

# THE Servant of India

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## CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
TOPICS OF THE WEEK ...	313
<b>ARTICLES :—</b>	
The Lesson of War.—II. ...	315
Political Offenders, Again ...	316
Nationalist Disillusionment ...	318
The Akalee Movement.—II. The Capture of the Gurdwaras. By Prof. Gulshan Rai ...	319
The Truth about the "White Australia" Policy.— IV. Labour's Organisation and Power. By H. George Franks ...	321
<b>REVIEW :—</b>	
Indian Education in 1920-1921 By K. P. K. ...	322
SHORT NOTICES ...	323

## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

**No more War.** ONE is glad to find that the 8th anniversary of the outbreak of the Great War has not been permitted to pass without India taking some part in the world-wide demonstrations held last Saturday against any more international war: though how a speaker at the Bombay meeting could have the assurance to say that the world was looking to India for a lead in this respect, is really beyond us. Here at Poona a representative and crowded meeting was held, with leaders both of the Liberal and of the Non-co-operators' parties joining to address the meeting and make it the success it undoubtedly was. To make however all such meetings as effective, as they ought to be, in educating public opinion, one wishes all merely pious sentiments about goodwill &c. were rigorously ruled out. The urgent business before civilization is not to do away with all evil, but to do away with one concrete evil, War. Only an infinitesimal fraction of people do evil for its own sake: practically everybody does evil because it promises some good. Scotch one evil at the time, by showing how horrible the evil is, so that no problematic good can make up for its dreadfulness; and secondly show that the evil in question does not effect what it promises. That is how chattel slavery was abolished—Saturday, by the way, was also the anniversary of the death of the great abolitionist Samuel Wilberforce!—and that is how War can be abolished. Not by waiting for the impossible—the transformation of human into angelic beings—but by making one after another concrete manifestation of evil impossible. Thus blood feuds have been done away with, and duelling, and the slavery of women, and

what not. Thus also War can and will be abolished.

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**Most Unedifying.** The same afternoon that the citizens of Poona assembled to hear how the nightmare of another international war could be prevented, the Bombay Legislative Council adjourned early, to make it possible for its members to attend—this *No More War* demonstration? Alas, no; the Races. This is the first time that the Provincial Legislature has thus set the stamp of its approval on a form of gambling, the insidiousness of which the bucket shop evil has so amply demonstrated. The way in which the invitation of the Turf Club was first of all turned down but afterwards accepted, makes it unfortunately impossible to ascribe the whole business to mere inadvertence. It is much to be hoped that public opinion will not be slow to make clear what one would have thought our legislators might have had the sense and decency to realize themselves: that it is beneath the dignity of members to accept a gift of tickets and that to make the consideration of weighty public matters wait upon a public display of gambling, is not what voters sent their representatives to the Council for.

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**More Tyranny.** A NOVEL but none the less reprehensible expedient was used by some sanyasis in Calcutta to bring on the picketing of foreign cloth shops. They began a fast and informed non-co-operators and khilafatists that they would not break it unless picketing was resorted to. These sanyasis knew with what superstitious fear their sufferings, though self-inflicted, would be regarded by uneducated traders and the masses and they unscrupulously traded upon them. If it is claimed to be an exhibition of soul force it is a very wicked form of it indeed. We dare say they profess the doctrine of *ahimsa*, but it is the very opposite of it to drive people to jail and subject them to its hardships by the exercise of what is only a special form of violence and compulsion. The sanyasis may shew soul force but the traders will only show soul weakness by giving in to this insidious form of overbearing them. No compulsion, whether by soul force or any other force, will make a people strong, and such expedients, however useful they may seem at the time, bear in themselves the seeds of an inevitable harvest of tyranny and yet more "slave mentality."

**Auto-Suggestion.** WATCHING the progress of Pandit Motilal Nehru from Lahore to Erode the onlooker is left with the impression that the Pandit is trying hard to convince himself and others that the non-co-operation movement is not yet dead. The French, say, who excuses himself, accuses himself, and the very vehemence and frequency with which he is protesting that it is as much alive as ever, is only making outsiders more certain than ever, that the movement is dead. On the other hand of course the Pandit may merely be the latest victim of the Coué Craze of auto-suggestion in western lands. What he said at Madras of Earl Winterton seems to be quite true of himself—that by auto-suggestion he is trying to bring about a change in others. "Day by day, in every respect, we are getting stronger and stronger"—this *mantram* which according to M. Coué is to be repeated twenty times before breakfast, seems the very prescription which our Panditji is nowadays carrying. Who after this will say that East is East and West is West?

**Impressment of Carts.** THE Director of Information, Bombay, has thought it necessary to publish a long and laboured apologia in defence of the impressment of private bullock carts for the use of touring officers. If, as the apologia says, the impressment system has worked well on the whole, the rates of hire are higher than those offered by private individuals and 'in the vast majority of cases no suggestion of compulsion is necessary', why have there always been such loud complaints about it? Of course the Government's reply is simple. "Cases of refusal to hire carts under any condition can usually be traced to the agitation of individuals who are opposed to the existing system of Government and are determined to prevent any assistance being given to its officers." Only in saying this the Director of Information is 'impressing' into his service the non-co-operation argument with a retrospective effect of nearly 50 years—for on his own showing complaints were made to Government on this subject before 1874. The fact is—and we are told the Government has always recognised it though it has not proved of much use—that the system is open to much abuse, the actual taking of carts being entrusted to taluka peons or inferior village officers, who have their private animosities or other ends to satisfy. The only way to mend it is to end it, and it should not mean any serious inconvenience to touring officers either, for if traders and others can get carts for a suitable hire, so can the officers.

**Postponement of U. P. Council Meeting.** SOME of the most prominent members of the U. P. Legislative Council have addressed a letter of protest to H. E. the Governor against his having postponed till October next the Session of the Council which was to have begun on the 25th of July. It was postponed because the Minister for local sel-

government has not yet sufficiently recovered from his recent illness to pilot through the Council the District Boards Bill, which is admittedly the most important piece of business before it. That may be sufficient reason for postponing the consideration of the Bill, but not all the other business which included two important unofficial bills and several resolutions of an urgent nature, dealing, for instance, with the withdrawal of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, the release of political prisoners &c. These resolutions will lose much point by having to wait till October next. In the present state of our country the purely legislative business of a Council is decidedly not of greater importance than the work of criticism and suggestion by means of interpellations and resolutions. We are therefore very glad the members of the U. P. Council have emphasised the undesirability of allowing an interval of six months to elapse between sessions of the Council. A close season of six months for members of Government is hardly calculated to strengthen their sense of responsibility!

