

# Servant of India

Editor: S. G. VAZE.

Office: KIBE WADA, BUDHWAR PETH, POONA CITY.

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## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

**The Crisis in Egypt.** WHILE everyone views with disgust and horror the murder of Sirdar Sir Lee Stack, the British demands on Egypt in that connection cannot be held justifiable. Zaglul Pasha's government accepted all the terms [that were legitimate and directly concerned with the murder, viz., apology, indemnity, and vigorous prosecution of justice, but rightly refused those that meant the surrender of the Egyptian position on questions which are the subject of controversy between the two countries. As Britain, however, insists on the acceptance of all its demands by threat of force, Zaglul Pasha has adopted the only course open to a self-respecting minister and has resigned office. British feelings are to a degree mollified by his resignation, as his government was held to foment anti-British agitation both in Egypt and the Soudan. It is now very much to be hoped that in dealing with the new premier of Egypt, Britain will not insist on the fulfilment of conditions which were conceived in hot passion and with a view to "impress an oriental mind," as a British paper admits. These attempts at creating an "impression" will never succeed, whether in Egypt or India or anywhere, as history has abundantly showed, and are a wicked abuse of power. Zaglul's successor may under pressure accept such conditions, but he will not in the least be able to give effect to them. Meanwhile hatred of the British will grow apace, more crimes will take place and nobody in the world will be the better for it all.

**A Criticism Assured.** WE publish on another page an article by Mr. V. N. Naik which expresses the view of a not inconsiderable section of the Liberal party. It purports to condemn the action of those Liberals who attended the Conference and took such part in it as the executive of the party allowed and required. The ground of condemnation is the fear, also echoed by Anglo-Indian journals for obvious reasons, that the Liberals have lost everything to the Swarajists. Now, what did the Liberals do at the Conference? They joined with members of other parties in condemning the repressive policy of Government, which already they had condemned independently. What have the Liberals lost to the Swarajists in this? If anything, they gained some points: e. g., they made the Swarajists give up their contention that the very purpose of the Bengal Ordinance was to crush their party. If Mr. Naik or anyone else thinks that what the Liberals can do on their own platform they must not do in conjunction with other parties, in order to maintain the integrity of the Liberal principles—all we can say is that the Liberal principles gain nothing by such exclusiveness. As to the appointment of a Committee to secure unity of action among all parties, to which basis the Liberals members agreed, it must be understood that unity is to be sought on the basis that no sacrifice of principle will be required. Individual Liberal members may certainly be permitted to desire unity if it can be brought about consistently with Liberal principles, and it is a gratuitous supposition on Mr. Naik's part that the members of the newly appointed Committee will disregard these principles in exploring the chances of reunion in the Congress. He and those who feel like him had better keep themselves in touch with the Committee to find out if at any stage Liberal principles are in peril.

**The "New Leader" on Bengal Ordinance.** THE *New Leader* to hand by the last mail takes the same view of the Bengal Ordinance as is unanimously held by Indians. "If Lord Reading has reliable evidence of this (anarchical) conspiracy, he was bound to arrest its leaders." No one has denied this position in India. But where is the evidence against the arrested persons? The house searches at the time of the arrests have not resulted in the discovery of incriminating materials. One or more anarchist organisations appear to be in existence in Bengal, though some Bengali leaders stoutly deny it; but the power of the Ordinance to deal with them seems to be extremely doubtful, while what is not at all doubt-

ful is that the executive agency will yield to the temptation of using it against legitimate opposition to Government. As the *New Leader* says in commending Sir Sankaran Nair's article, which we have reproduced elsewhere :

"The Indian police has a deplorable reputation, and has been convicted in the past of the systematic extortion and manufacture of evidence. It is now laid down that the testimony of its witnesses will be evidence, even if they cannot be found. Thus the safeguard of cross-examination is withdrawn, and any informer who lays a false charge, and then goes into hiding, may swear away the life of a defenceless man. Such methods create anarchy, while they profess to combat it. They sap the moral foundations of our rule in India and add a new and just cause of discontent to the unrest with which they seek to cope."

The paper is indignant that these coercive methods were expressly approved by a Cabinet meeting of the Labour Government.

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THEN it proceeds to say :

Labour Govern-  
ment's omissions.

"We are now facing in India a problem which begins to recall the latter phases of the Irish question. The main body of Nationalist opinion, if Lord Reading is correctly informed, is following the Sinn Fein model. It probably calculates that we shall answer with Black-and-Tan methods, and it expects that rebel violence and official violence will be between them create a world scandal so horrifying that in the end we shall have to concede to India what Mr. Lloyd George conceded to Ireland."

In thus reading the situation the *New Leader* is not at all correctly informed. The Sinn Fein movement was based on violence, but no considerable body of nationalist opinion in India believes in violence. This non-violence is, it is true, not a matter of conscience except in very few cases, but everybody realises the utter folly of any recourse to violence in the present condition of India. Those who preach direct action and non-co-operation, whether in the legislative councils or outside it, want to make administration impossible, it is true, but not by the violent methods of the Sinn Feiners. Despite their intentions, however, non-co-operation will result in violence and in the negation of all peaceful progress, and hence Liberals and others have always opposed the movement. But violence is not intended, and it is because Gr. Gandhi recognises its inevitableness if non-co-operation is practised, at any rate in the present condition of the country, that he has suspended it. Therefore it is not Sinn Fein that prevails in India. But we quite agree with our British contemporary when it says that things would not have been so bad if the Labour party had not practised so much self-suppression, had not been so inactive :

"To embark on an adequate scheme of constitutional reform may not have been possible. But there was much that we might have done. We might have hastened the Indianisation of the Civil Service and the Army. We might have contrived the inquiry into the next steps to wards Constitutional Reform in a way that would have impressed and reassured Indian opinion. Above all, was not this a case for creating an "atmosphere" ? The methods of open and friendly discussion, which succeeded so well with the French, the human and kindly approach, might have served equally well with Indians. It would have been easier to write such letters to Mr. Gandhi or Mr. Das than to M. Poincaré. The attempt was not made."

The *New Leader* is so disgusted with the Labour Government's policy of inaction that it would urge the party not to accept office unless it felt free to deal with India in its own way.

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The Ethics of  
Socialism.

