall cease the instant it is no longer necessary. Care should be taken not to fire upon persons separated from the crowd, nor to fire over the heads of the crowd, as thereby innocent persons may be injured. Blank cartridges should never be served out to police employed to suppress a riot.

* * *

Tragedy of Malabar rebellion.

THE following news received from Malabar on the 17th instant has ominous significance. The Central Relief Committee of Calicut got repeated reports from the rebellion area that large numbers of women and children of Moplahs that had either been killed or in prison as rebels were in great distress and not in a position to come out from their villages to the refugee camps in Calicut or other places.* This was brought to the notice of the Special Commissioner Mr. Knapp, who, ignoring the Central Relief Committee who were in charge of the work, appointed another Committee of Moslem gentlemen to make enquiries and report to him direct. The report is now in the hands of Mr. Knapp and it reveals a ghastly state of things, as can be seen from the following letter sent by him to the Central Relief Committee asking their aid for relief work.

"The Committee of Kinhammadan gentlemen who at my instance have been enquiring into the condition of Moplah women and children in the rebellion area have, after a cursory tour, reported their conclusion that time has come when steps must be taken to provide relief in amsams (villages) for a large number of Moplah women and their children, whose menfolk have either been killed or imprisoned as rebels. Enquiries made by the Committee were not sufficiently detailed or exhaustive to render possible an accurate estimate of the number of cases in which relief will be required. Nor did they examine in detail the

possibility of arranging for work to be found for women able to work. The conclusion was that relief on a large scale was required immediately, and will have to continue for two or two and a half months. Two Mahomedan gentlemen have since then undertaken to make an actual experiment in one amsam, and their experience, I hope, will furnish more satisfactory data upon which to proceed. But, for the present, my impression is that for something like 35,000 (thirty-five thousand) women and children, some measure of relief will be needed and that an early start in this direction is called for. In some cases the relief will probably have to consist of doles of food, in others it may be that a small sum of money will enable the woman concerned to start in some petty business which will maintain herself and her family until she has learnt to work and until work becomes more plentiful. Your Committee have always expressed a desire to come to the aid of Moplah sufferers from the rebellion. I therefore write now to bring the matter to your notice and to ask that I may be informed with the least possible delay whether you are prepared now to come to their aid."

* * *

Oil Field in the Punjab.

SIR E. MACLAGAN, Governor of the Punjab, had the good fortune to open a large industrial work of the Attock Oil Company at Rawalpindi on the 11th inst. These consist of refinery works for oil found at Kahur, 45 miles distant, and brought to the works by a pipe line of the same length. The oilfield is about six square miles in area, and at present 23 wells are sunk varying in depth from 250 to 2400 feet. The refinery installation is capable of handling a crude oil output of 65,000 gallons per day and of producing from this the highest grades of kerosine, petrol, motor and lubricating oils. The capital sunk in the whole concern is about Rs. 2½ crores, and though the company is mostly British, a good many Indians are on the share register and it is proposed to provide facilities for the registration and transfer of shares in this country. Sir Edward remarked that there will be no interference on the part of the Government, unless large areas were exploited without easing the price of the oil or unless a reasonable outlet was provided for indigenous capital—and we wish, he would have added, skilled labour. Concession has been given to another company for cement works at Hasan Abdal in the same district. The Punjab is not an industrial province, but it has great industrial potentialities, and we hope the oil will provide it with cheap fuel, in which the province is lacking.

* * *

Reduction of the Executive Council.

REPLYING to a question as to what action the Government of India had taken to reduce the number of members of the Madras Executive Council in accordance with the recommendation of the legislature of the province, Sir William Vincent answered on January 31st that the matter was receiving the attention of the Government. We now learn from private advices from Delhi that the Government of India have decided to reduce the number of Executive Councillors in Bombay, Madras and Bengal from four to two. We offer our congratulations to the Government for conceding the popular demand at last.

P A N I C .

THE Commons debate of the 14th instant on India seems to us culminating proof of the exceedingly ugly and sinister turn that affairs are taking. To understand its full meaning and its far-reaching consequences we must hark back to the Irish settlement. Perhaps it will be remembered, how, about a year ago, public opinion in England got more and more alive to the atrocities of Black-and-Tannery, how accordingly indignation was almost daily swelling and how a tempest was just about to break, when Mr. Lloyd George with his usual *faisr* just managed to set up the lightning conductor of the Irish Round Table Conference, the very success of which proved how unwilling the large masses of England had become to continue an utterly immoral, expensive and useless struggle. As the negotiations dragged on, the dumbfounded and for once speechless "Die-hards" rallied—and it seems evident that it was with an eye on their reviving spirits that Mr. George was so insistent that, *coûte que coûte*, at least the appearance of the supremacy of the British Crown had to be saved. As we know now, Mr. Griffiths realized Mr. George's difficulties and, statesmanlike, assented to this "face-saving," whilst Mr. de Valera cared nothing for such considerations. Even so, the "Die-hards" made a brave show of wrecking the Treaty, but their complete defeat both at the Liverpool meeting of the Conservative Party and in Parliament, was proof of how solid an utterly weary and disgusted England was in desiring an end of the futile and really not defensible war on the Irish Nation.

Once, however, England had "done the handsome" and ratified the Irish Treaty, England, in a very self-complacent and self-congratulatory mood, felt that it had really done all that the most fastidious could have desired and that it had now really earned a long holiday from imperial worries. It is in such a mood that the English people were confronted with further flare-ups in Egypt and with alarming news about the boycott, &c. of the Prince of Wales' Indian visit. Just to crown all, Ireland, so far from being quiet, menaces a relapse into chaos through open war between the forces of Ulster, Griffiths and de Valera.

