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Editor: S. G. VAZE.

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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

Is it wise? APPARENTLY, with politicians of a certain type, there is nothing like stable equilibrium. The young cubs of the Swarajist Party, now returning from their mission in England, in expressing the dissatisfaction of their countrymen with Lord Birkenhead's speech, could not refrain from firing a shot or two at Mr. Ramsay Macdonald and Col. Wedgwood. The ostensible reason is that, while dissenting in certain particulars from the Secretary of State, they seemed pleased with the general tone of his remarks, which, in their judgment, did not amount to closing the door on negotiation. Now we all know the enormous difficulties against which the Labour Government had to contend and were willing to make allowances for them. Those whose existence is in constant danger cannot do much for others. The progressive Indian politicians visiting England last year waited in combined deputation on Mr. Macdonald and received assurances of continued goodwill and profound sympathy with the Home Rule movement here. He further implored them not to become impatient and mistrustful of their friends. Col. Wedgwood is a man of generous enthusiasms, and being impulsive in speech, is not above an occasional error of judgment. But his personal qualities make him attractive and it is generally allowed in all quarters that, "E'en his failings lean to virtue's side." To fasten a quarrel on undoubted friends like these, even were there an occasion for it, is not the best means of advancing the cause of India. We have often before expressed the opinion that the rejection of the budget in 1924 by the Assembly was lacking in consideration for the newly established Labour Government and greatly weakened their hands which were none too strong otherwise. They naturally complained of it at the time and complain still. Political friends, like other friends, must be

trusted and their seeming backwardness must be understood and suffered as far as possible with sympathy. The Swarajists in India derive inspiration from a wave of abnormal idealism which precludes their hearts ever knowing repose. We rather suspect that the representatives of this party have fallen into the hands of the extreme Left Wing of Labour which is in open revolt against the Parliamentary Party and making every effort to overthrow them. This wing is doubtless friendly to India but is not necessarily wiser than the members of the late government or more likely to befriend our cause successfully. Anyhow it is a measure of doubtful wisdom to take our stand under its flag and antagonise the followers of Mr. Macdonald and Col. Wedgwood. Lala Lajpat Rai has already sounded a note of warning. We trust the hint will be taken and the Swarajist leaders will succeed in preventing this act of indiscretion from leading to an estrangement.

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Swarajists in a huff. THERE is neither reason nor rhyme in the mood of silence into which the Swarajists in Bombay Council have got. There is no consistency between the short speech made by Mr. Jayakar in the Council and the statement issued by him and the other Swarajist members for the next day. In the Council Mr. Jayakar declared that they were refusing leave for the introduction of Mr. Bole's Bill because the non-Brahmans had joined Government in refusing leave for Mr. Joshi's Bill; while the statement declares that the participation of the Swarajists in Council work has resulted in driving the Government, the non-Brahmans and the Mussulmans into each others' arms and has promoted the communal and personal interest of the latter and that if they did not participate in Council the demands of the non-Brahmans and Mussulmans would be considered on their merits. If it was retaliation against non-Brahmans as declared in the Council by Mr. Jayakar, it was wrong because they had voted on merits and not on party lines, as was evident by their granting leave to Mr. Bhopatkar's Bill after refusing it to Mr. Joshi's Bill. If the vow of silence for the rest of the Council's life is, on the other hand, a matter of deliberate policy, nothing can be more futile or ridiculous. This course was open to them from the beginning, but they wisely rejected it in favour of partial responsive co-operation, for which they indeed earned the approbation of the country. They are only about 25 in the Bombay Council and it is ridiculous to

suppose that in order to counter them, the Government was forced into an alliance with non-Brahmans and Mussalmans. It is not by remaining silent but by opposing all unreasonable proposals, and supporting all reasonable ones, whether from Government or other parties, that they will be serving the country and their own constituents as they claim to be eager to do.

* * *

INDIAN LABOUR AND MAURITIUS. KUNWAR MAHARAJ SINGH'S valuable report on the condition of Indian labour in Mauritius is an eye-opener to all of us. Hereafter it would be quite unpardonable for Government or the Legislature to permit labour emigration to any distant colony without previously deputing a responsible Indian, official or non-official, to report on the exact state of things in that colony. Kunwar Maharaj Singh reports that the permission accorded in 1923, in response to the request of the deputation from Mauritius, for the emigration of a limited number of labourers was a great mistake. Between December 1923 and June 1924, 1395 labourers were recruited on terms approved by our Government. But of these quite 60 per cent. have already returned to India and some 20 per cent. are expected to return shortly. This was partly due, we are told, to a wrong type of men being recruited. But the chief cause was that there was no need to import more labour and the wages paid were not up to the agreed standard. While that standard required a payment of at least Rs. 40 a month, neither the estates nor the Mauritius Government on its works paid as much as Rs. 35—except for scavengers, who were paid Rs. 1-8-0 a day. We suppose it is only these that will remain in Mauritius till their contract period of two years is over. But it does not add to the glory of our country or enhance our prestige to supply scavengers to the various colonies. "No attempt was made by the Protector of Immigrants or anyone else to see that the wages earned came up to the scale laid down"—because they were paid about the same wage as the Mauritius Indians working by their side "That there was not more destitution among the immigrants is due to the fact that many of them were unmarried men or unaccompanied by their wives."

Another important point mentioned by Mr. Maharaj Singh is that the planters and the Government of Mauritius, the employers who waited in deputation on our Legislature two years ago, have now revised their ideas about importing Indian labour. They do not find the free emigrant of today, with liberty to change his employer after a month's notice, the same docile person that the indentured labourer of twenty years ago was. So they have discovered that there is not really work enough for fresh immigrants. Nor are other conditions of labour satisfactory: the housing accommodation on the estates ought to be better and more Indian medical men ought to be employed; when an estate labourer is incapacitated by illness his dependents are not given rations; there is no Workmen's Compensation Act, children are not prohibited from working in factories, and the sale of liquor is too free. So that Mr. Maharaj Singh recommends that "no more unskilled labour should be sent to Mauritius in the immediate or near future." If he does not recommend emigration to the colony being finally closed, it is only because one does not know what may happen in the next ten or twenty years.