THE series of five lectures held last week by that profound sociologist, Dr. Harry F. Ward, Professor of ethics at the Union Theological Seminary, New York, have proved quite an event in the intellectual life of Poona, as they cannot have failed to be in the other cities of India, where our eminent visitor has been speaking. Beginning with the waste (both at the bottom and at the top) of our economic system, Dr. Ward showed that this waste is greater than any merely ameliorative effort can make good, and that the only possible permanent solution lay in a minimum (and a maximum) standard of life being assured to (or demanded from) every citizen. Even so he had to admit that this goal was incapable of attainment, as long as nations had to pay for liquidating the last and preparing for the next war. As far as science and economic technique had been developed, they could already guarantee the production of all the necessities, nay, even of all the amenities of life, for all members of the human race. But whether or not the technicians were to be allowed to supply these needs, depended not on them, but on the people at large. As long as they had not developed "the good will," to use science for life rather than for death, for the needs of the poor rather than for the luxuries of the rich, for service rather than for profit — no technical skill in itself was of any avail. That creation of the common will for good was possible, was possible within one generation even, if all educational resources were strained to that purpose and institutions created which would call forth the response of co-operation instead of greed. So ran the line of thought which held the first four lectures together: and they all culminated in a superb fifth address, showing, how in Russia (whence he has just come) as in a laboratory on a grand scale, there could be studied an experiment in actual progress, to create that common will for good and thereby to recreate society on a basis of rational planning for service, instead of the haphazard selfishness of the preceding régime.

Dr. Ward has gone, having stirred our sluggish thoughts and made them to seek, for the nonce, other than the time-honoured channels in which we are usually so content to stagnate. Must that be the end ?

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Government and  
Indian Medicine.

THE Madras Government is to be congratulated on having freed itself from the shackles of Western medical pundits and opened a School of Indian Medicine in Madras where lectures will be delivered on the Ayurvedic, Unani and the Siddha systems, in addition to instruction in anatomy and physiology on modern lines. The institution was opened this week by His Excellency the Governor. It is the result of the recommendations of a committee which was appointed by the Madras Government two years ago, which toured extensively and came to the conclusion that, contrary to the opinion generally held by Western practitioners, the Indian systems of medicine were based on science, were not haphazard and deserved encouragement at the hands of the State. The secretary and writer of the remarkable report of that committee, Capt. Srinivasa Murthi, of the Madras Medical Service, has been appointed Principal of the institution. An Ayurvedic hospital will soon be attached to it. Naturally enough it has been started as an experiment, but we have no doubt that in the Principal's capable hands it will prove a decided success. Even if, contrary to our expectations, the experiment should fail, the public will be in a position to feel that the indigenous systems were given a fair trial.

### A STEP TOWARDS UNITY.

IF those who were unduly sanguine about the possible achievement of the All-Party Conference that met in Bombay last week-end were somewhat disappointed that unity was not immediately re-established in the ranks of the Congress workers, those who take a sober view of the situation will have ample reason to be satisfied with what the Conference strove to do and succeeded in doing. The fact that Mr. Mahomed Ali's invitation for a conference to explore the possibility of union was responded to not merely by the Liberals and National Home Rule Leaguers and Independents, who have been abstaining from the Congress for some years, but by the non-Brahmans of the Deccan and the non-Brahmans of Madras, is in itself a most valuable testimony to the widespread desire in the country to sink their differences, if possible, with a view to making a united attempt to win Home Rule. All these parties sent strong contingents to the Conference and contributed nothing but perfect goodwill and a determination to emphasize points of agreement to the discussions that took place. Indeed, if there was any unpleasantness at all, it was engendered only by the skirmishes between the No-Changers and the Swarajists, the former of whom, it is evident, most bitterly resent Mahatma Gandhi's pact with the latter and accept it, to the extent that they do so, only because they are powerless to resist it. But so far as those who are at present outside the Congress are concerned, there was not the least disposition on their part to cavil or sneer, but to do everything they could, consistently with their convictions, to promote harmony.

Fortunately for the cause of unity, an opportunity was provided by the Government for the expression of the common sentiments of all political parties on a subject of vital importance to the country, viz. the repression resorted to in Bengal to suppress the revolutionary movement. Already different parties had entered their protest against the unjustifiably drastic measures of Government from their respective platforms, but this did not render superfluous an expression, from a common platform, of the unanimous or almost unanimous opposition of all the politically-minded sections of the Indian public. On minor points there were differences, as to whether, e. g., the repressive policy was directed against the legitimate activities of the Swarajists. Most people outside the ranks of Swarajists including No-Changers were not prepared to commit themselves on the information that was available to them that it was the deliberate intention of the Government, though it might easily be the indirect result of its policy, to cripple a party that had proved inconvenient to it. The Swarajists did not insist, as indeed no one in reason could, that a definite motive should be ascribed to Government on insufficient materials, so long as its policy was condemned in effect. In such condemnation there was no difference even of degree, between different parties, excepting of course Dr. Besant's, who felt constrained to support the policy in general. It was in no light-hearted spirit that this

condemnation was uttered. Everybody recognised the grave danger which anarchical conspiracies involve to the interests of the country; and those who denounced the policy did so mainly because, as was urged by Babu Bepin Chandra Pal in most earnest accents, the promulgation of the Bengal Ordinance would just create that atmosphere of silent public sympathy with anarchy which the revolutionary needs above everything else for the successful execution of his plans. The resolution laid great emphasis on the condemnation of violence. It was presumably to emphasize this point that the Conference committed itself to a not altogether historically accurate proposition that self-government was never won by violent methods. Morally wrong, violence was politically inexpedient. That was the truth that was enforced by the Conference upon all its delegates. The abhorrence of anarchy and condemnation of Government's measures as far in excess of the requirements of the situation were really common ground between all parties and a demonstration of this unanimity was not only of great political significance in its reactions upon English public opinion but was of very great value in promoting cordiality between members of different parties and thus conducing to common action on other public questions.

Perhaps it is for the best that the question of bringing back all parties in the Congress was not immediately carried to a head, but that the spirit of goodwill generated by the Conference was allowed to mature and gather strength before it could successfully essay the more difficult task. All the parties were no doubt eager in Bombay to explore the chances of reunion, but it is an open secret that there seemed little immediate prospect of the Independents or Liberals re-entering or the Non-Brahmans entering the Congress on the basis of the Gandhi-Swarajist pact. And the provisions of this pact Mahatma Gandhi would not modify in any particular. The pinning franchise, e. g., is a thing which no one but Mahatma Gandhi even seeks to justify, but even on this he is adamant. Non-co-operation and civil disobedience, he takes particular care to mention, are only suspended for a year, and that even during the year if civil disobedience is not actually resumed, preparations for it are to be in full swing. Even Lala Lajpat Rai insists upon the substitution of "abandonment" for "suspension" because, as he says, "the mere suspension of N.-C.-O. still leaves some people free to be continually talking of civil disobedience, which talk is rather a disturbing element." "I have read," Lalaji continues, "Mr. Sastri's criticism of this part of the pact and on the whole I am inclined to think that it has great force." But the Liberal objection to the mere "suspension" without "abandonment" of N.-C.-O. is not that some people will be free to talk about it, but that no less a person than Mahatma Gandhi is actually talking about it now, not as a remote possibility, but as a thing which he has at present in mind and which he hopes to launch forth within a twelvemonth. What is even more important, preparations for civil disobedience are to go forward from now. Again the position of supre-

macy assigned to the Swarajists in Congress politics in the Calcutta pact Mahatma Gandhi is unwilling to modify. Such an unbending attitude on his part could only have elicited not from the Liberals alone but from the Independents and certainly from the non-Brahmans a reply emphatically in the negative, if he had asked for such a reply. It is therefore best that an immediate answer was not called for, but that a Committee was appointed to examine the whole question of unity in the Congress.