Little wonder that the forces of reaction in England have seen their opportunity and not been slow to become insistently vocal. One must not forget that there have been right through sections of English people who always did and still do believe that the Irish "murder-gang" were "on the run" and on the point of being rounded up and the Pax Britannica restored, when Mr. George pandered to a disloyal Liberal agitation, "sacrificed" Ulster and made an ignominious surrender to the "murder-gang." They now repeat these sentiments to the gleeful tune of "we told you so"—and as the Irish settlement has not brought peace in Egypt and India (however illogical such expectation may have been), and not even in Ireland,

people are only too ready to turn about and say that "perhaps there was a good deal to be said" for the Die-hard critics.

Mr. George however was still calculating on the permanence of the great Liberal wave which had made the Irish conferences possible and which surely must receive added power and depth by the ratification of the Irish Treaty—and was the rout of the Die-hards on this occasion not signal proof of it? Thus wishing to ride on the crest of this wave into a new spell of Premiership, Mr. George arranged for General Elections in February. The moment could not have seemed more auspicious: the Geddes Committee of retrenchments and the Washington reduction of naval armaments promised at a long last relief to the British tax-payer, who would have cast his vote before he could compare the election promises made with the 1922-23 budget to be framed by a Government returned to Westminster for another five years. By his Genoa programme Mr. George had raised the hopes of the Labour Party—Party as not invited Russia?—and of the Liberal had he well—had he not also invited Germany? Thus with the slogan of Peace for the world, Fairness for Germany, Trade with Russia and Retrenchment (with a big R!) at home, Mr. George felt sure of success.

For once Mr. George was wrong. So far from there being an increase in hitting power in the Liberal wave, the wave was actually spending itself fruitlessly on the smooth sands of public opinion. And Sir George Younger pulled up sharp Mr. George Senior. This Whip of the Conservative Party, nominally of course the merest subordinate of his Prime Minister, not merely had the audacity to contradict his superior in the ears of all the people, but also the grim satisfaction of seeing his nominal master coming meekly to heel and promising to do as he was told. For with that remarkably quick insight which again and again has saved him, Mr. George recognised not merely that he had the whole Conservative part of the Coalition against him, but that his support in the country at large had become more than uncertain. Labour was paralyzed, and with its coffers empty and all its members oscillating between unemployment and underemployment, it was incapable of helping to create a generally favourable Liberal atmosphere. On the contrary the first flare-up of desperate men and women amongst these unemployed would only have helped to stampede the already "jumpy" middle classes into any camp which promised protection against "Communism" and revolution. And these middle classes, harder hit by the devaluation of all values than any others, began to take further fright at the spectacle of a steadily shrinking "Empire". Ireland had gone, as South Africa had gone before; Egypt and India seemed to be pretty well about to go; even the Crown Colonies were infected by unrest, whether like Ceylon they aspired to autonomy or like East Africa they threatened to be swallowed up by non-European colonists. What was going to be the

outcome of it all? What outlet for their sons and daughters, if the number of English Civil Servants in the Empire was reduced and reduced until there was nothing left of once so numerous (and so lucrative) careers? Again, what outlet for British industries and trade, if the very Empire was becoming fiscally autonomous and closing its doors against Manchester and Birmingham?

It was in such atmosphere that Sir George notified Mr. George that there was not going to be any new Election, until the Parliament Act had been virtually repealed by a so-called "Reform" of the Lords and the country made sure against any unchecked exercise of power on the part of a new and, perhaps, "Bolshevist" House of Commons. It was out of such a mentality that Mr. Churchill blurted out at the East Africa dinner: If these people in Africa or Asia think they have only got to tell us to clear out, for us immediately to do so, it is just about time they were sharply told of the mistake they were making. It was on account of such general "jumpiness" that even English Liberal papers have latterly been found to take an alarmist view of India; and they were only voicing such fairly general dissatisfaction when the Die-hards in the recent debate on India boldly avowed their preference for autocracy and "firm" government rather than for Liberal principles which seemed to bring neither peace nor plenty, but only less orders for English business and more disorders for the rebellious dependencies themselves.

Sir W. Joynson Hicks in moving his vote of censure on Mr. Montagu began by reminding him sharply that he had tried to govern India with Liberal ideas "without the assent of the Conservative supporters of the Coalition"; and he went on to state uncompromisingly that "in the Conservatives' opinion it was far better to give India good (if autocratic) government than freedom." He was cheered to the echo when he said that "Mr. Gandhi ought to have been locked up two or three years ago", and his old *clichés* that India does not "understand" a conciliatory government, but only autocratic "firmness", were received with enthusiasm as the last word in statesmanship.

No less significant than the attack was the defence, both on the part of Mr. Montagu and of Mr. George. There was on the part of neither a taking up of the gauntlet of the principles involved, but rather a pandering to the sentiments already expressed. Mr. Montagu "freely admitted that the position in India was causing the greatest anxiety" and if he did not admit that Mr. Gandhi was "satanic" himself, it was only to pronounce him "one of the maddest political hares." Nor can it escape one's attention that in paying tributes to the strong arm of the forces which had quelled incipient riots, he coupled "British officers" with "assisted by the Native States." And if he mentioned self-government for India at all, it was only to emphasise that such had to be "under the supreme and continuing authority of the King-Emperor." Mr. George took up a similar line, ad-

mitted "grave concern" but added that "the situation was well within the compass of our strength" and finished up with the violent asseveration that "we never mean to give up India (cheers)." I was as complete a capitulation, at least as far as fair words go, as can be imagined and the logic was with Mr. Rupert Gwynne who denied, if as they averred the Government "were going to restore law and order that Mr. Montagu was the right man to do it." But the completeness of the capitulation in itself saved Mr. Montagu for the time being and Mr. George got his reward for heeding the Conservative whip with such admirable sense and docility in a *bloc* vote of the Coalition machine which left the Die-hards nominally defeated by 248 to 64 votes.