**Liquor Advertisements.** THE Post office has recently issued books of stamps containing advertisements of liquors of various kinds. This seems to us open to grave objection. The majority of the people of this country are unquestionably opposed to the use of intoxicants and it is certainly objectionable for Government publications which must go into the homes of those whose consciences are opposed to liquors, taking these advertisements and inducements to drink. We trust Government will not argue that if newspapers which favour total abolition of drink do not scruple to derive part of their revenues from liquor advertisements there is no reason why Government, which has not yet adopted prohibition, should forego that source of revenue. Such a contention, we feel confident, will not be adduced. In Great Britain the Government has not adopted prohibition; yet the Post-Master-General of that country has recently prohibited advertisement of liquors in publications of the Post office. We trust it will be sufficient to call the attention of the India Government to this action to have the matter set right at once.

**A Correction.** WE are sorry that an inaccuracy crept into our last week's note on the Bombay City Municipal Bill. It was not finally passed by the Legislative Council on Wednesday the 26th July as stated in the note, but on Monday the 31st July. What appeared to be the main difficulty having been got over at the time of our going to press, it was generally anticipated that the Bill would have a smooth passage that day but our anticipation proved a little premature, a knotty point coming up unexpectedly. The strength of the Corporation before amendment was also misstated, owing to a typographical error, as 150, instead of 100.

## THE LESSON OF WAR.

## II.

It has, one hopes, not been superfluous, to draw out in detail, as we have tried to do, the contrast between what the War was expected to do, and what it has actually resulted in.

And that gigantic failure of the War is as a matter of fact not accidental to merely this one war. It cannot be said that the War ended inconclusively; that force might have accomplished all that was expected of it, but that not enough of it was available on the winning side. Never perhaps since the days of Carthage has there been a war more utterly successful than the one which was started these eight years ago. Whatever other victories have ever been won, none have led to such crushing, annihilating defeat of the enemy. In all other cases it is always possible to say that this or that war was not worth its cost, because it did not leave the victor altogether free to impose its will wholly on the vanquished foe. Nothing of the sort can be said in the case of this late, truly Great War. When it ended, there was nothing, literally nothing, to oppose the will of the Allied and Associated Powers. Whatever objects they had fought for, should surely have been theirs, since not a dog was there left to wag its tail against any decree of theirs. And if the objects fought for were after all not attained, not by so devastatingly successful a war as this: the conclusion seems inevitable, that as a method for attaining such objects War would seem to be useless.

But the War has not merely failed negatively, by not producing the good expected from it, but still more so positively in the legacy of evil which it has left in its wake. When people talk of War, they usually think of nothing so much as the effect of killing and maiming. The thirty million dead, the untold further millions of blinded, crippled, shell-shocked and otherwise broken human beings, tell a tale of misery and suffering, which—fortunately for us—paralyze our powers of imagination. But however stupendous the sum total of all this pain: pain in itself is but a physical evil.

More deadly than all mere killing or maiming of body in War is the blood lust generated, the hatreds stirred up, the mentality evoked which only knows one method of dealing with difficulties, namely, that of assassinating the obstacle in the way of one's desires. That habit of mind, systematically fostered in war, cannot be suddenly got rid of, when peace is signed. It persists long after and has marked our post-bellum years with the bloody trail of its *crimes passionels*, its brutal murders for gain and all its other crimes of violence, which, if less grave, issue from the same disregard of the sacredness of human life. Violence having been preached for five years as the alone saving method, is not given up because a legal "Cease Fire" has been sounded. And as in private, so in public life, too. Belfast Programs, Fascisti and Communists, Orgesch and Sinn

Fein only continue the methods of War in so-called peace time. Filibusters like d'Annunzio, murderers of Rathenau and Wilson, political hooligans of plebiscite areas, simply act on the principle, on which they had been trained for so long, of violence as the supreme remedy for all ills.

The spectacle of a "Women and Childers" party in Ireland standing out madly against the mere suggestion of common sense, is but a reflex of an England of war time, when shrieking spinsters of an uncertain age and elderly men unfit for military service kept up an orgy of hatred, vented on defenceless governesses and pork-butchers of enemy extraction, or else in blood-curdling appeals to "the boys" to "let them have it," a blood frenzy, we say, which appalled and nauseated even the not exactly squeamish men on leave from their trenches.

This sort of thing is dreadful, to be sure; but even worse surely, because more insidious, is the moratorium of truth which every war naturally brings about. The worst of War, to our mind, is that it is based on lying. When you are strong, say you are weak, so as to lure on the enemy: when you are weak, make the enemy to believe you are strong, so as to prevent his attacking you: that is the one elementary rule without which, however diversified, no war could be carried on for a day. And you cannot restrict your lies to the enemy, as he would soon find you out; you must lie, not to him only, but just as much to your own and other people. When scientifically organized, this wholesale lying and deception is called Propaganda; and propaganda is needed every whit as much at the home, as at the military front and in neutral countries. Truth however in the end will out, and the reckoning comes then, when the foundation of all human society, *i. e.* faith in one's fellows, crumbles to dust. The moment propaganda is found out, the tricked people cease to believe anything, whether true or false; and the more universal that propaganda is discovered to have been, the more universal the reaction of suspicion and cynicism. The greatest curse of these after-war years is that the people of the world have ceased to believe anybody, good or bad; that they doubt every motive and suspect every aim; that, having been misled, outrageously, systematically, gigantically for so long, they now refuse to be led at all. Civilized society, nay all society, demands some mutual confidence between leaders and led, rulers and ruled expert and layman; and without it, ordered society becomes an anarchic rabble of snarling, desperate individuals.

That is the state to which war must necessarily reduce humanity: a state of utter disillusion and despair; and it is the creation of such a mentality, coupled with the loosening of every moral sanction, which makes every thoughtful observer to doubt, whether modern civilization would at all survive another war.