We refuse to think, however, that the appointment of the Committee has only postponed the adverse decision for a few months. The spirit of amity produced by the Conference may yet be able to overmaster the many serious difficulties now experienced. One very hopeful circumstance is the fact that the reference to the Committee includes the most vital of all matters, the drafting of a scheme for Swaraj. So long, as the question of unity is only in the region of sentiment, it cannot naturally evoke much enthusiasm. But the scheme of Swaraj at once makes it an eminently practical question. Unless all the political parties meet together on a common platform a universally acceptable scheme cannot be formulated, and unless a united demand is made there is no chance whatever of such a demand meeting with a suitable response at the hands of the British authorities. It will also afford a good opportunity for men of all political persuasions to carry on a vigorous propaganda throughout the country. If unity becomes possible on this question, differences on other matters will in the first place become far more adjustable than at present, and in the second place the few differences that will remain will recede into the background in the eyes of all by the side of the unanimity already attained on the most important question. And on the definition and contents of Swaraj—not the Swaraj of the far-off times in the future, but the Swaraj of today and tomorrow—it is not at all improbable that there will be a substantial agreement. Unity on the Swaraj scheme thus seems to us to be the best approach to the wider unity in the Congress which we all desire but which does not seem immediately attainable, and we therefore think that the Conference in Bombay has taken the best course possible in appointing a Committee to consider the question of Congress unity and also charging this Committee with the task of framing a scheme of Home Rule. The measure of success that will attend the drafting of an agreed scheme will depend to a large extent upon the spirit which the members of the Committee bring to bear upon this work. If they take it up in right earnest, they will not only perform a public service which in itself is of the utmost importance, but will, in our judgment, pave the way most assuredly for a general unity on a permanent basis.

## WANTED—A TRUCK ACT IN INDIA.

### II.

#### CONDITIONS IN INDIA.

"Another benefit which is secured by legislation for workers in E. gland is freedom from undue fining. Truck Acts have been in force since 1831, but in India the workers are not pro-

ected in this way. Readers in England will be surprised at the power that employers in India have over their work-people. If they recollect at the same time that the great majority of the workers are illiterate and in many cases are incapable of understanding an elaborate system of fining, they will be in a better position to appreciate how great a need there is in India for something similar to a Truck Act."—Miss G. M. Broughton, in *Labour in Indian Industries*.

IN considering the conditions in India we have to bear in mind that they vary from province to province, place to place and factory to factory or mill to mill. They are not uniform and various systems prevail as to fines and other deductions from the wages of workmen. The question of 'truck' in the original sense of the word is not of much importance, as payment of wages in goods or otherwise than in the current coin of the realm is not at present in any considerable practice. In cities and in connection with industries conducted on a large scale, such practice is quite non-existent. If at all, it may be in existence in certain out of the way places and in connection with certain small industries. Of course, in agriculture this practice of paying wages in goods is prevalent to a large extent, but the labourers themselves would not like to have all the wages in cash and there is little ground to suppose that the agricultural employers profiteer in making part payment of wages in grain, etc. In some mills grain shops are maintained for the benefit of the workmen and the price of the grain supplied is deducted from their wages on the pay-day. In Bombay most of such shops are now closed and even when they were open there was no profiteering on the part of the mill-owners. On the other hand, the majority of these shops were conducted at a loss. Wherever such grain shops are conducted by the employers, the workmen are not compelled to purchase any grain from them. It is left to their option and therefore in this respect the workmen have no ground for complaint against their employers.

What calls for redress in India is the evil of 'truck' in a more extended sense of the word. The employers in India possess an unrestricted power to levy fines, to make deductions from wages or otherwise to put the workmen to monetary losses. There is no legislation in this country to protect the workmen against the arbitrary power of inflicting fines vested in the hands of the employers. Of course, if an attempt were made to restrict that power the plea for its necessity on the ground of the maintenance of discipline is sure to be advanced. But it should be remembered that the use of such power is not necessary for maintenance of discipline, just as the use of the birch is not essential for the teacher's profession. High wages and good discipline go together. Many works of high standing and efficient management have no recourse to fines. To inflict fines is a rough-and-ready method of maintaining discipline, as well as of dealing with spoilt work. Even supposing that it is necessary in the interest of discipline and careful work that the employer should possess some power to inflict fines, it cannot be contended that such power should be unrestricted and that the workmen should

be left at the mercy of their immediate superiors whose recommendations for fines etc., are generally accepted without question by the owner or the manager. In order to prove that the power of inflicting fines enjoyed by the employers at present is often unjustly used and that under a measure like the Truck Acts in England most of the systems of making deductions from the workmen's wages prevailing in this country would be considered illegal, I briefly describe below the methods of inflicting fines or making other deductions from the workmen's wages that are found to be in use in some of the large workshops and the textile mills in Bombay City.

#### RAILWAY WORKSHOPS.

In the workshops of one Railway Company the workmen have to sign an agreement written on a one rupee stamp paper at the time of employment. The language used for the agreement is English and therefore the workmen do not understand its terms and they sign the agreement as if it were a form of securing employment. In short, being in need of employment they blindly sign the document. A very peculiar system causing hardship to the workmen prevails in this workshop. If a workman is absent for more than three days in a month without leave, a sum equal to his wages for one day is deducted from the wages that may be due to him at the end of the month. He is sacked if he is found to be absent for six days in three months. Casual leave is not generally granted. The foremen have power to grant casual leave, but more often than not, they refuse to grant such leave. This causes many men to remain absent from work without leave. An application for sick leave must be accompanied with a certificate from the Company's doctor and before a workman is allowed to resume work after sickness he must produce the doctor's certificate about fitness. The workman has to wait long to obtain the necessary certificate. And a certificate given by a qualified medical practitioner other than the Company's doctor is not admitted as proof. The workman is not informed of the amount of fine when it is inflicted. The amount is deducted at the time of the monthly payment of wages and even then he is not informed why he has been fined. Sometimes a workman is suspended from work for even a fortnight by way of inflicting a fine upon him. The fines are inflicted by the foreman at the suggestion made by a chargeman or mistry. No appeal lies on the foreman's order respecting a fine. It is not known how the amount of fines levied from workmen is utilized. From investigation made it appears that it is not used for the welfare of the work-people.