But it is not these parliamentary "victories" which really interest and concern India. What India must make up its mind to for the near future is a quite probable all-round tightening of Curzonian and Churchillian policies, a growing loss of sympathy with Indian aspirations and an attempt to re-assert the supremacy of the "white man" under the guise of anxiety for "the supremacy of the King Emperor." In short, every indication tells us that we are face to face with panic, and we commend to our readers our London Letter in this issue which but corroborates the impressions which we had independently gained already. There is nothing so important as to be forewarned—for thus fore-armed we shall be able to meet all such panic with that calmness which alone can sterilize it. Nothing would so much play into the hands of the Die-hards, who for the time being seem to have got the ear of England, as for us to meet panic by counter-panic. If they rave, let us keep on smiling; if they lunge, let us parry; if they lose their tempers, let us keep our own.

Above all, let us, neither by their red-herrings nor by our domestic dissensions, be turned aside from the steady pursuance of the principle of self-government and equal human status, the acknowledgement of which we demand and must go on demanding, not as a *pis aller*, but as a right; and if in this our eternal right we remain self-composed and calm, we may well trust the good sense and love of fairness of the English people sooner rather than latter to realize that their own humiliation lies not in a generous response to our rightful aspirations, but in the badness of an obsolete policy which would not yield unless it must.

THE BOMBAY GAMBLING BILL.

A LAW made to eradicate a widespread social evil, if bad and imperfect, always aggravates the evil instead of removing it. Such has been the case with the legislation in the Bombay presidency for the prevention of gambling on horse-racing. By Act III of 1912, which provided for the licensing of race courses, this form of gambling was restricted to a very limited extent. When this law was passed, the number of race-meetings had mounted

up and the facilities for betting afforded by the large number of book-makers had considerably increased, with the result that gambling had assumed a serious proportion among all classes in Bombay and Poona where these race-courses exist. As a direct result of this Act the maximum number of meetings was fixed under the conditions of the license at thirty and the class of book-makers,* whose existence encouraged and invited gambling on horses, were excluded from the enclosures of the Turf Club. But human ingenuity is always on the look-out for loopholes in man-made laws and the bookmaker of the racing enclosure appeared in a hydra-headed form in the streets of Bombay and Poona as the man in charge of a betting office or "bucket shop" or race club. To meet this evil an amending Act was passed in 1919 which amended the provisions of the Prevention of Gambling Act of 1887. Doubts were then expressed in the Legislative Council that the bill would not be sufficient to put an end to bucket shops, but the Government told the members that they had consulted their Police Commissioner and their legal advisers, who were of opinion that the bill would be effective in every way for the purpose in view. But this was not to be. The number of shops where bets on horses could be registered increased manifold, and the act, expressly made for meeting the evil, found itself powerless to do so. In the words of the Committee that was recently appointed to enquire into the legal position of betting organizations and suggesting means to check the evil :

"Far from bringing bucket shops within the purview of the Act of 1887 and so suppressing them, the amendments have had an opposite effect. They have emphasized the fact that betting on the totalizator is permissible, and inasmuch as in the absence of express provision (and here there is none) it is lawful for a person to do through another what he could lawfully do himself, they have in effect legalized bucket shops, where the business takes the form of instructions given and taken to put money for the client upon the totalizator. The result has been a large increase in the number and importance of these institutions."

The bill under review has been proposed to be introduced into the Bombay Council to meet the position described above, and will be discussed very shortly.

Another evil effect of the mischievous Act of 1919 has been that betting in the enclosures of the Turf Club on race days (not exceeding 30 in a year), which was illegal as per Act of 1887, before its amendment in 1919, was thereby rendered legal. All the gambling carried on in connection with the races upto 1919 was done in defiance of the law, and if the Government at any time summoned strength enough to put the law into motion, they could do something to check the nuisance by swooping down upon the Turf Club stewards and prosecuting them. But the 1919 Act

* One who lays bets (recorded in a pocket book) against the success of every horse, so that the book-maker wins on all the unsuccessful horses and loses only on the winning horse or horses.

changed the definition of punishable 'gaming' of the 1887 Act, and betting or wagering upon a horse-race on a race day and in a controlled enclosure was specifically excluded from that definition and thus rendered not liable to punishment under that law. Thus when the man in the street was assured that betting on races in the enclosure was not illegal, the keeper of the bucket-shop ran to his assistance. He took instructions from the wagerer in his shop, collected all these bets and drove to Mahaluxmi in Bombay or to Poona race-course and swelled the totals on the totalizator, with which the Turf Club was ready to oblige him. This virtually means that the law permits a common gaming house at Mahaluxmi and another in Poona in charge of the Western India Turf Club, with hundreds of branches in the streets of Bombay and Poona, and perhaps of other cities, to the utter ruination of middle classes and even of Bombay mill workers. This change in law was very strongly protested against in the Legislative Council by the Hon. Mr. Paranjpye and others and was carried by a bare majority of 20 against 18, merely by the official *bloc*. The said non-official opposition was disregarded by the then irresponsible government and the day has come to rue it.