* * *

Muslim Education & Bombay Government. A notable feature of the Muslim Educational Conference that was recently held here in Poona, was the emphasis it laid on self-help. H. H. the Mir of Khairpur, who presided over it, exhorted the wealthy

people in the community to co-operate in founding scholarships on the lines of the Tata scholarships, suggested that religious and charitable endowments should be utilised for promoting education and appealed to self-sacrificing young men to form themselves into associations for cheapening education and for propaganda. He said:

It is to be regretted that private enterprise is conspicuous by its absence amongst us. In our sister communities we find a selfless band of workers organising societies for the promotion of education and here we see around us a number of schools and colleges run on most selfless and sound principles. We have not yet reached the stage to evolve such an organisation but it is now time that we stood on our legs and discarded borrowed crutches. We should not approach Government every time. Nobody can help us to such an extent as we can help ourselves.

While we fully appreciate these sentiments, we should remind our readers, however, that the Bombay Government has done much more for Muhammadans than for any other Indian community, as will be apparent from a perusal of the interesting note which the Director of Public Instruction has recently prepared on the progress of Muslim education in the last ten years. Take for instance the case of scholarships in the Presidency proper. Though the Muslims are "more than twice as advanced as the Intermediate Hindu Community in primary education and on the whole, and from 3 to 4 times in secondary and higher education"—the scholarships provided for them are two to four times as numerous, proportionately to population, as for Intermediate and Backward Hindus. Thus in secondary schools Muslims have one set of seven scholarships for every 15,000 of the population while the Intermediate Hindus have one for 50,000 and the Backward or Depressed classes have one for 40,000. In arts and professional colleges the Muslims have 2 and 27 scholarships respectively against 1 for Intermediate and Backward Hindus. Indeed the scholarships have been so numerous that some remain unawarded. One might well question the fairness of a policy which favours so much one community at the expense of the general taxpayer—a community which is not absolutely backward, which is no doubt behind Parsis and Brahmans, but is very much in advance of the Hindu masses who form 80 per cent of the population. This policy is carried to an extreme in Sind where we are told "a definite principle is followed that no Hindu is newly recruited if a Muslim with similar qualifications is available." No Hindu graduate may be taken as teacher so long as a Muhammadan graduate is at all available. It is not a question of more Muhammadans and fewer Hindus but all Muhammadans and no Hindus. The Bombay Government's motto in respect of education seems to be: God help those who help themselves!

* * *

Dowsing again *A propos* of our remarks last week on dowsing, we cull from the *Examiner* of the 15th the following interesting further details:—

This use of the divining rod has certainly a natural explanation. It may surprise many to learn that this art or science has quite an extensive literature going back to the seventeenth century. In 1913 and again in 1923 congresses of water-diviners were held at Paris. A priest in the north of France was recently decorated for his services to agriculture in this direction. A great many villages owe their water to him; important industries have not disdained his services; and he was called in by the military authorities to find water for the soldiers. The instance is given of his discovering water for a factory at a depth of 145 metres, underlying a chalk bed 95 metres deep.

THE PROTOCOL AND INDIA.

JUST as the delegates representing the Government of India are about to proceed to Geneva to attend the Sixth Assembly of the League of Nations, the Foreign and Political Department at Simla issues the reply given to the League by the India Office on the "Draft Protocol on the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes" the acceptance of which the Fifth Assembly on October 2nd of last year had "recommended to the earnest attention of all the members of the League," of which India happens to be one.

India indeed happens to be a member of the League of Nations in her own full right: but so little can the two terms "India" and "Government of India" be identified, that the most important and vital proposal ever put forward by the League, to wit the Protocol, can be turned down by a letter which a Secretary for "Economic and Overseas Affairs" in the India Office in London is permitted to despatch within 26 days of a letter of enquiry having been posted at Geneva! Never was weightier matter more treated *en baletelle*: and it is a poor excuse to say that the Government would never have dared so to treat it, had they not been sure that nobody in India cared tuppence about the answer to be given, about the Protocol or, for the matter of that, about the League itself. That public opinion is not very deeply concerned about the League, as about Foreign Affairs in general, is quite true: but discussions which have taken place from time to time, and with increasing frequency and intensity, in our Central Legislature, and notably last spring in the Legislative Assembly, are an earnest that Indian public opinion is beginning to insist on its natural right—diarchy or no diarchy—to be consulted, before decisions of surpassing magnitude are made in its name. As one member on Feb. 12th suggested, if India cannot exercise the rights conferred upon her through her original membership in the League, she will soon have to consider whether she can conscientiously continue to remain a member of the League and thus seem to give to things done in her name an approval which she could not have given, had she had a chance of voicing her own views on the subject. Technically, the matter is a reserved subject: but one wonders, whether it would be very palatable to the British delegation at Geneva to find on arrival there that a majority of the Indian Legislature had circularized every delegate attending the Assembly, setting forth the reasons why the Indian delegation does not represent Indian public opinion and why and in what respects Indian public opinion is diametrically opposed to the attitude which the official Indian delegation has been instructed to adopt? There are always more ways of doing things than by mere frontal attack and we suggest that if only our Legislature felt strongly enough on any point it is practically not so powerless as theoretically it appears to be.

Whether our Legislature should feel so strongly on the question of this Protocol, is another

question; but it certainly is one, that deserves very close attention. In our issue of April 23rd we developed the general point at issue and we therefore refer our readers to that: but we then did not deal with the question, as to how the Protocol affects India.

Pace Mr. Turner, by whose pen the judgment of India is presumed to have been uttered, India is not interested in 20 out of the 21 articles of which the Protocol consists, but only cares about art. 11 which interprets the sanctions that India can be called upon to apply against any "State which resorts to war in violation of the undertakings contained in the Covenant or in the present Protocol." (art. 10 of Protocol.) The Government of India, we are told, have been "forced to the conclusion" that

"India's 'geographical position and particular situation as regards armaments' (Article 11) would in the peculiar circumstances of Asia mark her down as a nation on which the League under the Protocol would ordinarily call to apply immediate sanctions against a recalcitrant State in the East. This would place a heavier burden on her military and financial resources than she could bear, and might be subjecting some one or other of the many communities or religions which are comprised in her population to a strain to which it would be improper to subject them."