Should then that risk be taken? If war is incapable of anything constructive; if war can only destroy, degrade, ruin: why have another war?

It is no answer to say with a superior smile, "You might as well ask, why have another earthquake? War is inevitable". That is no answer—because an earthquake is not the work of man, whilst war is. If people refused to make war, there would be no more war. And the very simple and commonsense way of setting about having no more war, is not to prepare for war, but to induce the people to refuse making it.

Nor is that so impossible. To make war in former ages was a simple, unsophisticated affair of animal spirits, personal revenge and the excitement of adventure. But there is no excitement in sitting for weeks on end in the quagmire of the trenches, inhaling the stench of corpses rotting in no-man's-land; personal revenge is impossible by directing engines of destruction, which take effect miles and miles beyond the range of personal experience; animal spirits are apt to evaporate before the onslaught of chemical warfare or in an incessant fight against mice and lice. No soldier who has gone through the last war, will go through another—that is quite certain. Boche or no Boche, scrap of paper or not; the disillusioned, once bitten twice shy, ex-serviceman of to-day is not going to have any more of it, as far as he personally is concerned, charm the charmer never so wisely. But even the rising generation and all others who have not by personal experience tasted the quality of war in the machine age, would have "never again no more" of it, as the soldiers' slogan used to be, if they were told the truth at the time a new war threatened.

And that truth they can know if the people agreed not to make war, unless it had been sanctioned by a supra-national authority. What war is made, which is not claimed to be "a just war"? But if "a just war", what objection to submit its justice first to an impartial tribunal? The League of Nations at Geneva, even its recently constituted "Permanent Court of International Justice" at the Hague, may not be ideal bodies: but surely the pleading of "national" cases even before them, would give a breathing space to common-sense and would prevent some hare-brained Berchthold or Poincaré, some megalomaniac Kaiser or half-witted Tsar, to explode the mine, before the people sitting on it had been asked their opinion about it.

Meetings have been organized throughout the world in these days of the sinister anniversary of the outbreak of War, to mobilize the patient masses of mankind who after all are the only ones who pay the bill for the tragedy enacted with so much display of high sentiment and patriotic indignation by the fine gentlemen whose very profession is the deceitfulness of diplomacy and the brutality of militarism. The latter's chance is the apathy and indolence of the former; but that chance can be and must be eliminated by educating public opinion to the issue at stake and to the "evitableness" of war. If the next ten years are employed by all men of good will to inform the

conscience of mankind accordingly, there can be no doubt that, before another "Great War" can be staged, public opinion will have grown so strong, as to have made any further war impossible.

Hitherto the people have been hypnotized into inaction by the apparent inevitableness of War: show them an honourable, commonsense method of preventing war and the common sense, the inherent humanity of mankind, may be trusted to prevent it. War can be and will be prevented, if only the common people of all lands will make up their mind and express their determination, that they will neither be cajoled nor bullied into taking personal part in any more war, (whether by enlisting or making shells or subscribing to War Bonds) until its "justice" has been certified by such a supranational, universal, tribunal as the Hague Court of International Justice.

The lesson of the last eight years of war and peace is that no war, however successful, is worth it; that no war, however brought about, is inevitable; that, if war is preventible, it must be prevented.

The lesson of War is that there need be, there must be—NO MORE WAR.

#### POLITICAL OFFENDERS, AGAIN.

SATURDAY was a great field-day in the Bombay Legislative Council, and in every single encounter that ensued between the non-official members and the executive Government, the latter were badly worsted. The performance of the Home Member on this occasion, when the treatment of political prisoners was discussed, was not only poor in quality, but grossly unfair in method. First he made much play with the vagueness of the expression "political prisoners." It is undoubtedly an indefinite expression and will necessarily remain so till it is embodied in law or rules. "Political offenders" is, however, no more vague than, e. g., "prisoners of the European class" for which rules are already in force, and "status, education and nature of the offence" which he wishes to erect into tests for privileged treatment hereafter. If it is possible to attach a definite meaning to these expressions, which without a legal definition are equally indefinite, why cannot "political prisoners" be defined and rules based on such a definition? Is it contended that the latter expression is insusceptible of a precise definition? The Home Member no doubt advanced such a contention, but it was refuted by several members producing the definition incorporated in rules by the Government of Ireland. Next, Mr. Hayward tried to confuse the issue by speaking as if political offences consisting of acts of violence or incitements to violence were also included in offences for which differential treatment was demanded. The resolution only asked for special treatment in those cases in which such treatment was accorded in England, and English rules exclude offences involving moral turpitude from preferential treatment. The mover of the re-

solution and its supporters made it perfectly clear in their speeches that special treatment was not claimed for offenders guilty of acts of violence or incitements to violence. Where was the need, then, for the Home Member to work himself into a high state of hysteria by referring repeatedly to the outrages in Malabar, Bombay, Malegaon, and Chauri Chaura? Members merely laughed when he insinuated that the resolution was intended or calculated to encourage such assassins or ruffians. And, last, he appealed to the Council to throw out the resolution, not on the ground that it was too wide but on the ground that it was too narrow! It was surely "playing with the Council," as observed by Mr. Purshotamdas Thakurdas, whose speech hot with indignation, following close upon Mr. Hayward's, made a deep impression on the Council, to ask the members to reject the resolution because it was too restricted in scope and did not seek to extend special treatment to offenders to whom Government was anxious to accord it. The obvious answer to this, was, and it was made effectively by Rao Bahadur Sathe, that Government might accept the resolution in its limited form and, carrying it out in its entirety, might extend the differential treatment to non-political prisoners as well. As it was, Mr. Hayward's numerous red herrings did not succeed in drawing away the Council from its objective, and the resolution was carried with an amendment which only made explicit what was implied in the resolution itself.