But the proposed bill does not go to the root of the evil ; it will, even if effective, merely lop off the twigs, leaving the stem and stout branches to flourish and flower, perhaps with greater vigour than before. What is now proposed is to do away with the middle man, the keeper of the bucket-shop and to legalise the gambling "between any individual *in person* on the one hand and the licensee (under sec. 4 of the Bombay race-course Licensing Act, 1912) on the other hand in such manner and by such contrivance as may be permitted by such license." Further, as the licensee by himself may not be able to deal *in person* with a large number of gamblers, the bill provides that he may employ servants (of course an unlimited number, restriction of this number being left to future legislation) for wagering or betting in the manner mentioned above. To a layman with common sense it seems that the book-maker of the period antecedent to 1912, who appeared in the garb of bucket shop keeper or race club manager, will appear once again in the shape of the servant of the race-course licensee, and the gambling will go on merrily on the sanctioned days on the race course. It is true that the wagerer will have to go *in person* to the race course ; but a Saturday afternoon is a very convenient time to spare from office, or business or even from the stuffy room of a factory, and the crowds now attending the Monte Carlos of Bombay and Poona will grow several times. A few annas can be very easily spent for victoria or tonga fare by one who can afford to win or lose a few hundred rupees. In fact the proposed legislation will drive, if at all, the vice of gambling from the streets on to the race course totalizator, and the loss of poor people's money and public morality will not be a bit less than now. We are not at

all sanguine about the beneficial effects of this tinkering at legislation.

Horse-racing in its present form is imported from the West. It may have been a very healthy sport in the days of old and may have improved the breed of horses; but latterly since the introduction of the (1) totalizator, (2) book-maker and (3) bucket-shop, reckless gambling has been indulged in, and has brought about the ruin of thousands and thousands. The race course was formerly frequented by lovers of horses only who hotted among themselves, but nowadays, and for several years past, the sport has been accompanied by wholesale gambling, and which has been knowingly legalized in 1919 by Government for racing within the enclosure, with a view to eradicating it outside. The fever of gambling burns as fiercely in the poor man as well as in the rich, and many a poor man wants to be enriched by a stroke of good fortune without honest toil. They cannot all win, and the majority are ruined and ruin their dependants too. If the gambling house in Kamathipura or Faikland Road ought to be suppressed and considered illegal, why not those situated at Mahaluxmi and Poona, which are the resort of the fashionable people? If cards, dice and even a register of any gaming are considered instruments of gambling, why not the race horses and the totalizator? Sir George Sydenham Clarke in the discussion on the race-course licensing bill in 1912 described the totalizator, and his advantages as compared with a book-maker as follows:—

"By automatically fixing the odds, the machine puts a stop to certain grave evils which have not been altogether absent from Bombay and Poona, and then being a machine, and nothing but a machine, it has no interests of its own to serve and no object in inducing people to come and use it. The person who stakes on the totalizator is not backing his opinion against the opinion of an expert of infinitely greater knowledge than his own, and who moreover has to recoup his own losses and to make his own livelihood out of the public. That seems to me to be a difference of a vital character between betting in the two forms. And then the transactions are in cash only, and no one can get into debt owing to the totalizator. Lastly it has the advantage that it lends itself perfectly to regulation, because if it were found after experience that it was tending unduly to encourage the gambling spirit, its action could easily be modified." Has the totalizator been regulated or controlled in any way since 1912, when its use was practically legalized? We do not know.

But on the other hand, as the Hon. Mr. Paranjpye said in December 1919, gambling indulged in on the race-course had come to be regarded with respectability and that many people regarded it as no great evil, provided it was done in respectable company and surroundings and on a sufficiently large scale. Even on the totalizator many people had lost very considerable sums and ruined themselves, and a large number of young men were demoralised by

racing. The racing may have its good side, but its dark side is very dark, the evil from it has grown formidable and the time has come to cut at the root of the evil. We would abolish the totalizator altogether, even though it may lead to stopping all racing, which we do not believe would necessarily follow. If betting on rain or on flying of kites could be successfully stopped by legislation, why not betting on horses? The State will now be looking about for means to supplement the provincial income, which is daily going down, and some share may be claimed from the ten per cent. profit on the totalizator now earned by the Turf Club. Before the tax on gambling becomes legalized and assumes a vested interest, our social reformers should be wide awake and present a private bill in the Council for delegating the totalizator and betting on horse-racing and remove the social scandal from amongst us. In 1887, when the Prevention of Gambling Act was consolidated and revised, the Government of the day were of opinion that they did not want a Monte Carlo within twelve miles of Bombay (referring to the village of Chembur); but now in 1922, it exists in the very heart of Bombay and the Government is not quite irresponsible to the people as it was then. Let us hope that efforts will be made to do something substantial to root out the evil.

SOME RETRENCHMENT PROPOSALS.

REGISTRATION DEPARTMENT.

THE first suggestion relates to what are known as Registration Inspectors. There are five of these for the Bombay Presidency—two for the Marathi-speaking districts, one for the Gujarati-speaking, one for the Canarese-speaking and one for Sind. Roughly speaking their duties consist in inspecting all documents presented for registration in the several sub-registry offices with a view to see that they are sufficiently stamped. The charge of each Inspector may roughly be taken to be four districts. There are nine talukas in a district and each taluka has at least one sub-registry office, and some of the bigger talukas two. Thus on an average a registration inspector has to attend to 50 subregistry offices every year. It seems to me that these five posts can well be dispensed with, without detriment to public business. The work can be safely entrusted to Deputy Collectors who ought to be able to do it quite as satisfactorily. It does not require any technical knowledge. If for some reason or other this is not found feasible, such supervision as the Collector is expected to exercise over the working of the different sub-registry offices in his charge ought to suffice. This forms part of his multifarious duties. It may be that on account of the presence of the registration inspectors whose inspections are necessarily more detailed, his inspection is perhaps not as thorough as it would otherwise have been. But that is no reason why these additional posts should be maintained at this time of great financial stringency. It only means that their abolition should be followed by the issue of definite instructions to the Collectors to make their registration inspections more thorough and detailed than they have been so far. If this is done, the presence of registration inspectors will be found to be more or less in the nature of a costly luxury. There are not more than a dozen registry offices at the outside in a

district which the Collector with the help of his sub-registry clerk ought not to find it beyond his capacity to inspect thoroughly in the course of the year.