In the workshops belonging to the other Railway Company, the rules regarding absence without leave are not so stringent and the workmen do not find it so difficult to obtain either casual or sick leave. The workmen, however, made complaint regarding loss of wages in another way. If a workman is late to arrive at the workshop, it is customary to consider him late by fifteen minutes, for which he does not get his wages. Such a workman according to the rules must be allowed to go into the workshop if

he does not arrive later than 8-15 a. m., but this rule is not strictly observed and the gate-keeper can prevent him from going inside if he takes it into his head, and such treatment of a workman on the part of the gate-keeper goes unpunished. The poor man has to remain absent for the whole day and lose wages therefor simply to satisfy the whim of the gate-keeper. Really speaking, the gate-keeper should have no discretion in this matter. The workmen of the Company have a grievance regarding the rent charged by the Company for the housing accommodation provided by it. The workmen employed on the railway line receive their wages after the amount of rent is deducted from them. Though the rooms are of the same dimensions with the same convenience, the rent is not uniform. The workman has to pay 10 per cent. of his wages as rent. This rule presses hard on the workmen of the lowest grade. The railway line is generally at some distance from the nearest town and it is the duty of the Company to provide housing accommodation to its employees at such places. Moreover, by providing housing accommodation near the line the Company reaps certain advantages. Deductions for house-rent in the case of workmen earning wages below a certain amount should be made illegal. This same Company has provided some huts for the coolies working in its workshop in Bombay and makes deductions from their wages on account of the rent due from them. These huts present a heart-rending spectacle during the rainy season. They are erected on a low level and without any plinth. When it rains the floor is submerged in water and it is easier to imagine than to describe the condition of the people who dwell in these wretched hovels. This is a sample of the care bestowed by the Company on its employees. It should not be legally possible for any employer to charge rent for such miserable housing accommodation.

The employees of the latter railway Company have not to pass an agreement to it as those in the former have to do. In the workshop of neither Company, the workmen are given to understand what would make them liable to fine, by putting up notices in the various departments.

#### THE COTTON MILLS.

The system of fines for absence without leave or deductions for spoilt work varies from one mill to another. It is a matter of personal equation in that the harshness or reasonableness of the system depends upon the kind of notion a manager or the head of a department entertains about good management, discipline and supervision. Some of the objectionable practices in the textile mills of Bombay that obtain at present and that would come within the purview of a Truck Act, if one were in existence, are as follow:—

In some mills the weavers, who are piece-workers, are made to take home the piece of cloth spoiled by them in the course of work and the price of the cloth is deducted from their wages on the pay-day. The piece is ordinarily 24, 38 or 40 yards in length and the rate at which the weavers are made to pur-

chase it is the same as is charged to the selling agent or the merchant who has given order for it. The loss sustained by the workmen in this respect varies according to the kind of the cloth. If that cloth is of such kind as is in demand in Bombay it fetches one or two annas less per yard, i. e. from Rs. 2 to Rs. 2/8/- less per piece. But the weaver has to suffer a greater loss if the cloth be of such a kind as is not in general demand in Bombay. In that case the piece fetches half the price charged by the mill to the workman. There are certain varieties of cloth for which orders are received from other provinces and there is rarely demand for them in Bombay. The weaver has of course to sell such pieces of cloth for whatever money he can get. Also in respect of cloth which is in demand in Bombay, the workman not being a shop-keeper has to sell it at a loss. On the other hand, the mills can dispose of the spoiled cloth without much loss to themselves. Some mills levy fines in cash for spoiled cloth and the amount of fine is, on the whole, not considerable. In the course of my investigation I found that in a mill, which is under the agency of a European firm and which does some welfare work for its operatives, the practice of making the weavers purchase spoiled cloth was prevalent. Some mills have discontinued the practice but some are still sticking to it. In view of the unnecessary loss to the weavers it ought to be declared illegal. In Reeling and Winding departments the women workers have to pay by way of fines monthly on an average from annas two to four each for spoilt work.

The practice of stopping the payment of wages, in case the days of absence are more than three days in a month, prevails in many mills. The wages in such cases are not paid on the usual pay-day but after the 25th upto the last day of the month. These wages are due to the workmen for the work during the previous month and therefore it means that they receive their monthly wages after a month from the date they become due to them. The monthly general pay-day falls in the middle of the next month and thus the millhands' wages are always in arrears by nearly a fortnight. This system tells hard upon them as they have to borrow money or purchase grain etc. on credit, and once they are in debt, they find it nearly impossible to extricate themselves from it. One can easily imagine the circumstances in which these people must find themselves if the payment of their wages is postponed still further. There is another practice which causes pecuniary loss to the mill operatives. This is called the *havala* system. In a number of mills in Bombay the workmen when discharged are not paid their wages due to them for the last month of their employment then and there, but have to wait till the regular pay-day. Most of the workmen who get discharge passes have to leave for their native places, and cannot afford to wait till the pay-day. A jobber then takes a letter of authority from him for receiving his wages on his behalf on the pay-day and advances the amount of his wages, pocketing discount generally at the rate of anna per rupee. Some jobbers who have cash to spare or who have regular dealings with Marawaris carry on this

trade and make good profit. In a few mills this *havala* is taken departmentally or semi-departmentally. Justly speaking, the workmen are entitled to get their wages paid to them at the time when they leave the employment and no deductions should be allowed to be made or the workmen be made to wait till the pay-day. In some mills jobbers and Naikins (forewomen) are allowed to carry on money-lending business within the mill premises and in a few mills some of the officers also participate in this business. This not only restricts the liberty of the workmen, but also gives rise to a good deal of jobbery and favouritism. Such money-lending business must be legally stopped.

The operatives in the mills have not to pass any agreement, nor are any notices put up in the departments, to inform them of the fines, deductions etc. to which they are subject. Where the weavers are fined in cash for spoilt work the amount deducted from their wages on that account is not invariably shown separately on the pay-ticket, and when it is not so shown, they have to make the calculation themselves to find it out.