Now a "recalcitrant" State is, to begin with, a curious word to employ as synonym for "aggressor." The case considered by art. 11 is that, of, say, Japan invading the Philippines or of Afghanistan Persia. In the latter case no doubt India would be under art. 11 liable "to apply sanctions"—but only "in the degree which its geographical position and its particular situation as regards armaments allow." Now that very geographical position could be taken as excusing India from, say, invading Afghanistan and thus opening the whole of her N. W. frontier to an Afghan invasion. Again, India's "particular situation as regards armaments" clearly is such that she is both without an army of her own and without the resources of financing any such costly war as an invasion of Afghanistan would imply. Moreover the "strain" to which such a war might be subjecting "one or other of India's many communities" would in itself prove India's inability of taking any very prominent part in the repulsion of, say, Afghanistan's attack upon Persia.

For all that, we quite agree, that we do not like art. 11 of the Protocol. But as a matter of fact, this article does not commit India to an altogether new course of action. For art. 16 of the Covenant provides already—Protocol or no Protocol—that, should any State resort to war against a Member of the League, "it shall *ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other Members of the League, which hereby undertake immediately" to sever relations &c. &c. and "the Council shall recommend to the several Governments concerned what effective military, naval or air force the Members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used." So that, in the fictitious case of Afghanistan invading Persia, India already is and remains bound to sever all re-

lations with Afghanistan and already will in that case immediately be deemed to be at war with Afghanistan. Now this undertaking India entered into when she signed the Treaty of Versailles on June 28th 1919 and there is no doubt about it that the undertaking is a very serious one. But of this serious undertaking Mr. Turner is told to say nothing and his reply reads for all the world, as if it was to be created by the *Protocol*, instead of admitting that it exists already under the *Covenant*; the *Protocol* merely specifying the manner in which the *covenanted* obligation is to be carried out. Therefore to make art. 11 of the *Protocol* the sole excuse for a refusal to sign the *Pro'oco*, is—to say the least of it—somewhat specious, not to say disingenuous.

But we repeat that we do not like and never have liked, whether art. 11 of the *Protocol* or the whole idea behind it, of meeting war by war. We therefore would have been the last to object to India's refusal of accepting the *Protocol*, as it stands, including art. 11 and the cognate provisions. But the *Protocol* is very much more. It is before everything else an international instrument binding its signatories to compulsory acceptance of the jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice (art. 3), to compulsory arbitration and conciliation (artt. 4—7), and to participation in a Conference for the all round reduction of armaments (art. 17). Now we submit, that even if the articles referring to the making of war upon war deserve amendment or excision even, there is so much that is good left in the *Protocol* that at least reference to these points should in mere decency have been made, instead of dismissing the whole intricate problem in a few lines penned by some subordinate official of the Indian Office. Such cavalier treatment ill becomes the dignity both of the League of Nations and of India and surely is not in accordance with the intentions of India herself.

India can clearly not be presumed to be against acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court at the Hague, nor against compulsory arbitration and reconciliation, nor against all-round reduction of armaments. In every single one of these cases India has got only to gain much and to lose absolutely nothing, seeing that she is most decidedly not a militarist nor imperialist nation, seeking to impose her will on neighbouring countries. India has not yet signed the proviso whereby she can accept the jurisdiction of the Hague Court as compulsory in relation to any other State accepting the same obligation: and one may well ask, why not? No answer has yet been made to that question and in the absence of one, the man-in-the-street will conclude that though such acceptance might well suit India, it apparently does not suit England, which wishes to keep herself free to settle international disputes, not by the way of international right, but by that of national might. But why should India be made a party to that?

We hope sincerely that the whole question will be made the subject of some searching questions at the forthcoming Simla session of our Central Legis-

lature and that the latter will not rest until India has demonstrated to the *League*, that it is not India that wants to safeguard her right, to go to war as she pleases—and still less, as England pleases.

THE IMPASSE.

THE present labour crisis in Bombay, though as grave as the one of last year and even the one which occurred in 1919-20, has attracted far greater public attention and public sympathy than either of the two previous ones. The reasons for this welcome change are not far to seek. In the first place, this crisis is not the creation of labour; it is the creation of capital the latter having decided to reduce wages by 11½ per cent. from 1st September next in order to alleviate the very acute and almost unprecedented depression of the textile industry in Bombay. In the second place, the initiative of labour and the courtesy of capital have created a precedent, the first of its kind in Bombay at any rate, of the two partners in industry sitting together for the purposes of trying to avert an impending common catastrophe. Lastly, there has been admirable co-operation and unanimity of opinion among all the active labour organizations in Bombay, which has enabled the spokesmen of labour to put their case before the millowners, the public and the Governor with frankness and force coupled with restraint and moderation. It is no wonder, therefore, that the combination of these factors should invest the present crisis with that attention and sympathy which its gravity justly demands.

None can deny that the textile industry in Bombay is in a most precarious condition and unless some drastic steps are taken its future is imperilled. The Bombay millowners attribute the present plight of the industry to Japanese competition, the exchange policy of the Government of India and cotton excise duty. I refuse to believe this in its entirety. I recognise that Japanese trade with India in yarn and piece-goods has in recent years increased with amazing rapidity; but it has not become so alarming as to threaten the very existence of our industry. The Japanese imports in yarn and piece-goods form only 1.5 and 5. per cent. respectively of the home production. The balance of piece-goods available for home consumption after deducting the total exports from production and imports, the Japanese piece-goods bear a proportion of only 4.2 per cent. Can it be seriously contended that this proportion of Japanese goods brings down prices to such an extent that even after they are disposed of there should be no demand for Indian cloth?