Now to the merits of the resolution. The Government do not oppose the giving of differential prison treatment to political offenders from a democratic love of equality and an aversion to making any distinction whatever. This objection one could understand. But the Government have already separate classes of prisoners; only they base them on the social position and mode of life of the prisoners. Now surely if it was reasonable to make a distinction at all, it would be to make it on the basis of the purity of motive and general character of the offender rather than on the basis of his social position or education. To give equal prison treatment to criminals of the upper classes and to those of the lower classes, is of course to enhance the punishment of the former; but social status, like education is, if anything, an aggravating circumstance inasmuch as an educated person is expected to be more alive to his moral responsibility than an uneducated one. The existing distinction is thus based on the wrong principle, whilst the resolution asked that a beginning be made in basing differential treatment on the right principle. The Home Secretary said that the Government were contemplating "a special provision corresponding to the first division in England and as far as possible conforming with the English law." Well, in England the discrimination is not made on the basis of social status, etc. Such discrimination was first sanctioned on any appreciable scale by the Prison Act of 1898, which

empowered the judge or magistrate to place certain offenders in the first or second division. This privilege was intended by the Act to be extended to all cases where there "is evidence of good character over a considerable period of time, and when it is clear that exceptional temptation or special provocation has led to a merely temporary deviation from the paths of honesty, or to an act of violence not in consonance with the natural disposition of the defendant." It is evident from this that the principle of discrimination has no reference whatever to the offenders' social standing or style of living in England. The courts, however, did not avail themselves fully of the power of discrimination, and therefore in 1910 this power was also conferred upon the administrative staff of the prisons. The basis of classification, however, remained unchanged. The rule enacted by Mr. Winston Churchill in that year provided that "any offender of the second or third division whose previous character is good, and who has been convicted of, or committed to prison for, an offence not involving dishonesty, cruelty, indecency, or serious violence," may be granted certain ameliorations of prison treatment. The principle underlying this rule is, as explained by Mr. Churchill, "that prison rules which are suitable to criminals guilty of dishonesty or cruelty, or other crimes implying moral turpitude, should not be applied inflexibly to those whose general character is good and whose offences, however reprehensible, do not involve personal dishonour." And in order to remove any doubt that may arise as to whether any moral turpitude was involved in deliberately breaking the law, as women suffragettes did at the time, Mr. Churchill further said: "I have given instructions that all persons committed to prison for passive resistance and all persons committed to prison as suffragettes are, as a matter of course, in the absence of special circumstances, to be accorded the full benefit of the new rules." It will thus be seen that the only basis of distinction which English law recognises is that of character, offences involving moral turpitude being dealt with differently from those not involving moral turpitude.

Sardar Mutalik's resolution merely sought to apply the same principle to political offences. Of course the principle can be extended, and ought to be extended, to other offences as well; but the resolution was confined to political offences, because this particular matter has now become very urgent. The point, however, is that any differential treatment that may be accorded ought to be based on the principle recognised in England, but not recognised in this country. Even the new proposals of Government do not profess to give effect to this principle, but rather purport to extend the scope of the vicious principle already in force. The Home Secretary's statement that when these proposals are carried out Indian practice in regard to prison treatment will be brought into conformity with English practice was given a distinct denial in ad-

vance by the Home Member when he said that seditious offenders must be treated more severely here than in England. The reason given was that seditious offences were rare in England, whereas they were so frequent in India. Sedition is not quite so rare in Ireland and yet seditious offenders are treated there just as in England. The Prisons (Ireland) Act of 1877 says: "Every prisoner under sentence inflicted on conviction for sedition or seditious libel, and any person who shall be imprisoned under any rule, order, or attachment for contempt of any court, shall be treated as a misdemeanant of the first division." The objection urged against granting in India privileged treatment of the type which prevails in England is that the sentence which is awarded for many of the political offences in this country is often rigorous imprisonment, which in England is not entitled to special prison treatment. To obviate this objection a rule will first have to be made directing that offences against the State which do not involve moral turpitude should be punished with simple imprisonment. But a far simpler remedy is available. The Government may frame rules on the lines of the Irish rules set out in full in the Deccan Sabha's representation on the subject. This course was recommended by several non-official members of the Council. But the Home Member would not go near them. Did he, one wonders, doubt their genuineness? In his speech Mr. Hayward was sarcastic about us, referring to us as the "omniscient local paper." We suppose, after this, we are expected to be very humble, and we are so; but we may venture to assure the Home Member that he may really trust our knowledge in this respect since the rules were actually promulgated in Ireland. It excited no little merriment among the members to hear Mr. Hayward complaining in his peroration that no constructive suggestion was made by anyone when the Irish rules were repeatedly thrust on his attention, though Mr. Hayward would not touch them with the end of a barge pole.

In any case one would have thought that what was safe in Ireland in the case of Sinn Feiners may be regarded as quite safe in India in the case of non-co-operators and other political agitators.

#### NATIONALIST DISILLUSIONMENT.

IT is questionable politics to exploit the memory of a departed leader for the purpose of discrediting one's opponents, but the Deccan Nationalists, after two years of suspended animation as a political party, are now in such feverish anxiety to pull themselves together that they have deemed it necessary to use the occasion of the anniversary of Mr. Tilak's death for roundly denouncing the non-co-operation movement associated with the name of Mahatma Gandhi. Last week's *Mahratta* publishes a symposium of opinions from politicians, all of whom are violently opposed to the movement and who, under cover of commemorating Mr. Tilak's services to the country, count up with meticulous

particularity all the losses wrought by non-co-operation and call upon the country to go back to the ideals of Mr. Tilak and revive his policy of "responsive co-operation," which, as everybody now knows, is indistinguishable from the Liberal creed. Nothing is perhaps more tragic in the progress of non-co-operation than the facility with which veteran politicians cast off their life-long convictions and affected to believe what at heart they sternly condemned. At the Calcutta Special Congress it was a subject of general amusement among the delegates that a certain leader, who was one of the strongest opponents of non-co-operation, suddenly found himself converted to non-co-operation in the course of some three days. But those equally great leaders who jeered at him for this tergiversation and were unwearied in plotting to overthrow the movement, were persuaded to own their allegiance to it in the course of a night! It is one of the worst ironies of fate that a movement intended for the purification of self in the highest sense of the word, has in its actual results exhibited itself, not in the lesser fry but in the more influential of its adherents, as fruitful in insincerity on a large scale. Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal in the *Mahratta* observes this fact but attributes it only to "dilettante Nationalism," saying that if Nationalists accepted the non-co-operation method without any searching analysis or criticism, it was only for the purpose of giving an unquestionably high-souled leader the fullest opportunity for trying his experiment. In fact, it is infinitely worse than dilettantism to have allowed an experiment, which one knew would bring disaster upon the country, to go forward without doing one's level best to counter it. Mr. Baptista realises better the gravity of the responsibility which attaches to Nationalists for lending themselves to a policy which they wholly disapproved. "The Guru," he says, "is gone to heaven and the Chelas have gone astray."