#### CONCLUSION.

All these conditions point to the necessity of a Truck Act in this country. If investigations are made in other parts and in other industries, it is quite likely that worse features of the system of levying fines and making deductions from wages will be disclosed. Not only to organised industries but also to all business concerns and corporations employing persons in large numbers, the law of Truck should be made applicable. For instance, the scavengers employed under the Bombay Municipality are subjected to heavy fines. The monthly wages of a man or woman scavenger is Rs. 24-8-0 only, but for each day of absence Re. 1/- is deducted from the wages of a scavenger. Also in many factories and public or semi-public bodies work-people have to pay large sums to mukadams or other immediate superiors for the purpose of securing jobs, or even for obtaining leave. All these evils may not be immediately stopped through a Truck enactment, but they will be checked more or less and once these practices are declared illegal and punishable under law a way for further reforms will be paved. Some evils may linger for some time, but others are sure to be remedied as soon as the Truck Act is passed and comes into force.

P. G. KANEKAR.

#### LIBERALS AND THE CONGRESS.

THE Unity Conference has met and dispersed. What has it achieved in the way of unity? The appointment of a Committee to deliberate on the matter and report in March 1925. Who have come out triumphant as the result of the Conference deliberations? Not the Liberals; not the National Home Rule Leaguers of Mrs. Annie Besant; not the non-changers and Mr. Gandhi either. They are the Swarajists led by the subtle, wily, tactful Motilal Nehru. He has gained his point in making his party supreme in the coming Congress at Belgaum. He has got a free hand and authority from the Congress to do what he likes in the deliberations of the Legislative Assembly till March, when the Budget discussion

will be over. He would get things his own way in that quarter, by wooing the Independants and the few Liberals in that Assembly to his own side, with all the reinforcement of the Committee appointed to report on the unity to be. He has already secured, so to say, the unanimous verdict of the country on the Bengal Ordinance. There are *ifs* and *buts* in the resolution on that score so far as the anarchical and revolutionary movement in Bengal goes. But the condemnation is unequivocal. That gives strength to his side and party, in pressing home the resolution in the Assembly against the Viceroy's promulgations of the Criminal Law Act, so that the Liberals have so far been made useful tools to get the measure condemned while the unity so much talked of and hoped for remains only a dream to conjure with. What have the Liberals gained by this self-surrender either for themselves or the country? Nothing whatever, so far as sane politics goes. If there comes about even a semblance of unity, after the committee has reported in March next, of which the writer has very strong doubts, it will mean the complete surrender of the Liberal party and the principles for which it has stood all these years. It will surely pave the way for the extinction of that party in India, which is exactly what the Swarajist is aiming at in his subtle game of uniting the Congress and gathering the Liberals in its fold.

In times of crisis greater than the one that is supposed to lie ahead of us, the Liberals made bold to stand firm and uphold their principles and to abide calmly by the consequences of their action. Now that events have proved and justified the wisdom of the step they took four years ago, it will be suicidal for them and positively detrimental to the progress of the country to let themselves be merged into a party—for that is what the unity, if it comes at all, is going to mean—which is as much opposed to them in principles, policy and political temperament as anything could be.

To go into the Congress at this stage will not enable the Liberals to put it along right lines. It will inevitably put the Liberals along wrong lines as regards their own methods and policy of work. Was it for this that they faced the abuse and misrepresentations of many a respected leader of the non-co-operation party all these years? Was it for this they were called traitors, place-hunters and toadies by men like Lala Lajpatrai? We wish those who are so eager and anxious for unity at any cost to ask themselves if they have paused to think out what the principles are, for which they suffered so much.

With all their protestations to the contrary and just because they protest so loudly, the Swarajists have not ceased to be a party of revolution in principle if not in deeds. Otherwise its leaders like Pundit Motilal Nehru and Mr. C. R. Das would not have spoken and continued to speak in the manner they are doing about the revolutionary and anarchical movement in the country. Even at the Unity Conference on Sunday last they did not stop ringing changes on the same note, as any one can find out who reads their speeches between the lines. The Swarajists still continue to be the wing of the non-co-operation party, a party clearly and emphatically wedded to a programme calculated and planned to subvert the existing government in the country. They have not yet given up the idea of the probable and possible utilisation of the weapon of civil disobedience. Both the no-changers and the pro-changers hold the movement in suspense. They have not given it up yet, clean and once for all. How can you call all this constitutional, either in fact or in possibility? And how can the Liberals, without sacrificing themselves entirely, unite with the Swarajists under these circumstances? What good will

it do to them or to the country or to the clearing up of the political situation that is so much crossed and recrossed by currents and counter-currents of opinion and action?

There have been two types of extremists in India from the days of the Surat Congress of 1907. They are the physical force extremists or the anarchists and, secondly, the extremists that have no faith in the utility of any kind of constitutional agitation. The Liberals of those days led by Gokhale and Mehta put up a bold fight against both these wings of extremism. They countenanced neither. They refused to join hands with any one of them. The Swarajists of to-day, not to refer to the no-changers, constitute extremism of the latter type. And so long as there is no clear and unmistakable indication among them of a vital change of heart and spirit, whatever the change that may come in their skin, they do not become in any way different from their former selves. And, consequently, it is not for the Liberals, if they would remain loyal to their sound tradition of constitutional principle and responsible action, to make up with a party that is yet non-co-operationist in principle and ultimate purpose. If they do so, they will be showing to the world that they are offering nothing but lip-service to leaders like Gokhale and Mehta, by whom they swear so loudly and so often.

Even for the sake of Swaraj, they ought not to go in for such unity. For the unity that has come or will come about cannot be the unity of heart and spirit so long as neither of them has forsworn its past. Again, the import and meaning of Swaraj is not clear and consistent in the vocabulary of the Swarajist and the non-co-operator. That import and meaning changes with every passing gust of political weather. For the sake of the Unity Conference it may be granted to mean Swaraj within the Empire. But for all other occasions and in all other places it may be made to signify absolute independence. A third time it may be used to lend colour and complexion to any fantastic scheme springing out of the fertile and ingenious brains of a C. R. Das or a Gandhi. The Mahomedan may be made to interpret it differently from the Hindu. For Maulana Hazrat Mohani, Swaraj not only means absolute independence but is further split into the Hindu and the Mahomedan Raj, so that the Hindu may not suspect the Mahomedan of a collusion with the Afghan abroad! Will the Liberal, before taking a plunge into this chaos of phrases and fantasies, please consider what all this welters, in addition to the vagueness of the Congress creed as it stands in its modified form since the Ahmedabad sessions of 1921, will land him in? In the name of the Congress of old by which the Liberals swear so much, let them not make haste to return to the Congress as it is now. The principles for which the old Congress stood are, on their own statement, more faithfully adhered to in their own Federation of to-day. If the Swarajists have really grown sick of and given up non-co-operation, it is for them to come to the Liberal Federation which stands for the Congress of old as shaped by Dadabhai Naorojee, Mehta, Gokhale and their loyal adherents of to-day. It is not for the Liberals to go to the so-called Congress of to-day, rendered ridiculous and ineffectual by the defeated programme of non-co-operation. It still continues to be a body dominated by strange ideas, stranger crew and strangest leaders. We have no quarrel with the Swarajists and the no-changers if they still attempt to bolster up their defeated tactics in the Congress they dominate. Let them who rule the roost there try as best as they can, to repair the breaches they themselves have made. Our quarrel is with those Liberals who would go there when they know for a fact that their re-entry would not mean

real fusion or any reassertion of old and sound principles.