With almost one voice India has demanded the abolition of the cotton excise duty and none will be gladder than labour if it is abolished. The duty has a bad political history behind it and whenever an attempt is made to consider it on its merits, feeling is roused and the main issue is sought to be obscured. Every time the question of the improvement of labour conditions in Bombay is raised,

the excise duty is held forth as the greatest impediment of the way. Labour is, therefore, convinced that unless and until this duty is removed, there is hardly any chance of its condition being improved. It is mainly for this reason that it has supported the abolition of the duty. Otherwise, its existence now when there is a higher countervailing import duty of 11 per cent, cannot be objected to on the score of being a tax on the Indian industry for the benefit of Lancashire. Moreover, it is doubtful whether its abolition, while it will give some relief to the mill-owners, will benefit the industry as a whole. Another point to be noted in this connection is that when for some years the import duty and the countervailing excise duty were at the same level, viz., at 3½ per cent., not only was our industry making profits but also developed considerably its productive capacity by adding to its spindles and looms. It is, therefore, all the more surprising that with a protection of 7½ per cent over imported goods, the Indian industry should not be able to support itself. The excise duty, if abolished, will bring relief to the millowners to the extent of about Rs. 1'65 crores: but their net losses amount to Rs. 2'80 crores. Its abolition therefore will not suffice.

The real causes which have brought the Bombay cotton industry to its present deplorable state lie in its system and administration. The agency system has created vested interests and placed the industry in incompetent hands. The fact that India has lost her great market in China and is losing some other markets also is a most damning comment on the administration of our mills. The system has given rise to corruption and bribery to an alarming extent. The sooner it is overhauled or abolished, the better for the industry. If it is contended that the agency system is based upon legal contracts of three generations old, then all I can say is that it is high time the contracts were drastically revised or wholly done away with. They are not unalterable like the laws of the Medes and Persians. Only recently we have had the proposal that the Permanent Settlement of Bengal must be upset if that province is to progress in various directions and surely the agency system in mills is not more sacrosanct. The internal administration of the mill industry is so rotten and has become so obsolete that its continuation will only hasten the ruin of the industry. It is astonishing that an industry which professes to claim seventy years' experience behind it, should not have foreseen the coming of bad times after the war and have made no provision against them, especially when it had, only a short time ago, an era of fabulous profits, which in 1920 reached the staggering figure of 182 per cent. over the pre-war year (1913). The present conductors of the industry ought to have known that the modern system of industrialism has its periodical cycles of prosperity and depression and that the latter have to be provided against in the prosperous condition of the industry. Nothing has

been done in this direction. The machinery in several mills in Bombay is as old as the industry itself and it was not replaced even in those times when their total profits in three years had reached the modest figure of Rs. 36'41 crores—an amount greater by Rs. 16'41 crores than the total capital invested in the industry. Is it any wonder that the average yield of the spindles and looms should diminish and reduce the productive capacity of the mills? Then there is the difference between the price at which cotton is actually purchased from the cotton grower and the price at which it is charged when calculating the total cost of production. This difference, owing to the middleman's profits, going however under the name of local taxes, is, we know, very great and when it is borne in mind that the purchase of raw material forms over 60 per cent of the total cost of production, we can well realise the extent to which the middlemen's profits must be adding to the total cost. Similarly, the heavy brokerage and commission charges also swell the cost of production. Then there are the overhead charges. The superior staff are much more numerous than necessary and their salaries are disproportionate to the work they do. For these and other reasons the industry is steadily going down and it will surely reach the verge of extinction if matters are not soon mended.

To avoid the catastrophe, the whole system and administrative machinery of the industry must be completely overhauled and reorganised; nothing short of it will improve the situation. It is surprising that knowing as they do the condition of their industry, the Bombay mill-owners should have sat so long with folded hands and done nothing for setting their house in order. Long ago they should have taken courage in both hands and started an expert enquiry into the whole situation. Instead, they remained content with receiving their interest, commission and profits; only now when they have no money to run their concerns, they send up a wail and quickly lay the blame for the present plight of the industry at others' doors. They not only do not want to reorganise their industry and effect retrenchment and economy but they want to perpetuate the present system and administration and the consequent extravagance by securing protection to their industry by higher import duties on foreign cloth and export duty on cotton. Those who have followed the debates in the Legislative Assembly will recall the admission made in the last Delhi session by the Hon. Sir Charles Innes, the Commerce Member of the Government of India, that the method of giving protection to the steel industry by a high tariff wall had broken down owing to the dumping of cheap continental steel in India and that, therefore, Government were forced to give some more protection to that industry by means of a bounty. A high tariff wall is always a questionable remedy for preventing dumping and for protecting an industry; while its surest effect is that it puts a most unwarrantable burden on the consumer—a burden which is the greater the higher.

the protection that the industry gets. The export duty on cotton means less demand for cotton, which again means a serious loss to the cotton grower. The net effect of these two proposals, if adopted, will therefore be, on the one hand, to put an unbearable strain on the consumer's poor purse and, on the other, to help the perpetuation of a wrong and ruinous system on which the Bombay mill-industry is being run. The only effective remedy is, in my opinion, to institute immediately an expert enquiry into the condition of the mill industry and adopt measures which place it on a sound basis.

In conclusion, just a word about the attitude of the Government, both central and provincial. I quite recognise that the Bombay Government have no statutory powers for intervening in the present struggle but surely they can provide against unemployment in case a general strike breaks out. There is plenty of time for them to find out ways and means for making this provision and I feel confident that the Bombay Council, whatever its complexion, will vote any such amount as may be necessary for unemployment relief measures.

As regards Simla, it is now understood that the millowners are sending a deputation to the Viceroy asking for the abolition or suspension of the cotton excise duty. Labour has always supported this step, but on this occasion, when the millowners have unceremoniously rejected all its proposals, it can only support this abolition or suspension on the clear understanding that the savings resulting therefrom will be first utilised for neutralizing the proposed wagecut. While therefore we wholeheartedly support this abolition or suspension we with equal emphasis simultaneously must demand the cancellation of the wagecut. I trust that the Viceroy will not ignore labour's claims on this vital occasion and I fervently hope that the Government, both of India and of Bombay, will at this supreme moment not fail to prove by deeds to the broad labouring masses of our country that sympathy, which they have always maintained to be of their very *raison d'être*.