Let us now turn to the financial results of the proposal. An inspector's salary is Rs. 220-10-300, and he gets Rs. 125 as permanent travelling allowance per month, which is often exceeded. Thus on an average he cost Rs. 400 to the State. The abolition of the five posts referred to above will therefore result in a saving of Rs. 24,000 per year. A further saving of Rs. 12,000 can be effected if the post of the Head Assistant to the Inspector-General of Registration, who is generally a man in the inspector's grade, is abolished. He concerns himself more or less with appointments and transfers, etc. of the subordinates in the registration department—a work which the Collector may safely be trusted to look after with the assistance of his registry clerk.

AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENT.

There is considerable room for retrenchment in the expenditure of the Agricultural Department. There are Deputy Directors and Divisional Superintendents in that Department. As for the former, their duties are more or less of an administrative nature. The present number of these Deputy Directors in the whole presidency is seven, and it is interesting to observe how it has constantly gone on increasing during the last fifteen years or so. Prior to 1906 there was only one Deputy Director; in that year a second one was added. In five years more, i. e. in 1912 the Government was persuaded that the growth in the work of the department demanded the doubling of their number, bringing their strength to four. This arrangement continued till 1918, when the number of Deputy Directors was again very nearly doubled, that is to say, it rose from four to seven. But it cannot be contended that there is a corresponding increase in the work of the Department.

One of the seven deputies is supposed to be a cattle breeding expert. His business is to supervise cattle-breeding operations with a view to improving the quality of the cattle or to prevent it from deteriorating. The charge is too big to enable one man, however industrious and hard-working, to do justice to his duties; and the outturn of his work is bound on that account to be far from satisfactory. It is suggested in this connexion that veterinary hospitals should be utilised for purposes of cattle-breeding as they are already utilised for those of horse-breeding. The proposed arrangement, it is claimed, has the advantage of being less expensive and more satisfactory without any additional cost on account of establishment charges. Now about the other six deputy directors. It is somewhat difficult, in the absence of any printed pamphlet defining their duties, to give the reader an accurate idea as to the sphere of their activity. Their duties are, as has been already said, more or less administrative. As for any agricultural propaganda, it is not they that carry it on, but the divisional superintendents. Nor are they expected to make any suggestions as regards improvements in seeds and implements; for that work is very largely done by the superintendents. What, then, is left to the deputy directors? They constitute, so to say, a link between the Director on the one hand and the divisional superintendents on the other in much the same way as the Revenue Commissioners act as intermediaries between the secretariat and the collectors. Indian public opinion has long since been demanding the abolition of the commissionerships. In the same way it is now asking for the discontinuance of these seven unnecessary posts in the Agricultural Department.

Let us now consider the financial effect of the proposed arrangement. The salary of the Deputy Directors' grade is Rs. 350-50-1750. An average salary of Rs. 800 p. m. may be taken for purposes of calculation. If we assume that the monthly travelling allowance of each deputy comes to about Rs. 200 and his clerks' salaries to Rs. 245 or thereabouts, and if we allow Rs. 110 for peons' wages and miscellaneous charges like those required for the carriage of records, contingencies, etc. we find that each deputy costs as much as Rs. 1315 p. m. to the provincial exchequer. For seven such, the monthly charges would be a little over Rs. 9,000. The abolition of these seven posts therefore would result in a saving of over Rs. 1,10,000 every year—by no means an insignificant saving in the present state of our finances. Another Rs. 7,000 might also be saved if the posts of the two Price Inspectors maintained by the Agricultural Department are done away with. The Inspectors are expected to go round with a view to ascertaining the current prices in the market and to examine the weights and measures used all over the Presidency. Similar work forms part of the legitimate duties of the Mamlatdar. The abolition of these two posts therefore will not be felt seriously by anybody and can be carried out without adversely affecting the administrative efficiency.

The College of Agriculture also affords room for the use of the pruning knife. It is understood that three professors, one in the Imperial cadre (pay Rs. 500 to 1,000), a second of the Provincial cadre (pay Rs. 250 to 750) and the third from the Upper Branch (pay Rs. 150 to 300) have been employed in the College to teach animal breeding and dairying. Inquiries made into the work of these officers show that there is only three hours' daily work in the College, so far as this subject is concerned, in which case the retention of these three professors is clearly indefensible. Their number can at any rate be reduced from three to one. For a professor who is well up in his subject, a tuition of eighteen hours a week is not too great a strain, and should be insisted upon. If this is done, it will result in a yearly saving of about Rs. 12,000. A saving of a further Rs. 2,000 can be effected if the post of the personal assistant to the Agricultural Engineer is also dispensed with. Why the Engineer who has got his own expert staff should require the services of a personal assistant it is very difficult to see. When there is the staff of experts to undertake the technical part of his duties, the personal assistant appears to be somewhat in the nature of a superfluity. It is therefore suggested that he should go.

VETERINARY DEPARTMENT.

This Department is controlled by the superintendent whose scale of salary is Rs. 600-50-2000. He is assisted by two deputies, one of which posts was originally created only as a temporary measure for six months but is still continued though the original six-monthly period is long since past. The scale of salary for a deputy has been fixed at Rs. 250-25-750. Next in importance come the inspectors who now number five and whose scale of pay is Rs. 150-5-200. Prior to 1909 there was only one inspector in the Department, which was then in a state of development. Its growth necessitated the addition of two more inspectors in that year; and their strength was still further augmented in 1914 by the creation of two new posts of the same class of officers. Thus in the short space of a dozen years their number rose from one to five, which cannot be justified by any possible increase in the work of the Department.