The proper task for the Liberals, in the face of all that is happening in the country at the present moment, is to crystallize opinion on their side, to win over the waverers, to consolidate their ranks, to weed out selfishness and to make a bold, strenuous, unrelaxing effort, by the help of ample funds, sound leadership, well-regulated organization and a practical programme, to win public opinion on the side of sobriety joined to courage and wisdom coupled with enthusiasm. The Liberal cause is failing or has failed in this country for want of such vital, organic filaments. For years, the leaders have been delivering themselves from the public platform of the need for building up this apparatus of work. But beyond speaking from the platform, they have not lifted even their little finger to do aught in the direction of realising it as a fact. As a result, the party has grown too fissiparous. If the few leaders that are still left in it see their way to cast off either their selfishness or sloth and concentrate on building up the organisation the party so badly needs, rather than flirt or coquet, in the name of unity, with those that are entirely alien to them in principles and method, their time would be more profitably employed and it would mean a sure gain to the country in the long run.

The Liberals have not incurred the hatred and ridicule of the country so long only to surrender their principles just when to stand firm by them is the clearest call of duty, if they really think of their country's interests and would save her from drifting downwards into imminent chaos and ruin.

Everyone who claims to stand by reason, ought in the present emergency, to stand firmly by principles for which Gokhale and Mehta in their own times, suffered on account of misrepresentation, calumny and abuse from their own countrymen. Thereby alone will the Liberals enable themselves to ensure the triumph of reason over sentiment and of steady advance and well-directed action over noise, confusion and set-back.

Let them well consider what it is that has made the Swarajist call so loudly for unity. He did not talk that language even three months back. It is the thorough-going rout of non-co-operation and the hollow triumph of his obstructionist tactics that make him shout out for unity with those whom he systematically derided and howled out of public life only a year ago. And on what terms does the Swarajist do that? Has he abated a jot or tittle of his methods? The Liberals are to join the Swarajists practically on the latter's terms. The proceedings of the Unity Conference have made the fact pretty clear. The Liberals, to use an apt phrase of Butler, "are to compound for the sins they are inclined to, by damning the sins to which they are not inclined." Says the Swarajist to the Liberal: "Because you and I do not both like the Bengal Ordinance, do please compound for my sins of non-co-operation by damning along with me the sin of the Bengal Ordinance." He adds: "I hold to my own, but you should support me and thus wash off your sin of separation from the Congress by crying aloud, along with me, against what we both dislike." That sums up the result of the Unity Conference, so far attained, by the pact of the astute Pandit Motilal Nehru with the simple-minded Mahatma, who together have woven a fine net to sweep into it as many gullible souls as they can catch. Is the Liberal to be any longer duped by it?

The Bengal Ordinance is used by the Swarajist as a party cry to fill up his ranks and buttress up a defeated and dying movement. Mahatma Gandhi has no go in him to counteract it effectively and therefore

he continues to be on good terms with Messrs. Das and Nehru, which has now become the *one* condition of whatever influence he holds either in the Congress or among the non-co-operators. And for all this game which Pandit Motilal Nehru knows to play so well, the Liberals are to be made a convenient cat's-paw. Have not the Liberals their own Federation where they could resolve, independently and fearlessly, on the Bengal Ordinance? The Lucknow session is meeting shortly where it could be better discussed than in the one-sided atmosphere of the Unity Conference in Bombay or the Congress at Belgaum. With the experience now gained of the Unity Conference in Bombay, we hope the Liberals will grow wiser and will not let themselves be used either by the Swarajist or the no-changer to register the latter's decree or dangle at his heels in the name of a unity that deceives no one.

The world is not going to be deceived by such a unity. Like a house of cards it will topple down at the first touch of reality as the Hindu-Mahomedan unity has already toppled down. The only result that it might lead to is that the Liberals would thereby make themselves the laughing stock of the world. They will not add either to their credit or to their influence in the country. They are damned enough in the eyes of the people by the machinations and howls of the non-co-operation group against them. Already they have sacrificed their popularity. Let them at least remain true to their principles. For their principles mean their character. Let them remain firm, and unshaken, true to their conscience and reason. To seek fusion with the Swarajist-cum-non-co-operator for the sake of unity and strength will mean, as things stand at present, a sheer perversity of reason. It will be the grossest miscarriage of duty on the part of the Liberals. Let the Liberals beware not to be taken in by the blandishments of the Swarajist party or its spokesmen. If they are once caught in the fine-woven meshes of the subtle Pundit and the wily lawyer, they will be completely strangled in them. And the result will be that their chance to be able to do anything for their country's salvation by its return to sanity and reason will be gone never to return. At any rate let them do nothing in haste and impatience, only to repent when it will be too late.

V. N. NAIK.

## CONTINENTAL LETTER.

BRESLAU, 3rd NOVEMBER.

THE great victory of the Conservative party in England at the recent elections has come as a great disappointment to all progressive quarters on the continent. To understand it fully one must remember the enormous effect which the Labour party's coming into power had on the political atmosphere of Europe. That atmosphere was then, owing to M. Poincaré's policy, charged with electricity as it never had been since the war. In Germany the end of the republic and of the unity of the state seemed near at hand. It was the resolute attitude of the Labour party in England, its determined will to come to real peace, that sent the first ray of hope into millions of hearts. Undoubtedly it served to weaken the position of M. Poincaré, who up to then had not been seriously impeded by his British colleague, Mr. Baldwin, and helped to overthrow the *bloc national*. It is self-evident then that a certain uneasiness should be produced on hearing that the same Mr.