The failure of non-co-operation in the past two years "of feverish futility" has been described by Mr. Pal in a few pregnant sentences. The movement has "woefully failed" in its principle object of paralysing the administration; instead, according to Mr. Pal, a paralysis has fallen on the public activities of the country. The political character of the Congress is utterly destroyed; "Nationalism, as we have known it these seventeen years, is also practically dead." "Political consciousness and political life is practically dead in the country." The consequence is that there is now a great reaction in our political life: "a fatal despair has overtaken the multitudes who are more impressed to-day than they had been for many years past with the invincible might of the present British bureaucracy." The so-called constructive programme of Bardoli—Mr. Pal never omits the adjective "so-called" when he refers to the constructive programme—is altogether inefficacious in reviving the drooping spirits of the country. What is the outcome of the recent con-

centration on this programme? "The khaddar campaign is failing on all sides while some people are using this campaign for personal profit. The charkha movement, whatever it may show on paper, has also been a stupendous failure." "As regards the Tilak Swaraj fund the impression is gaining ground on all sides that the crore of rupees collected last summer has been very largely wasted. Courting imprisonment to kill the fear of British jails has also been completely played out; "that cry will no longer go down either with the classes or with the masses." "The intolerable tyranny of the non-co-operators over those who could not see eye to eye with them, the open interference with the legitimate rights of individual citizens, the establishment of a system of chits or permits during hartals without which no one could buy provisions from the open market, the terrorism established in some places even in outlying villages in the name of the Congress and the Khilafat: all these things have helped to alienate the sympathies of large numbers of people from the non-co-operation movement."

This is indeed "a heavy debit side" to non-co-operation, and instructive as it is to hear it from one of the foremost living Nationalist leaders, it is far more instructive to listen to his open confession of error in the matter of the use to which the reformed councils should be put. Mr. Pal was the most vigorous, and perhaps the only consistent, advocate of obstruction of all measures of Government, good, bad or indifferent. The working of the Council so far has, however, now converted him to "responsive co-operation," which is identical with the co-operation of the Constitutionalists. We shall quote his exact words:

"After the experience of the new Councils, I frankly confess to-day that Mr. Tilak's political instinct was far more correct than mine: and the right policy for us, Nationalists, to-day would be to take up his old cry of responsive co-operation as a counterblast to the wild, unreasonable and intolerable tyranny of the present non-co-operation campaign....Unsatisfactory, inadequate and disappointing as the new Reforms have undoubtedly been, the new constitution of the Governments in India offers however, very large openings for Nationalist work. The Nationalists have so far kept themselves out of the new Councils. The Councils have been undoubtedly the weaker for this boycott. Yet the Government have not yet found it smooth sailing even with the present legislatures. The bureaucracy has been forced to come down from its high chair and seek the support of public opinion in many matters of vital importance. The ultimate decision rests no doubt in its hands, but precedents are being created every day which will be bound ultimately to expand the limits of popular freedom and develop a real democratic Government in the country. The Nationalists should therefore seek now to enter these Councils and direct and control the course of public policy from there."

It will thus be seen when due allowance is made—and a liberal allowance must be made—for the fact that the statement emanates from a party leader, that it embodies an open avowal of the conviction not only that the reforms, though short of our aspirations, are substantial, but that they have been worked so as to enlarge popular

liberties and make an approach to Dominion Home Rule.

## THE AKALEE MOVEMENT.

### II.—THE CAPTURE OF GURDWARAS.

AT this time the Sikh places of worship were either under the control of Government, or under the management of individual mahants of certain religious fraternities. The shrines under Government control were the Golden Temple, the Akal Bunga, and the Baba Atal, all in Amritsar and the Gurdwara in Taran Taran. The education of the Tat Khalsas, and the peculiar training and outlook of the Kukas and the Akalees had made them dissatisfied with the administration of affairs in the Sikh places of worship, whether under Government control or private management. This dissatisfaction was still further increased by the fact that the Government manager of the Golden Temple had made certain offerings on behalf of Shikhism to General Dyer. At once there arose a strong agitation for the removal of the Government manager from the Golden Temple. The agitation became so strong that in July 1920 the Government appointed another man as manager of the temple. By this time the agitation had gone so far that the Sikhs could not be satisfied with anything less than complete withdrawal of Government from the control of Sikh Gurdwaras. Up till now the Pujaris of the Golden Temple Gurdwar were high caste people. Direct offerings of Karah Pershad (a kind of sweetmeat) to the Guru Granth Sahib could not be made by the untouchable converts to Shikhism. For this purpose these untouchable converts, called Mazhabi Sikhs had to employ the services of high caste people. In the autumn of 1920 the Tat Khalsas induced these untouchables to make direct offerings by their own hands to the Guru Granth Sahib. They were taken right into the Hari-mandir, where offerings were made by their hands. When the Pujaris of the Akal Bunga heard of this incident, they left their places and deserted the Guru Granth Sahib. This conduct of the Pujaris in leaving the Guru Granth Sahib unattended was considered a sacrilege by the Tat Khalsas. They there and then took possession of the Akal Bunga temple, and made their own arrangements for its management. This was a grand victory for the Tat Khalsas. Up till now the Akalees, or the national volunteers of Guru Govind, were considered to be the traditional guardians of the Golden Temple and other temples attached to it. It was feared that the occupation of the Golden Temple by the Tat Khalsas would be resented by the Akalees. The Akalees are from the time of Guru Govind habitually dressed in black. The Tat Khalsas in order to conciliate them also dressed themselves in black. Thereupon the Akalees raised no opposition. The Akalees and the Tat Khalsas now became one. Both were pleased that Brahminical influences had been removed