R. R. BAKHALE.

REVIEWS.

THE IDEAL OF KINGSHIP.

THESE are the days of democracy, of socialism, of equality, even of bolshevism. Yet, these catchwords do not hold the field uncontested. The latest utterances of Mussolini at the Fascist Congress would declare a war against all democracy, and liberalism, and socialism. It cannot be gainsaid, however, that the general trend of modern civilisation is towards democracy. Scientific inventions, and the liberalisation of the human intellect have generally put all men on the same level, and it would seem difficult to talk in these days of Kingship. A real veritable Kingship, where the King is not a mere automaton as in certain present constitutions, but where he really rules and rules beneficently, is what surpasses our imagination at the present day, and yet this was verily the state of

things in those old days when King Asoka ruled. Beneficent Tyranny, using the word in the Greek and not in the modern sense, has been held up as the ideal form of Government by certain writers, and if the aim of a King could be conceived as the entire abnegation of his own self and one-pointed devotion to the cause of his subjects, such a King was to be found in the personality of the great pre-Christian Indian Monarch, Asoka, the grandson of Chandragupta.

2 A very able monograph* on Asoka has recently seen the light of day, and we cannot thank too much Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar for his able re-construction of Asoka's life and activities through a study of the Rock and Pillar Edicts left by the great Emperor. The one compelling aim of the writer is to try to educe a faithful account of Asoka not from any mythological biographies of him that may have been left to us, but from the actual inscriptions on Rocks and Pillars that the great Emperor caused to be carved. This method of re-construction of Asoka's life was indicated some years ago by M. Senart, and Prof. Bhandarkar has followed the clue, and ably re-constructed Asoka's life from those inscriptions. By a very fruitful study extending over a large number of years as Professor of Ancient Indian History in the University of Calcutta, Prof. Bhandarkar has produced a work which may easily be seen to do credit both to himself, as well as to the University which has undertaken its publication.

3. In his first Chapter, Prof. Bhandarkar discusses the meaning of the terms "Priyadarsi" and "Devanam Priya" which are to be almost invariably found in the inscriptions he is considering. When James Prinsep first deciphered these inscriptions about seventy-five years ago, he was, as Prof. Bhandarkar points out, greatly puzzled by the name Priyadarsin. He did not know "who this Priyadarsin was, to what dynasty he belonged, and in what age he flourished." It was Turnour, of the Ceylon Civil Service, who was later successful in identifying Priyadarsi with Asoka. That Priyadarsi was a title given to Asoka, as well as to his grandfather Chandragupta is evident from the Sinhalese Chronicles. It is necessary thus to understand Priyadarsi as a Biruda, or royal appellation, of grandson and grandfather alike. Then, again "Devanam Priya" was also a title given to kings before the Christian era, to tell the subjects of the kings that the kings ruled over them as by Divine Right. Hence, the two expressions Priyadarsi and Devanam Priya which occur in the Asokan inscriptions tell us that Asoka ruled as if by Divine Right, and was one who saw God everywhere.

4. As regards the private life deducible from Asoka's inscriptions, from one Pillar Edict we know that Asoka had certain women other than his queens, and that his Avarodhana was not all in Pataliputra but that some of its members stayed in the mofussil. It does not seem improbable, as Prof. Bhandarkar points out, that Asoka, king as he was, had some left-handed wives. We also gather from the inscriptions that it was customary with Asoka to kill two peacocks and one deer every day for his food. But Asoka tells us that though he liked the peacock even more than the deer, he was sorry that any animals should have been killed at all, and he therefore orders that no animals should be killed thenceforth for his table.

5. As regards the regal life of Asoka to be gathered from his inscriptions we know how Asoka

* Asoka. By D. R. Bhandarkar M.A., Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta. 1925. pp. xviii + 346.

substituted his Dharmayatra for the Vibarayatras of former kings, viz., while former kings went out merely for the sake of sport, Asoka went on his tours for the administration of justice. We know, however, that Asoka adopted the practice of undertaking Dharmayatras in the tenth year of his reign, when he visited the "Sambodhi", or the place where the Buddha obtained enlightenment. Nor was Asoka entirely blind to the efficacy of the holding of certain public functions which might provide amusement for his people. In this connection, we are told that Asoka had ordered that certain Samajas be performed in order that they might please the palate or the eye or the ear of the people. Thus while he must have feasted the populace, he must have also held dancing and wrestling meetings, as well as provided music for his people. When Asoka gave up meat-eating himself, he must also have forbidden the Samajas where animals were slain to serve meat for the public table. But it seems also that there was nothing in other kinds of Samajas for him to object to, and that he continued them in order that there might be amusement for his people.

6. By a very critical survey of the various Rock and Pillar inscriptions of the territories mentioned as having come under the suzerainty of King Asoka, Prof. Bhandarkar comes to the conclusion that the extent of Asoka's dominions included "the whole of India except the southern extremity of the Peninsula, held by the Chola, Pandya, Satiyaputra and Keralaputra kings" (p. 45). Asoka ruled over the whole of this empire in a benign spirit, as he tells us himself in one of his edicts: "All men are my children, and just as I desire for my children that they obtain every kind of welfare and happiness both in this and in the next world, so I desire for all men." Asoka regarded himself as simply a Paterfamilias of the great human family. He specifically insisted upon justice being done to every one of his subjects. Those who were deputed to look after the Districts, namely, the Nagarvyavaharikas, were warned by King Asoka to guard themselves against "envy, lack of perseverance, harshness, impatience, idleness and sense of weariness." If they did not rule their territories well, they were threatened that a Mahamatra would be sent every five years to see that the administration of justice was carried out in the proper way. The Mahamatra was a touring Supervisor of Justice, who saw that justice was being administered in every one of the territories under his jurisdiction. The Dharmamahamatras were Asoka's own creation, and he appointed them for the first time in the 13th year of his reign. "The welfare of the whole world is an esteemed duty with me", says King Asoka, "and the root of it is exertion and despatch of business. I can therefore never be satisfied too much with my exertion, or despatch of my business in the matter of administration"; and, Asoka tells us that "he caused this document of Dhamma to be engraved in order that it may endure for a long time, and that his sons and grandsons may similarly exert themselves for the welfare of the whole world." Such was the very high ideal which Asoka had set for himself as King.