Baldwin, whose impotence brought about such deplorable results in the past, is again to take the reins of the British Empire into his weak hands. However, things have settled in Central Europe during the last year to such a marvellous extent, the fever state in which the economic body of Germany has been for years has ceased so visibly—giving place, it is true, to a state of exhaustion and anæmia, which does not however exclude hope for the future any longer—that even a Die-hard government in Downing Street does not seem the acme of terror any longer. Up to now its worst effect is the encouraging influence it has had on the German reactionaries. With gigantic letters they announce in their papers the great message from England: Complete Defeat of the Socialists! The Red Pestilence on the wane! That the "red pestilence" is in reality very far from being on the wane, having gained little less than a million votes, they prefer not to tell their readers. They have a special reason for it. On the 7th of December the German elections are to take place. It did not require a special prophetic spirit to foresee their necessity already in May, when the result of the last elections became known. For the reactionary element then had become so strong that it seemed very doubtful if a stable policy could be continued with the small majority the government had yet at their disposal. It will be seen now if it is possible to beat the reactionaries thoroughly. When the last elections took place M. Poincaré had by his continuous humiliations and provocations of every sort succeeded in rousing the political passions to such an extent that the *chauvinist* parties did in consequence extremely well. Meanwhile circumstances have changed and it is to be hoped that the reactionaries have lost a good deal of their influence. Unfortunately they are in possession of sufficient means to endeavour to keep it, being the only ones in a totally impoverished country who are able to carry on political propaganda on a large scale. The result of these elections will no doubt be very important for the development of European politics. A victory of the reactionaries would mean the imminent endeavour to re-establish monarchy and to get rid of the treaty based upon the Dawes report. It would strengthen the worst efforts of capitalism in favouring the abuses of trusts and monopolies. The import duties on grain would be increased, industrial duties would follow suit. Instead of the necessary restoration of the social achievements of the revolution, which have been to a great extent abolished during the last two years—the eight hours' day and the workshop councillors' system,—the old despotism of the *entrepreneur* would rule again and the pauperisation of the masses would progress, not without seriously injuring the interests of Labour all over the world. These are fatal prospects. But it is to be hoped that the wave of reaction has already reached its zenith in this country.

LEVIN L. SCHÜCKING.

## REVIEW.

### THE MASS MOVEMENT IN INDIA.

INDIA'S OUTCASTES: A NEW ERA. By Rev. W. S. HUNT. (Church Missionary Society, London.) 1924. 7½ × 5. pp. 113. 1s. 6d.

UNDOUBTEDLY Mr. Hunt has got a gift for writing. His latest little book, written in a clear, simple and easy style, makes very pleasant reading and can be recommended to those who want to know about the fifty-two and a half million outcastes in India. Especially the first three chapters are admirable. What strikes the reader most is the vivid pictures the author gives us. One feels back again in Travancore in one of those little missionary outstations on the top of a hill, when he describes the little hut of the Pulaya and goes on: "The housewife is squatting just outside, scraping a small fish with her only cutting instrument—one can hardly call it a knife—and a very thin, once-white cat rubs against her, mewings! unceasingly. A cooking pot containing rice for the family meal is on the fire. A sickly baby lies near her; a bigger child is playing at the edge of the flooded field."

But evidently his knowledge of the high-castes and their customs is not so accurate as that of the depressed. One has not heard, for instance, of a Brahmin lady, polluted by the proximity or touch of an outcaste, having had 'to undergo other purificatory ceremonies' (than a simple ceremonial bath) 'involving the payment of fees before she could associate with her friends and relatives or eat her evening meal.' Also his idea of 'Dharma' seems to be rather vague. These are of course very minor points in the book.

But when one comes to the fourth chapter on 'What kind of Christians are They?' one cannot but feel that Mr. Hunt has much exaggerated the importance of the comparatively small percentage of good Christians in Mass Movement areas. A typical little missionary report to fascinate the readers in England! Of course it is only fair to say that the darker side is not entirely neglected.

Mr. Hunt calls the catechist who instructs these people 'the pin of the wheel.' A very apt name indeed! This forms the fifth chapter. The chapter on 'The New Era,' which is the sixth and the last chapter of the book, is to my mind not quite adequate. He just refers in passing to Roland Allen's interesting book, and gives only about a page and a half to Mr. Winslow's views on the methods employed in Mass Movement work.

The Indian Church to-day, Mr. Hunt will realise, is facing some big problems which are largely created by the Christians drawn from the lower classes. We cannot but admire the wonderful zeal, energy and amount of money the Western missionaries have given to the noble cause of uplifting these people who have been treated as worse than dogs by the high-castes for centuries past. By all means help them socially and economically, and teach them cleaner habits and sanitary living. But, is that Chris-

tianity? Or is it impossible without Christianity? If not, why baptise and add merely to numbers? That is what the Hindu asks. It is often said to-day that Christ attracts the best Hindus, but the Christians repel them. Have not the foreign missionaries been rather anxious to fill their churches and their reports? 'Always the king's business demands haste,' writes Mr. Hunt. Yes, in a sense. But God is not in a haste at the expense of real quality. On the other hand one is surprised at the extraordinarily slow but steady working out of His Purpose in the history of the human race. Then again, the writer of the Epistle to Diognetus says, describing the life of the Christians of the second century A. D., "Christians are not distinguished from the rest of mankind by country or by speech or by customs. For they do not dwell in cities of their own, or use a different language or practise a peculiar life. . . . They dwell in Greek or barbarian cities according as each man's lot was cast and follow the customs of the land in clothing and food and other matters of daily life." Can we say the same of the Christians in India to-day? It is unfortunate that Mr. Hunt does not face these burning questions of the day.

J. STEPHEN NARAYAN.

## MISCELLANEA.

### COERCION IN INDIA.

#### AN OLD MENACE REVIVED.

*The following forceful article by Sir Sankaran Nair appeared in the "New Leader":—*

THE news from India that Lord Reading has already made 56 political arrests, and has permitted or directed Lord Lytton to "summon the Legislative Council without delay, and place before it legislation on the lines of the old Defence of India Act" does not come as a surprise to those who have been following the course of events in India. It must be remembered that there is already an Act in force under which revolutionaries may be arrested by order of the Executive, and kept indefinitely in jail without being brought to trial. Lord Reading considers this power inadequate.

To realise the gravity of these steps we must recall the history of agitation in Bengal. When the Partition of Bengal by Lord Curzon, and the steps taken by Sir Bampfylde Fuller to suppress the protests against it, threw Bengal into a ferment, the "agitators" of Bengal were prosecuted before the ordinary civil courts of the country. In the majority of cases the prosecutions failed, because, in the opinion of the High Court, the case was supported by false witnesses; it was proved that the police were guilty of suppressing true evidence; it was proved that they manufactured evidence in various ways—for example, by placing bullets in incriminating places, and by introducing bombs into the dwelling places of the accused. The High Court found also that certain district magistrates lent their countenance to police pressure on witnesses, and that Sessions judges in many cases convicted against the evidence. All this appears in the published reports of the cases, which are available to anyone who desires details.