from the Golden Temple. After this easy victory over Golden Temple the Akalees organised themselves for the purpose of ridding other gurdwaras of Brahmical influences. Most of the gurudwaras were under the control of Nirmala and Udasi Sadhus, many of whom were no doubt corrupt, licentious and extravagant. Moreover, many of the mahants were honorary magistrates, sub-registrars and nominated members of district and municipal boards. They were considered more or less Government men. After the Jallianwalabagh massacre the Government had become very unpopular. Perhaps this was exactly the opportunity for enlisting public opinion in favour of the removal of the Hinduised mahants and for bringing the gurdwaras under the control of the Khalsa panth. The Akalees, the Kukas, and, I believe, the emigrants, most of whom had by this time, been released, combined and formed themselves into bands called Akalee Jathas. These, like the Akalee martyrs of Guru Govind of 200 years ago, vowed to sacrifice their lives if necessary in order to secure control over the gurdwaras. Even as early as September 1920, a Shahidi Dall (band of martyrs) had been formed to forcibly build up the wall of Rikabganj in new Delhi, which had to some extent been encroached upon by Government. But the Tat Khalsa party was as yet not in favour of employing violent methods for attaining an object which no doubt was quite legitimate in their eyes. But the newly organised Jathas had no scruples about this. But just about this time the non-violent non-co-operation movement of Mahatma Gandhi was launched. In the second Sikh League Conference held in November 1920 which was attended by Mahatma Gandhi, the Ali Brothers and other non-co-operation leaders, the Sikhs, in spite of the opposition of the Tat Khalsas, passed a resolution in favour of non-co-operation. But subsequently it appears the Tat Khalsas on the one hand and the Akalees, the Kukas, and the emigrants on the other, arrived at some compromise. Perhaps the result of this compromise was the elimination of strictly violent methods, but the adoption, however, of peaceful direct action. The method of direct action consisted in bringing about, by means of the deputation of Akalee Jathas, a moral pressure of local public opinion on the mahants of the gurdwaras. The unrest caused by the Jallianwala bagh massacres furnished them an opportunity to guide and control public opinion. When the Tat Khalsas took possession of the Amritsar Golden Temple, the Government after consultation with the Sikh Maharaja of Patiala, appointed a committee of 36 gentlemen, representing the Sikh states and British districts, to administer the affairs of the temple. The Sikhs, however, wanted no Government-nominated committee for the administration of the gurdwaras. The Akalees at once called a conference of the Sikhs at Amritsar to consider the situation. It was held in October 1920, and in that meeting was

electd the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee, not only to look after the gurdwaras already under their control, but also to secure control of other gurdwaras. Since then the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee (S. G. P. C.) and the Akalee Jathas have co-operated with each other in taking possession of gurdwaras by the method of direct action. The Akalee Jathas first came into prominence at Rikabganj in new Delhi, and since then, particularly between September 1920 and February 1921, several gurdwaras in different parts of the province have one after another come into the possession of the Akalees. The mahants and the Pujaris have in every case been dispossessed. In January 1921 the Akalees went to Taran Taran (in Amritsar District) where there was another gurdwara under the control of Government. But here they experienced some resistance at the hands of the local Pujaris. In the affray that took place 13 Akalees and 11 Pujaris were wounded. One Akalee died as a result of the injuries.

#### THE NANKANA TRAGEDY.

Again, after their victory at Amritsar, the S. G. P. C. had issued a notice convening a big conference of the Sikhs at Nankana Sahib, to consider the future management of the gurdwara at that place. This alarmed very much the mahant of Nankana Sahib. He approached Government for assistance but they refused to help him. He approached Mahatma Gandhi, but could not get any help from him. He pleaded that his gurdwara was a centre of the Udasis, and as such the Sikhs were not entitled to claim it, but no one heard him. All this time news were rapidly pouring in of the surrender of one gurdwara after another. Under such circumstances he began to make his own arrangements for the defence of the gurdwara. He constructed works of defence and engaged armed Pathan guards. At length a deputation of orthodox old fashioned Sikhs, including some of the direct descendents of Guru Nanak, was successful in obtaining a reluctant promise in writing from the local Divisional Commissioner, that in the defence of their legal rights, the mahants could expect all reasonable protection from Government against illegal attacks. This letter of the Commissioner was published. It was perhaps intended to reassure the mahants and to warn the Akalees. But beyond this, evidently the policy of religious neutrality prevented Government from intervening in what was considered a religious affair of the Sikhs. On the 20th February 1921, about a fortnight before the appointed day of the conference, one Akalee Jatha under the leadership of one Lachman Singh passed through Nankana Sahib, presumably on its way to some other place. On their way the Akalees entered the gurdwara, perhaps only for devotional purposes, but the mahant thought they had come to attack. The result was the Nankana Sahib tragedy. Some 130 Akalees lost their lives in a very cruel manner, and no amount of the plea of self-defence can excuse the conduct of the mahant on this occasion.



The entire blame for the tragedy was thrown on the Commissioner, who had authorised the publication of the letter mentioned above. There was a wave of intense sympathy for Akalee martyrs. Bands after bands of Sikhs began to pour into Nankana Sahib from all parts of the province. The situation became extremely dangerous. In the first place there was too much excitement. In the second place, it was discovered that the Akalee Jathas very often contained men of dangerous character. While the investigation into the Nankana Sahib tragedy was going on the Akalee Jathas were told to disperse within a week. But before the week expired the Government began to make arrests. Some 150 Akalees were arrested in a few days, and were charged and convicted on various charges of decoity, intimidation etc. This action of the Government intensified the popular feeling against them and converted most of the Sikhs into Akalees. Now the Kukas, the Akalees, the Tat Khalsas, and the general mass of the Sikhs became all combined. Since then the situation is becoming more and more critical.

GULSHAN RAI.

#### THE TRUTH ABOUT THE "WHITE AUSTRALIA" POLICY.

##### IV.—LABOUR'S ORGANISATION & POWER.

THE Australian worker is king in his land. That is to say, he thinks he is and acts as though he were. As he exists to-day he is like a spoilt child. Not knowing exactly what he wants and not knowing just when he gets it. Somehow or other, though it is not his fault, he has been denied the bracing and hardening atmosphere of that greatest of all schools—the adverse world. Yet, despite this great disadvantage, we see him to-day in what should be a happy and contented condition, although here again his own lack of worldly experience and his impetuosity and his amazing confidence in his own powers and opinion have made things far less pleasant for all concerned than they should have been.