Now about the duties of inspectors. Their business is more or less mechanical. They have to examine the records and accounts and see that everything is in order in the several veterinary dispensaries in the Presidency. They have also to see whether the Veterinary Assistant makes himself useful; and whether the dispensary is availed of by the public. It is thus clear that the duties of the inspectors are not of a technical nature requiring any scientific knowledge for their discharge. It is suggested that the work should either be transferred to Deputy Collectors or to Local Boards who are expected to contribute a fixed proportion of the cost of upkeep of the hospitals. The charge can in no case be too onerous for a Deputy Collector of average capacity. There are 80 dispensaries in the whole presidency excluding Sind, making 18 as the average charge of an inspector. An inspector has as a rule four districts to look after, which means that every district has four dispensaries. If every district has four dispensaries, it has also got at least three Deputy Collectors. This means that a Deputy Collector will have to make himself responsible only for one hospital, which is by no means an unbearable burden. Failing this, the local boards should be asked to shoulder the responsibility of inspection. Besides it is a mystery why if no inspection beyond the civil surgeon's yearly visit is considered necessary in the case of hospitals for human beings, it should be so strongly insisted on in the case of hospitals for animals. The obvious conclusion is that their posts can be safely dispensed with without any impairment of efficiency.

If the above proposal is carried into effect, at least a quarter of a lakh of the taxpayer's money will be released for services whose claims are more urgent. The average pay of an inspector is Rs. 175 p. m. His travelling allowance comes to nearly the same amount and indeed exceeds it in some cases. Let it be taken as Rs. 200. A clerk and a peon together will cost Rs. 60 which, along with a small allowance of Rs. 15 for contingencies, and carriage of records, will amount to Rs. 75. Thus the monthly charges of an inspector come to Rs. 450. For five inspectors the yearly charges will therefore be Rs. 27,000. Retrenchment is suggested on the same lines in the case of Sind.

ONE IN THE KNOW.

A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, FEBRUARY 2.

IMPERIAL FOLLY.

"THOSE whom the gods would destroy they first make blind", is an ancient saying, and it has modern illustrations. Two examples of Imperial folly have come to light this week. Sir Ian Hamilton has never forgotten how nearly the British attack upon Gallipoli came off, or forgiven those who have launched attacks upon his generalship. Speaking at Glasgow a few nights ago he returned to this topic, and took occasion to advert to the Indian situation and make an attack upon Sir Valentine Chirol. He sought to show the consequences of the failure of the British attack as follows:—

"The Turkish orders for that determined attack of theirs upon Romani read:— 'Order No. 1.—I expect every officer, of whatever grade, to give an example of courage to his subordinates. I expect the rank and file to show

the superiority of Turks to British troops, as their comrades have done at Gallipoli and in Irak.' Many people have been surprised to see unrest increasing by leaps and bounds in Egypt and in India. It seemed strange that our prestige should have sunk in the eyes of Orientals just at the very moment of victory. The present generation has forgotten that the Indian Mutiny followed on the heels of the Crimean victory, and was caused not by the victory, but by the repeated stories of our military weakness which had preceded that long-delayed victory. Even our great British watchdog, *The Times*, seems to have forgotten this historical parallel, when it sent our Sir Valentine Chirol, most famous of its inquisitors, to report. Since then he has written columns suggesting sometimes that he has what we call in Scotland 'the Sight' and that every one else is 'fev.' or, if you prefer it, that every one on the spot is 'not on the spot'. He has indeed been so devilish long-sighted that he has overlooked the fact which was as a beam in Lord Kitchener's eye. He forgets just what the Near East and the Far East remember best—the evacuation of Gallipoli. He shuts his mind to the thought which takes its place as Number 1 in the battle orders of a Turkish commander. He closes his eyes to the fact that the tactical movement to the rear on which, as a piece of tactics, we so justly plume ourselves, has meant the wipe out of Russia as a European factor in the East and an apparent military climb-down to Asiatics. No wonder there is unrest. What has happened once may happen twice; that is what Egypt and India are thinking. I don't suppose that India has been thinking at all about the matter, but since Sir Ian Hamilton has put himself to this trouble, it may well be that she will begin to do so.

CHURCHILL'S SURREPTITIOUS BLOW.

The second illustration comes from a member of the Cabinet. Mr. Churchill, who claims to be a Liberal, and is, indeed, the Prime Minister's right hand man as Vice-Chairman of the new National Liberal Council, is notoriously race-proud. Lord Milner owes it to Mr. Churchill that his Egyptian report and recommendations were thrown over by the Cabinet and his hand is traced in Lord Curzon's superior despatch to the Egyptian Government and Lord Allenby's now famous letter, which, it is more than whispered, he was very loath to sign. Mr. Churchill's handling of Mesopotamian matters has not been of such a character that we can say we are out of the wood in that part of the world. But unfortunately, this Minister is in a position to do enormous and even irreparable harm to the Empire, as he has narrowly escaped doing many times already, and it may well be that, in his speech at the Kenya dinner, last Friday, he has done such damage. He first set out to deliver a surreptitious blow to the Montagu policy in India. He did not think that Western democratic institutions were successful when applied to Eastern countries. Not unnaturally, one may suspect that he—and it is stated that his views are shared by his *alter ego* in the Tory wing of the Party—is coming out as an avowed enemy of the reforms, and that he will use his influence with the Prime Minister, pointing to the excesses of the extremists in India and especially to the boycott of the Prince, which has given great offence everywhere here, to secure such a modification of the policy as will render it practically nugatory. He is an expert, as I shall presently show, in the

gentle art of using fine phrases to cover a dastardly attack having for its object the negation of the very policy whose spirit is embodied in such phrases. Anyhow, Mr. Montagu has received warning that the attacks upon him and all that he stands for will come not alone from the open reactionaries whom we call the Die-hards. He may also expect a stab in the back from the hidden reactionaries among his colleagues in the Cabinet. It will be interesting to see how far Mr. Churchill proceeds with the Ceylon reforms. It is much to be feared that the movement for which Mr. Gandhi stands as sponsor is responsible for throwing the game to India's mortal enemies, in India and here. They are taking every advantage of the growingly serious situation in India to carry their propopanda among those very classes of the British public which, not so long ago, were to be counted on as at least friendly to the reform policy in India. Now it would not be at all surprising if Mr. Montagu were thrown over and his policy reversed.