The Indian Government availed themselves of the opportunity of the war to pass the Defence of India Act, which it is now sought to revive. Under this Act the Executive were empowered to intern any person in a particular locality; with the result that he might not be able to carry on his profession; his printing press might be confiscated; any restriction might

be laid upon him—thus, for instance, he might be forbidden to make speeches or see any particular person. Under the same Act a man might be arrested and kept indefinitely in jail without being brought to trial.

For those who were to be tried new courts were or could be constituted, and new laws of evidence or procedure were prescribed.

Under this law terrible harm was done. As many of the persons arrested were never brought before a court of law, it is impossible to say how many were innocent. Many went mad; one notorious instance was brought to the notice of the Legislative Council. Another well known case was that of two Gosha ladies bearing the same name as another person who was a police suspect; they were arrested, kept in jail, while one of them, I believe, was in a condition which required the most careful treatment and were ultimately released. The Government expressed regret.

During the war there was no great agitation, but when after the war it was sought to retain this power by passing the Rowlatt Act, public indignation knew no bounds and though the Government passed the Act, they dared not put it in force. One of the first actions of the Reformed Council was to repeal it.

But the mischief was done. The Rowlatt Act, a repetition of the Defence of India Act, was responsible for an agitation unexampled in India. The Punjab, where it was first applied, rose in fury: Amritsar, Lahore, Jallianwalla massacres, indiscriminate arrests, trials and convictions, which recall the days of Jeffreys in England, followed. This Act was one of the two causes of the Non-co-operation movement. India lost faith in England.

It was under these conditions that the Reformed Councils met; there was hearty good will on the part of all within the Councils. The Non-co-operators stood outside.

The Rowlatt Act was repealed. But a Conservative Secretary of State turned down the unanimous recommendations of the Council, concurred in by the Government of India, for the admission of Indians to the army. The Viceroy, doubtless on the advice of the Finance Member, imposed a Salt Tax, a hateful tax, against the will of the Council.

The new Reform Scheme was thus killed by the Secretary of State for India and the Viceroy. The Provincial Governors acted similarly against the spirit of the reform.

The Non-co-operation party were strengthened and recommenced their agitation for Home Rule. The moderates, discouraged, stood aside.

Then the Labour Party came into power. In India there were great hopes that something would be done. Very few expected Home Rule, but the majority expected that some step forward would be taken by a Labour Government, irretraceable by any other party, and that this would in course of time lead to Home Rule.

Events have belied these expectations. To us in London it was quite clear within a few days of Labour's accession to office that the Party were not going to do anything. But no one expected they would go farther and revive a measure which has been responsible for a terrible conflagration, and has destroyed England's moral supremacy and Englishmen's influence for good.

This Act, as I have pointed out, would destroy freedom of speech, of the Press, and of the person. Trials would become a farce.

Let the accused persons have a fair trial before the ordinary courts of law under the ordinary laws of evidence and procedure. The Government say that witnesses are terrorised, so as to render justice unattainable under the existing law. But witnesses were terrorised by the police before the war so that the High Court was afterwards obliged to acquit the accused.

In order that witnesses may not be terrorised an open trial is not allowed; neither the accused nor his counsel is allowed to see the witnesses; the accused is told by the judges of the charges against him, and he may be told the nature of

the evidence, without the disclosure of names or anything by which the accused could identify the witnesses. There is also a provision that the statement of a witness before a magistrate may be admitted if the deponent "cannot be found or is incapable of giving evidence," so that if it should not suit the convenience of the police to produce the witnesses even the judges cannot test their evidence. Such was the Act which has mainly led to the present situation, and it is a similar Act that is to be reintroduced.

The Labour Party had a great opportunity. They have not risen to the occasion. Yet they had ample warning.

I have been for some years of opinion that it is only Indian brains and Indian hands that can keep India within the Commonwealth of English nations, and if the old system is allowed to continue India will have to be governed by Black-and-Tans till the final crash comes.

Bengal is already holding meetings and making its protest. An agitation may soon be expected which will widen the gulf between the races, discredit the British Government, and do incalculable harm to the Empire.

### BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATIVE CONFERENCE.

The Thirteenth Bombay Provincial Co-operative Conference will be held in Bombay at the Sir Cowasjee Jehangir Public Hall on the 29th instant and two following days. His Excellency the Governor of Bombay has very graciously consented to open the proceedings at 11-30 A. M. The Conference will consider subjects of general importance relating to the Co-operative Movement in the Presidency as a whole and with that view the following subjects have been selected by the Conference Committee for discussion:—

- 1 Co-operative Finance in Famine Areas.
- 2 Co-operative Cotton-Sale,
- 3 Development of Urban Banking.
- 4 Co-operative Insurance and Thrift,
- 5 Cattle Insurance,
- 6 Development of Consumers' Co-operation,
- 7 Co-operative Housing for Working Classes.
- 8 Labour Societies on Sukkur Barrage,
- 9 Constitution of the Institute,
- 10 Co-ordination of the arrangements for supervision and inspection of societies and for training Supervisors and Inspectors, and
- 11 Bombay Co-operative Societies Bill.

All co-operators in Bombay are cordially invited to attend the Conference. Tickets can be had at the Institute Office, Sardar Building, Apollo Street, Fort.

A Ladies' Conference at the same Hall will be held in the evening from 3 to 5, when Mrs. Hirabai Tata has kindly consented to preside. The ladies have only just made a beginning in co-operative work, and the Maharashtra Ladies Co-operative Society which is organising this Conference under the auspices of the Central Co-operative Institute hope that the ladies of Bombay will kindly make it a point to attend and give encouragement to the movement. Invitations are being issued to all ladies' organisations in Bombay; and other ladies also can get tickets on applying to the Secretary of the Institute at the address given above. Arrangements are also made to exhibit products of co-operative societies and ladies organisations. Exhibits will be displayed at the Hall.

A Mass meeting of the working classes in Bombay will also be held at Parel on the 29th instant at 7 P. M. at the Damodhar Thackeray Moolji Hall.

P. K. WARDE,  
Secretary,  
B. C. C. Institute.

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- FACTORY LABOUR IN INDIA. By R. K. DAS. (Gruyter Co., Berlin.) 1923. 8 x 5. pp. 216.
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- PUBLIC ACCOUNTS. PROVINCE OF MANITOBA. 1922-23.
- BUDGET SPEECH OF HON. F. M. BLACK. (Provincial Treasurer of Manitoba.) 1924.
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