Nevertheless, theoretically, being born in Australia, he has every reason to be content. The great southern continent is far in advance of all other nations in its practical application of what might be termed the equities of industrialism. In no other land has labour so come into its own kingdom as in Australia, for during the past score or two of years it has had enormous power and every opportunity (which means every possibility) to remedy all the wrongs visited upon the worker. Labour has full political rights and is magnificently organised. It has held supreme political office, at different times, in each State of the Commonwealth, and even in the Commonwealth Government itself. It has built up within the land a most elaborate and far-reaching legal machinery for amicably settling all industrial disputes, and surely no other country is so rich in democratic devices for securing industrial peace. It is permeat-

ed with a class consciousness which would make it an undestroyable unit but for its own quarrels.

All this, of course, seems to suggest that while theoretically the system is nearly perfect, *practically* it is far from being perfect. That is, indeed, the exact position, yet even this theoretical system has no small bearing on the policy under discussion in this series.

The principle of the minimum (and living) wage is the governing idea around which all the Australian industrial legislation rotates. It is the keynote of all the labour laws, the chief end for which they are designed. True, the ways for arriving at the actual amount of this minimum wage are different in each of the seven Governments, but they all set out to make it compulsory by law to pay a definite wage measured not by the work that is actually done, but by the time the worker has been at work (except, of course, in the cases where piece work rates are fixed). Then once the minimum wage for each State is fixed by a committee appointed by the State, the next move is for the tribunal of each particular trade union to set the minimum wage for its own trade. In Australia every separate trade has its official union, which all the workers in that trade are expected to join and to which they are forced by the rules of membership to pay a weekly subscription. It might also be mentioned in passing that unless a tradesman is a member of the union and has his ticket showing that he is a unionist, it is next to impossible for him to get a job at his trade, for no employer would risk adding him to his payroll. Should he do so, and the fact that he was employing non-union labour leak out, then the other workmen would demand his dismissal under threat of a general strike.

These trades union boards, then, meet separately and have by law been given untrammelled power to fix new rates of wages on any scale at any moment. Their rates are always fixed on what they consider to be the cost of living in the State in which they are working. Of these methods one well-known Australian writer on labour topics says: "No measure or rule is anywhere laid down to limit or guide in the work of appraisal, and no authority exists for making the money reward for work even. There is an absence of rule, guidance, and co-ordination." The relationship between this system and the introduction of what is called "coloured" or cheap labour is too self-evident to need amplification here. Suffice it to say that the labour organisation thus reveals itself as one of the greatest obstacles to the open-door policy.

But to continue our outline of the system. Each trade union having settled, for the time being, the rate of pay, hours of work, and conditions of labour for its own members, the employers are compelled to accept the decision, regardless of their desire or ability to pay, although in several of the Australian Acts the principle is nominally laid down that the position of the employers was

to be a vital consideration. If, however, after the Wages Board announces its decision, or if after a trial, the new arrangement is not satisfactory, the whole situation is to be placed before the Australian Court, where two High Court judges have been especially placed by the Commonwealth Government. Past experience has shown that both the judges have always been in very close sympathy with the worker, although, of course, the awards of the Court are always fair and just. Yet despite this fact of judicial sympathy and very careful investigation into the workers' needs, labour has all too frequently resorted to that illegal and foolish remedy, the strike. During the past decade this strike policy has reached dimensions which have made it a positive menace to the country, even though, under Labour's own laws, a strike in Australia is nothing short of a crime. The strike certainly is a powerful weapon for doing damage to the country—its national life, its commerce, its manufacture, and (although they cannot or will not see it) to the workers themselves. The past few years, with their chaos-producing "stop-work" campaigns, have shown the people of Australia what a potent force Labour really is and that the worker has definitely made up his mind that he and he alone will decide how, when, where and with whom he will work. Now, of course, the present writer, in saying this, is not arraying himself on the side of the strike-producers and the strikers. His views on the question are quite strong in the opposite direction; but since the Australian worker has these opinions and exercises this power, it would be foolishness and ignorance to shut one's eyes to the very evident fact. And it is this fact that weighs so heavily in the mind of the Australian worker when he ventilates his views of the "white" policy. His picture of the question is seen through the spectacles (smoked by selfishness though they may be) of wages and hours, and his interpretation of that national doctrine is punctuated by fears of cheap production and death-dealing competition.

On the other hand, while the average Australian is amenable to reason when you get him by himself, the labour organisation is so strong that every member of any trade union is really not his own master, either in body or mind. He is bound as a slave to unionism and has to do as his union leaders dictate. In many respects this "unionism" has tremendously helped the worker by improving his lot, stabilising his position, and utilising his power. And it is these good results that outweigh in the worker's mind any and all of those evil results which are so apparent to those outside the unions. And when the worker thinks over the good which labour organisation has done in the past, he feels that it would be both ungrateful to desert it when things seemingly go wrong and impolitic to leave it because it has made of a few mistakes. Therefore he continues to accept the advice of the Trades Union leaders, and of course, their counsel is most emphatically in favour of the

attention for ever of the "White Australia" policy.

From these two observations it surely is plain that in the mind of the average worker the closed door policy is nothing but a policy of protection, a policy of prevention of the return to sweated labour. In his mind no colour or race feeling exists except in the experience he has had that "coloured" labour means cheap labour which unmistakably means lower wages, lower standards of living and increase in unemployment. And so he, entirely on these grounds, expresses himself, sometimes forcibly, in favour of "White Australia." Of course it can be readily drawn out of him, in conversation, that his opinion is based solely on present conditions, resultant from the youthfulness of the country and its consequent paucity of commercial enterprise—paucity compared, of course, with what it is capable of undertaking in the future.