7. Asoka claims to be not merely the temporal head of his kingdom, but also the spiritual head. Had it not been for the great impetus which Asoka gave to Buddhism, it would never have thrived as it did. It is therefore wonderful to find that certain scholars who began to decipher the inscriptions first should have doubted the Buddhist faith of Asoka. H. H. Wilson for example, ventured to dispute his Buddhist faith, and Edward Thomas held that Asoka was a Jain first and became a Buddhist afterwards. The question as to whether Asoka was a Buddhist or not is now settled once for all by

the very important Bhabru edict discovered in the ruins of an old monastery at Bairat in the northern part of the Jaipur State. There Asoka definitely refers to certain Dhamma Pariyayas or Buddhist canonical texts, which it was his earnest wish should be studied by monks and nuns, as well as lay gentlemen and gentlewomen. At the opening of the Edict, Asoka definitely expresses his reverence for Buddha Dhamma, and Samgma exactly in the well-known trinitary formula of Buddhism. This Edict sets to rest all doubts as to whether Asoka was a Buddhist. But the question arises when he became a follower of Buddhism. In Rock Edict VIII, Asoka tells us that he repaired to the "Sambodhi" in the 10th year of his reign. Here, the word "Sambodhi" has been interpreted by scholars as meaning supreme knowledge or illumination; but Prof. Bhandarkar points out that it were more in the fitness of things to regard it as the place where Buddha obtained enlightenment. Then the text would mean that Asoka repaired to the place of Buddha's illumination in the 10th year of his reign, and from other references, it would seem that he had become a Buddhist a year or two earlier.

8. Asoka was however enraptured not by the formalistic or ritualistic aspects of Buddhism, but by its soul-moving power. The "Ariya Vamsa," for example, to which Asoka refers in the Bhabru edict, holds up for the moral guidance of people an ideal of life, which consists in contentment with simple raiment, plain food, an humble habitation, and a life of meditation. The "Virtues" which have been mentioned in other Edicts by Asoka as constituting Dhamma are: *Sadhava* good, *Apasina* absence of defilement, *Daya* mercy, *Dava* liberality, *Sache* truth, *Sochaye* purity, *Madava* gentleness; and the "Duties" which Asoka regards as incumbent upon everybody are non-slaughter, non-injury, obedience to father and mother, attendance to elders, and reverence to teachers—a list very closely approximate to the list of virtues in the Taittiriya Upanishad. These virtues and these duties constitute Asoka's message to the world for all climes and ages. But one very specific virtue to which Asoka refers as from the Majjhimanikaya in the Bhabru edict is the virtue "Pachhavekkhana," self-examination or introspection. "It is difficult," says Asoka, "for a person to conduct self-examination, and see through the evil he has committed. But unless one does it, one cannot purge the evils inherent to the body, speech and mind." Hence he insisted upon self-examination as the supreme virtue, and as the *sine qua non* of spiritual progress.

9. Asoka's conception of the *Summum Bonum* was not the conception of the Buddhist philosopher, but of the Buddhist layman. If one were to ask Asoka what was to be obtained by practising virtue, Asoka would reply "Svarga" or Heaven. Asoka makes no mention of either Nirvana or Ashtangika Marga in his Edicts. Instead, he speaks of Svarga and holds it up as a reward for Dhamma in the next life. This was just the view of Buddha, as may be gathered from the Majjhimanikaya, when he said that a pious house-holder was born as a god in one of the Heavens. Asoka showed to his subjects various spectacles, such as the Vimanas, Hastins, and Agniskandhas. A work in Pali literature called "Vimnavatthu" makes clear in what sense these terms are to be understood. The Vimana was a column-supported palace, a variable centre of bliss, which was to be obtained by the pious layman. The Hastin was a well-caparisoned white horse, which was to be in his possession. Agniskandha or Jyotiskandha was the white lustre emitted by the man who rose to the position of a god in the Heavens. By showing these spectacles to his

subjects, Asoka taught them to practise virtue, for, in that way, they would come to enjoy celestial palaces, and celestial elephants, and emit celestial lustre. We see thus that Asoka's Edicts do not at all hold up the ideal of Nirvana before the followers of Dhamma.

10. There is, however, one most important side to the religious teachings of Asoka which must not be lost sight of. His was a most tolerant mind, almost tolerant to an extreme. There is a famous Edict, the so-called 12th Rock Edict, which must be transcribed here for the sake of showing how broad-minded King Asoka was. The Edict runs: "King Priyadarsin, Beloved of the gods, honours men of all sects.....with gifts and honour. But the Beloved of the gods does not think so much of gifts and honours, as that there should be a growth of the Essential among all sects. The growth of the Essential is however of various kinds. But the root of it is restraint of speech. There ought not to be any honour to one's own sect or condemnation of another without any occasion...On the contrary, others' sects should be honoured on this and that occasion. By doing so, one exalts one's own sect and does service to another's sect. For one who does honour to one's own sect and condemns another's sect, in reality, by doing so, severely injures his own sect. Concourse is therefore commendable, in order that people may hear and desire to hear one another's Dhamma. For this is the desire of the Beloved of the gods that all sects shall become Bahusruta, or well-informed." These lines should be engraved on their hearts by all religious enthusiasts, who, without understanding the meaning of religion, try to exalt their own sect at the expense of another. True religion, as Asoka tells us, consists in Concourse or Samavaya: where there is no friendliness of feeling towards another, there is no religion.