HIS OPEN BLOW.

Nor is it alone in domestic matters that India may suffer at least temporary defeat and a return to arbitrary methods. Mr. Churchill, at this dinner, in breach of his understanding with Mr. Montagu to take no decision on the Kenya question until he had had a full discussion with the India Office upon outstanding matters of dispute, deliberately committed himself to a policy which throws overboard entirely, if not in the letter, at all events in the spirit, the resolution of the Imperial Conference of last year, and concedes to the rabid white settlers the essence of their demands. The Highlands are for all time, in fulfilment of unrevealed and non-existent pledges, to be reserved for white settlement alone, and Kenya is, for all practical purposes, to be closed to Indian immigration. In the proposals that he sent out to Kenya by the Governor, Sir Edward Northey, he proposed that, in the interests of racial equality, the Indian immigrants, who to-day can enter by the production of Rs. 50, as against the European immigrants' figure of £50, shall in future pay the same as the Europeans, and in addition they are to pass a literacy test in English. This amounts, by raising the Indian property figure fifteen times and imposing the English test, to the virtual exclusion of Indian immigration, whilst not affecting European immigration in the slightest degree. And all this in the name of racial equality. That was not what was intended by the Imperial Conference resolution, and it was not what Indians in India or in Kenya would ever accept. But Mr. Churchill is going to try to induce the Cabinet to accept his proposals, which also include the development of Kenya (the Indian population being stationary, in what Mr. Churchill does not hesitate to call the interests of the white settlers and the native population) as a "British" colony with self-government, and the eventual amalgamation of Kenya, Uganda, Zanzibar, and Tanganyika as a new Dominion, run by and in the interests of white

men—with a nominal reference to the natives. Could unblushing effrontery and hypocrisy go further? That is the problem that Mr. Montagu is faced with, and I leave it to your readers to ask themselves, in the present conditions of India, who of the two is likely to persuade the Cabinet of the rightness of his cause, he or Mr. Churchill. If India would avoid disaster on a vital matter, she must act unitedly and immediately. It is an agonising thought that Mr. Gandhi, by his policy of obstruction and the race hatred that has inevitably resulted from it, must be held largely responsible for the diversion of Indian energies and efforts from the solution of the Kenya question according to Indian desires. So it may well be that, unless a miracle happens, of which there are few signs, India's oldest settlement in Africa will be lost to her, to the detriment of Indian trade and enterprise, and the humiliation of the national pride. And one more territory will be set apart for exploitation by the white Britisher. That will be a sorry immediate result of non-violent non-co-operation!

MR. SASTRI'S MOVEMENTS.

Mr. Sastri, who is expected back here within a fortnight, will not have a happy time upon his arrival. He will find a hostile atmosphere where previously there was a friendly one. He will find the reactionaries preparing to mount into the saddle. He will find that much if not all of the good work done by him and his colleagues at the Imperial Conference is undone, largely through the amazing indifference of his own compatriots. He will find that the opponents of India's aspirations are left alone to promote their hostile propaganda, when, at this critical moment in the history of India, there is practically no-one here to put the Indian side effectively. He will find that my many warnings as to the result of cutting off communication with this country have come true. I learn that he will stay here a very short time previously to returning to India, where he is so badly needed, and that he will now be unable to perform that immensely important task for which he was designated, the diplomatic mission to the Dominions. It almost makes one weep to think of all the lost opportunities which may never recur, to establish India well among the independent nations of the British Commonwealth and of the world at large.

I do not know whether you have had telegraphed to you the *Westminster Gazette's* telegram from Washington reporting a speech delivered by Mr. Sastri on Monday to a large audience, composed of many members of both Houses of Congress, on the subject of the present state of British India. He expressed himself in pessimistic terms as to the immediate future of British control, and argued that the repressive measures adopted by the Government of India against the non-co-operation movement had proved a great blunder, and had left the Viceroy and the Council isolated amidst an almost unanimously hostile population. He characterised

the situation as desperate, but not hopeless, and said that the Indian Liberal Party, though greatly discouraged by recent developments, did not despair of attaining for India a real Dominion status through constitutional methods, a procedure which, in his judgment, alone could save a deplorable situation from tending towards complete anarchy.

Mr. Montagu received a deputation from the Trades Unions, led by Mr. C. W. Bowerman, this week, to discuss with him the new rules and regulations relating to the establishment and development of Trades Unions in India. It is believed that, on the whole, the deputation was well satisfied with the Government of India's proposals, some of which it would have liked to see go further.

REVIEWS.

UNREALITIES.

THE WORLD AS POWER REALITY. By SIR JOHN WOODROFFE. 1921. 5 x 8. Pp. 118. (Ganesh and Co., Madras.)