This then is the real argument demanding the "White Australia" policy in the minds of the average person. There are many of course who add to this the argument we outlined in previous articles; but the economic question is by far the most important to the worker. The capitalist also, while perhaps he would welcome for a change the possibility of having his pay account lowered by the advent of cheap labour, really agrees with the worker, knowing that such introduction of lowly-paid men would undoubtedly cause him the loss of all his highly paid skilled workmen—and skilled labour is Australia's greatest need at the present time. Trades Union leaders, blatant politicians, and blustering writers may seek by their arguments to fasten enmity between east and west and between "whites" and "coloured" but the average Australian—the man who counts for the future in that land—looks upon the closed door policy in the way indicated above and bears no animosity, at any rate to his empire-brother, the Indian.

Our next article will briefly discuss the possibility of filling Australia's empty spaces.

H. GEORGE FRANKS.

## REVIEW.

INDIAN EDUCATION IN 1920-21. THERE are many among us who, while not approving of the principle of non-co-operation, nor believing in the efficacy of its programme in winning swaraj for us, however argue that no harm is done to the country by our young men enthusing over the charakha or khaddar or patriotic propaganda for a year or two and that on the other hand, some amount of positive good has resulted from it. How mistaken they are they will know from a perusal of the short report on Indian Education in 1920-21 compiled from provincial reports by the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India. Non-co-operation did not touch primary education, but it seriously affected English arts colleges and high and

middle schools, the strength of which decreased by 8.6, 5.1 and 8.1 per cent. respectively as against an increase of 3.3, 2.4 and 2 per cent. in the previous year. Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Burma and C. P. suffered more than the other provinces. The loss sustained by Bengal was the heaviest: it lost about 20,000 students from the arts colleges and about 36,000 from the high and middle schools. In addition to this, owing to the minds of the students being unsettled, the percentage of failures in the public examination was unusually larger. What a loss of time and energy and what a tragic ruin of careers all this means can be fully realised only by those who have had some experience of the upheaval of the anti-partition agitation days. Discipline was everywhere seriously affected, a spirit of defiance and contempt for authority possessing the students. Many previously managed institutions were financially so hard hit that some of them may not recover from the blow.

And what have we got to compensate for all this loss? New national schools and colleges? Well, a good many of them were no doubt started in the first flush of enthusiasm but most of them have vanished or are tottering. They cannot be expected to fare better than the institutions of the Bengal Council of National Education or those started by Mrs. Besant at the time of the Home Rule agitation. One good result, however, is acknowledged: pointed attention has been drawn to some of the drawbacks of the present system of education. Adequate provision should be made for practical and vocational education and a fuller recognition given to Indian culture and aspirations—a fuller treatment in text books of what India has contributed and may contribute to civilisation and a better preparation for long national service. These and other reforms, like the vernaculars being made the media of instruction, can now be easily effected as education is a transferred provincial subject in charge of an Indian minister, if only popular enthusiasm is turned from emotional distractions to practical channels. Apart from the results of non-co-operation steady progress was achieved in various directions, particularly in the constitution of new Universities and in University reform and in female education. The greatest need of the hour, however, is concentration of effort on compulsory education. The enabling Acts have been passed, though in most of the provinces no action has yet been taken under them anywhere that is worth mentioning.

K. P. K.

## SHORT NOTICES.

**The Making of a Republic.** BY KEVIN T. O. SHEL, pp 118. Rs. 1-8-0. (S. Ganesan, Triplicane, Madras.)

A CHARACTERISTIC of Mr. Ganesan's publications is that they include reprints, by special arrangement, of some very useful books published outside India. The present handy little volume is one such. It is an Irish publication, dealing with the American War of Independence, written with the object of

informing Irishmen of the great part played by them in that war. The story is succinctly and interestingly told, which makes the book well worth perusing.

**The Aryan Ideal.** BY PROF. T. L. VASWANI. pp 96. Re 1. My Motherland Series. (Messrs. Ganesh & Co., Madras.)

THE object of "My Motherland Series" is, we are told, to help India's young men, "in the present period of our struggle for freedom . . . to recover *lost memory* of India and the Indian ideal." In the introduction Mr. Vaswani speaks of the danger of pessimism overtaking our young men on account of the failure of the non-co-operation programme of Swaraj not coming on the expected day, &c. This pessimism might beget either indifference or violence, but Mr. Vaswani thinks it is the latter that is likely. He therefore addresses himself to showing that Indian culture and civilization are spiritual, not materialistic, and seek the service of humanity, not national aggrandisement. The treatment of the subject, however, is not very satisfactory. It is lacking in fulness and lucidity. One gets a much better idea of the Aryan ideal from the works of the late Mr. R. C. Dutt and others. The writer is emotional and mystical, his style far from that of good prose. The following is a fair sample:

"Let your hearts break for India—break in music, the speechless music of service. Let your *dharma* be: the SERVICE OF INDIA, birth after birth; the service of the Mother, coeval with the earth's civilizations; the service of freedom. For without a Free India must perish the Hope of the World. Let your hearts break for India, and the Eternal Wonder-worker who longs to enter toil and pain will come and re-set the strings of your heart; and you may hear the secret whispered by leaves and flowers and stars; and you may sound new notes of a New Song such as may stir the very stones of India."

**Message of the Birds.** By PROF. T. L. Vaswani. My Motherland Series, No. 2, pp 78. Re 1. Messrs. Ganesh & Co., Madras.

THE fanciful title of this little book is derived from a dream which a friend of the author had, in which the birds seemed to say, on surveying the situation of humanity, "Son of man! Return to thyself!" It asks the young men to rely on themselves, to mix freely with the trading and cultivating classes so as to obtain culture from life and also to influence the lives of those classes. The author thinks that by introducing cottage industries in schools they could be made self-supporting and the country's poverty also removed. One does not like to disturb a man's faith, but it is unfortunately true that the *charkas* which was expected to make national schools self-supporting and regenerate the country has not justified Mr. Gandhi's educational expectations.

**Speeches and Writings of M. K. Gandhi.** Third Edition Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Rs. 3.

THE publishers are entitled to the thanks of the country for bringing out this most useful, comprehensive and up-to-date edition of all the really important speeches and writings of Mr. Gandhi. It contains a valuable introduction by Mr. C. F. Andrews and a fairly lengthy life-sketch of the great Indian. The speeches and writings are arranged according to the main activities of his life. In an appendix are given notable appreciations, including a short one by Count Leo Tolstoy. A volume of about 1000 pages, it is a marvel of cheapness for Rs. 3.

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