11. As regards the dissemination of Buddhism and the missionary activities of King Asoka, we gather from his Edicts that he had sent missionaries not only over the whole of India and Ceylon, but also to the five surrounding independent kingdoms governed by Greek kings, viz., Syria, Egypt, Macedonia, Epirus, and Cyrene. This has been regarded by Prof. Rhys Davids as merely a royal rhodomontade. Prof. Bhandarkar however is of opinion that this must not be so construed, and that the Buddhist influence is visible not only in early Christianity but also in the Jewish sects of the Essenes and the Therapeutae. He is of opinion that the confessions, the celibacy, and even the rosaries of Catholic Christians must be traced to the influence of Buddhism. They are not simply a coincidence as he tells us: "If such coincidence could be accounted for by a reference to the tendency of our humanity, let analogous cases be produced. If they are to be set down as merely accidental, let similar cases be brought from the chapter of accidents" (p. 163). Hence he opines there cannot be the slightest doubt that Buddhism had spread to Western Asia and affected early Christianity, as it had also affected the Jewish monastic order of the Essenes living on the shores of the Dead Sea, as well as the pre-Christian Jewish order of the Therapeutae, residing in the neighbourhood of Alexandria.

12. Religion goes hand in hand with the spread of art, and so did it happen in the case of Asoka. He studded various parts of India and Afghanistan with religious edifices, such as the Stupas, monasteries, and caves even so far back as the third century B. C. It must be noted, however, that there was hardly any stone building before the days of Asoka, and that India is indebted to Asoka for the first use of stone for architectural purposes.

The question arises, Was Asoka's architecture an exotic, or of purely Indian origin? It cannot be doubted that the impulse to the conversion of wooden architecture into stone came from Assyria through Persia. A rival view would hold that the Asokan column is entirely a Perso-Hellenic affair. This Prof. Bhandarkar regards to be a merely gratuitous assumption. For why is it, he asks, that we do not find specimens of the Asokan column in Bactria, or in the neighbouring regions? That the Indians copied from the Assyrians cannot be doubted. The Assyrians are undoubtedly the same as the Asuras mentioned in Vedic literature, with whom the Indian Aryans were constantly warring. They seem to have been great builders; and it is not impossible that they should have influenced Indian architecture, though a number of years previous to Asoka's time. We have evidence to say that Maya, an Asura, had built a huge hall for Yudhishtira, and there is every reason why we should say that Indian architecture was influenced by Assyrian architecture instead of Bactrian.

13. The last problem that Prof. Bhandarkar discusses in his book is the place of Asoka in history. Here, he draws up various parallels, and tells us how the position of Asoka as a combined king and prophet is unique in the annals of history. Like Constantine, Asoka patronised religion by making munificent endowments towards its dissemination; but while Constantine leaned to toleration for political purposes, Asoka was tolerant on humanitarian grounds. The Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius was no doubt Asoka's equal in the nobility of private life, and as regards mental culture may have been even a little superior; but he was deficient so far as sublimity of ideal was concerned and the unflagging energy for the sake of dissemination of religion. King Akbar alone approaches Asoka in that respect. We know how he took delight in "presiding over the debates of the Sufi, the Sunni, the Shi'ite, the Brahmana, the Jain, the Buddhist, the Christian, the Jew, and the Zoroastrian." His object was "to cull from every sect whatever Reason approved of; perchance in this way that lock whose key has been lost may be opened." But Akbar was not tolerant all round. When a sect called the Ilahis sprang up, Akbar deported its adherents to Sind and Afghanistan. Alexander, Caesar, and Napoleon may have been greater warriors, and even greater administrators than Asoka. But Prof. Bhandarkar, with Mr. H. G. Wells, thinks that they were much lesser as men. As the power of Alexander increased, his arrogance and violence knew no bounds. Caesar had no vision in him, and his dallying with that Egyptian siren, Cleopatra, although he was fifty-four, shows that he was a gross sensualist. Napoleon had no touch of humanitarianism in him. Had he been accessible to any disinterested ambition, he might have done work for mankind which would have made him the very sun of history. But Napoleon entirely lacked imagination: "He could do no more than strut upon the crest of the great mountain of his opportunity like a cockerel on a dunghill." St. Paul may be compared to Asoka so far as his religious enthusiasm was concerned; but he was not a king. Asoka occupies a unique position as an ideal ruler and prophet. He first engaged himself in Vijaya or territorial conquest; but when his Empire was gained, he gave himself over to Dhamma Vijaya or conquest through religion. The sound of the drum was to him no longer a signal for war, but a signal for the spread of religion. The idea of war he now came to abhor; he impressed upon his sons and grandsons the necessity of replacing Vijaya by Dhamma Vijaya. He did not negate

nationalism ; but he had a large cosmopolitan heart which saw in all humanity an equal opportunity for the realisation of the moral and the religious ideal.

R. D. RANADE.

THE POPULATION OF INDIA.

THE POPULATION OF INDIA. By BRIJ NARAYAN. (Rama Krishna and Sons, Lahore). 1925. 8½ × 5½. pp. 215. Rs. 4.

It is curious that the problem of population attracts very few workers in Economics in spite of its entrancing interest. After Mr. Wattal's illuminating study, we had not come across a systematic study of this problem, with regard to India. This lacuna is now filled by Prof. Brij Narayan's "Population of India," a masterly statistical analysis.

The present average increment of population in India, during a decade, is between 7 and 8 per cent., which means that within a period of 120 years the population will double itself. This may appear reassuring to those who are inclined to regard 'over-population' as a crotchet but is not really so. Compared with the rate of growth of production even this increase is a cause of apprehension with regard to the future food supply, of which more anon. India has a larger proportion of children than most of the European countries and the smallest proportion of old persons above fifty. The mean after-life time at the age 30 is 35 years in England and Germany, 38 years in Sweden, but only 22 in the case of India. This indicates lower vitality and lower level of economic well-being.

During the last forty years there has been a tendency towards an increasing dependence upon agriculture. This is deplorable and has to be set right. The workers in manufactures are only 17.8 per cent. of the whole. Both in India and the Western countries the cottage industries declined but whereas in the latter the displaced workers were absorbed by factories, in India factory-production has proceeded very slowly.