THIS book is intended as the first of a series of expositions of the Shakta Vedanta, of which the author is so well-known an adherent. Of this first volume the purpose apparently is to defend, not only the philosophy of Shakti, but all the six standard philosophies of Hinduism as well, against the charge of philosophical "Idealism". Idealism, in the philosophical sense, regards matter as mind, just as Materialism regards mind as matter. Both of these monistic philosophies therefore consider either matter or mind as "unreal", whilst "Realism" is the dualistic philosophy which admits the "reality" of both matter and mind. Incidentally this Realism is of course also the commonsense view of all mankind; the practical view taken by every human being, whatever his theory. Sir John now labours to show that Vedanta is a "realistic" philosophy and goes so far as to wonder, however "the notion that the Hindus were non-realists arose" (p. 110). As a matter of fact, he rather gives away his thesis when (p. 92) he claims no more than that "the Vedanta doctrines are more realistic than those of many Western schools": which seems to me as intelligible as to call one person more of a virgin than many of her friends. The position taken up (pp. 78-9) is word for word that of the Western "Idealist" philosopher, who naturally also claims "to be in a world which to us is real, though ultimately unreal." The whole point of Realism is that it accepts the verdict of commonsense that we are in a world which is real—not to us only, but in itself, ultimately, truly, real. Maya on the other hand is just that which makes to us real, what in itself is unreal: how can we then call that reality *real* in any sense of the term? On p. 26 the author admits that "the people of India are as naïvely realistic as the rest of the world", but on p. 28 he adds that since Indians are not Materialists, there are naturally Idealists; but only

in a metaphysical sense—for in an epistemological sense they are Realists. What "sense" is this? Metaphysically or epistemologically a man is not forced to be an idealist, because he cannot be a materialist; for there remains the *tertium quid* of Realism. Realism is based on Rationalism—i. e. the conviction that Reason is capable of conveying *real* truth, not something camouflaged under a lot of verbiage as *unreal* truth or as *real untruth*. If man cannot trust his Reason when it tells him that the world is real, why should he trust his Reason when it tells him that Sir John Woodroffe is right? If the arbiter of truth is not Reason, why appeal to Reason, Sir John? Why write philosophical treatises commending to our Reason as the highest wisdom logical conclusions, which do not add to but contradict reason? If by thinking man anyhow cannot get at *real* truth, why ask us to think? Why not go to sleep—in Samadhi?

THE MEETING OF THE EAST AND THE WEST By C. JINARAJADASA. 1921. 5 x 6½. Pp. 120. (Theosophical Publishing House, Madras.) Price Rs. 2.

THIS little book contains some admirable addresses and essays, all of them on the theme of how East and West must meet, because they have need of each other; how really there should be neither East nor West in man's mind, but only Humanity. "Except that He, Who made all, wants both for His plans, would they have been fashioned so distinct from each other?" (p. 11); "A faith is slowly being born that there is a lovelier life and nobler aims than a mind can find within the boundaries of one land" (p. 69); "Patriotism divides" (p. 73); "Each people has a value, but all can do their work better together" (p. 106): these few quotations will show sufficiently the lofty aspiration and the felicity of expression which characterize the whole book.

Not as if the book was altogether free of mis-statements. To say that in the West "faith in experts is growing" (p. 24) is to say the exact opposite of what is the case; never, I think, was there a time when "experts" were quite as suspect as they are, e. g., in England to-day. Again what can one say when wicked Socialists and "Bolsheviks" are charged with trying to *make* all men equal (p. 59), instead of being given the credit of trying to give all men an equal opportunity? Really, the inclusion of such time-worn *cliche* is unworthy of the rest of the book. Unfortunately it is part of an attempt of whitewashing caste, which is blandly and blithely passed off as "caste or class" (p. 48). "Or"! The author cannot see "anything evil in men of a temperament associating together for mental benefit or convenience" (p. 52). I quite agree—only to associate freely is not caste but class; just as compulsorily to be associated is not class but caste. "Caste," says Mr. Jinarajadasa, "is an institution of over 23 centuries: after all, it cannot therefore be so very detrimental to a nation's growth" (p. 45): "growth", for-

sooth! When the very purpose of caste has been to arrest growth, to prevent change! And how successful it has been, the author himself acknowledges when (on p.76) he says that India's "civilization has persisted with practically no change."

And for all his enthusiasm for Humanity, Mr. Jinarajadasa can after all not shake himself free of a mystic patriotism which, like all patriotisms, is sure that if all nations have to make a contribution to Humanity, one's own has got to contribute the greatest, the supreme gift; if all people are children of God, one's own are the real favourites. "Did the Empire but know it, India is the Cup, the Grail, into which shall be poured the Divine Drink for a thirsting Humanity, which the Empire shall offer to the world;" (p. 102) for, of course, India alone is the "land of the Gods". If we have a contribution to make, will not posterity be a better judge of its comparative value, than we ourselves? Capital letters unfortunately do not add to the truth value, nor do they give to a fog of words (a Fog of Words!) any precision of thought and meaning. When therefore we read (p. 103) that India "is not merely a land of fascinating, gorgeous picturesque people, of tints and glows, of colours unmatched (!) in other lands: She is a Soul, such a Soul as once in 10,000 years dwells with men to be their Guide and Blessing"—we realize only too poignantly, how once more we have reached—unrealities.

Z.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—I have read your editorial note on the Democratic Party and am gratified to learn that you discern in me some humour, though I regret to learn that you think it to be of the heavy kind. I should have thought that there was no humour at all in a party which, since its inception, has done so yeoman service in the cause of the country, and whose utility is now beyond cavil. You object to the description of the party because its members are described as not necessarily democratic; but even if they aspired to be democratic, in that they strive to serve the public in what they conceive to be their will, you could not well quarrel with the assumption of their title. A true democracy in this country must, I fear, for long remain an aspiration and a hope, and this I know too well of many who would assume the rôle of democrats and be loth to admit their shortcomings.

You also object to the statement that it is not a political party in any real sense of the term because it has no corresponding party in the country. But this is the truth, and all that the Democratic Party in the Assembly can hope for is to extend its work to the country and create a party which will rally to its support. For the present it is rendering such service as it can in the House; and all its members may hope for is not irony, but some recognition of its unique services within the short space of its existence. If the electorate will only support its mission it will achieve a purpose which its originators have in view; namely, to exploit the reforms and thence to move forward towards their final goal, upon which we are all agreed.—Yours, etc.

H. S. GOUR.

Maiden's Hotel, Delhi,
February 14.

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