Coming to the Malthusian doctrine, the author thinks that it is antiquated in form with regard to its application to the progressive industrial countries of the West. With regard to India, however, the positive checks were working in order to adjust the growth of population to the means of subsistence, disease being the principal one. Consequently with the present high death-rate there is no over-population and the food supply has remained fairly constant. But when the death-rate will decrease with the extension of hygienic precautions and scientific knowledge, then there is a possibility of a shortage of subsistence. The very considerable increase in irrigated area may prove a temporary salvation. The Famine Commission of 1898 estimated the total outturn of food at 68 million tons and the ordinary consumption at 58 million tons; thus there was a surplus of 10 millions. To-day, however, this surplus is only 6½ millions. Thus according to the author there is no shortage of food. But he admits that there is no margin for export even in good years. If therefore we continue to export the usual quanti-

ties there will be a shortage. India, the author thinks, is not over-populated in the absolute sense, i. e., we have not arrived at the stage at which there is no hope of a further increase of national income. But India is over-populated in the sense that our methods of production remaining the same, the population cannot be expected to increase more rapidly. The surplus will be carried away by disease. Now it is just here that we ask the pertinent question.—Is it better that population should be adjusted to the food-supply by disease and death and other positive checks or that it should be adjusted by preventive checks? Surely the latter method will be more humane and rational.

One remedy for the pressure of population is intensive cultivation. But the size of the holding precludes this. Besides, sub-division has gone to extreme lengths and unless holdings are consolidated either by mutual co-operation or legal compulsion, there is no hope of the size of the average holding increasing. The only other remedy therefore is the development of industries—both cottage industries and power-driven industries.

It is interesting to compare the increase of national income in India and in other countries. Between 1865 and 1914 the income per capita in England increased from £ 20 to £ 50. The per capita income of U. S. increased from £ 19 in 1850 to £ 68 in 1910. Between 1896 and 1912 the per capita income of Germany rose from £ 17 to £ 34. In India the income during the last 25 years has risen from Rs. 30 to Rs. 74. Much of this increase however is due to the increase of prices and not to an increase in wealth actually; nor does it indicate a proportionate increase in welfare. The result is that the consumption even of an industrial worker in Bombay, of cereals etc. is less than that allowed for prisoners in jails. In the end, after criticisms of Malthus from various points of view, the author comes to a conclusion which is pretty well 'Malthusian.' "It must be brought home to the masses of India that it is useless to bring children into the world who will not live." A smaller birthrate would lead to a smaller death-rate and in the end excess of births over deaths would be about the same.

In order to increase our non-agricultural income it is of the utmost importance that industries should be modernized. The conclusion of the author is that we must adopt the methods of Western countries and cease to remain economically isolated and medieval. "The growth of civilization with all that it implies depends upon the growth of town life which in its turn depends upon the growth of industrialism." International competition will force us, whether we like it or not, to adopt Western methods of production. It is clear also that we must adopt the latest banking and currency systems and improve the conditions of marketing.

This conclusion reacts strongly on our methods of education. We must cease to draft our young men into merely literary careers and prepare a much larger number for posts of business-management

and entrepreneurs. If we do not wake up betimes we shall be wasting another couple of generations on the old parasitic activities, which do not add to the wealth of a country.

V. N. GODBOLE

MISCELLANEA.

POLITICS AND LOCAL BODIES.

In replying to an address of welcome from the Municipality of the city of Ahmednagar on the 15th of this month, the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri made a speech of forty-five minutes, of which we give the substance below:—

It is a recent practice for municipalities in India to present public addresses to visitors whom the citizens wish to honour. This new manifestation of civic hospitality is generally made towards persons who have achieved eminence or wide popularity in the most advanced phase of Indian politics. The Ahmednagar municipality had displayed courage as well as originality in selecting for such honour an inefficient member of an inefficient party. He could not for that reason meet it with a refusal. He had no title to recognition by such an institution, for the chances of his life had never made it possible for him to serve either as municipal councillor or member of a local or rural board. He followed, however, with profound interest the working of these semi-autonomous bodies as affording a training ground for aspirants to public service in the wide national field. His Master, Mr. Gokhale, had served for a time as president of the Poona municipality, and among his published speeches is one made on the occasion when the Act governing the Bombay mofussil municipalities was revised, and it stands today as an authoritative exposition of certain broad principles never to be forgotten by legislators or by guardians of local affairs. Harsh critics have pronounced local self-government a comparative failure. It began in the eighties of the last century under Lord Ripon, but passed through a long period of neglect on the part of the Central Government, during which it struggled against administrative shackles and financial difficulties and could only produce moderate results. Even so, conspicuous success has been attained in several places, notably in the city of Bombay, and it is due to the exemplary public spirit and devotion to duty shown by some of our leaders, whose names deserve to be cherished. Among these Sir Pherozeshah Mehta is the most brilliant instance. His name was invoked recently to defend the election of the present Mayor of Calcutta, a proceeding criticised in many quarters, and with good reason, as a measure of doubtful propriety. Sir Pherozeshah did not owe his councillorship or presidentship of the Bombay municipality to his position in the politics of the country. He won his spurs as a critic and reformer of the old administration of the city's affairs, and when the new order was established, took his place as one of its first custodians and maintained it with

matchless distinction till the end of his life. Once indeed his position, comparable to that of the elder Chamberlain in Birmingham, was challenged by a powerful combination of officials and non-officials actuated by personal jealousy more than by a genuine regard for the welfare of Bombay. Of course the attempt was frustrated as it deserved to be. If it were possible to summon the shade of Sir Pherozeshah and question him on the subject, he would certainly take not less pride, but more, in his services to the Corporation of Bombay than in his services as the helmsman of the Indian National Congress. During the Congress season of 1904 Mr. Sastri was present at a small party in the residence of Mr. Pherozeshah Mehta and heard a conversation of singular interest between him and the late Mr. V. Krishnaswami Iyer of Madras, who was then fast coming into the prominence which later was to culminate in a position of commanding influence in the service of the Crown. Mr. Mehta exhorted his young friend to limit his practice at the bar and devote a part of his energy and ability systematically to the study of public affairs or to the service of his capital city. For several years he had himself curtailed his practice, and the High Court Judges knew that he would never be available on Thursdays, which were sacred to the Municipal affairs of Bombay. He made it a special point to attend every meeting of the Corporation which he possibly could and keep himself as thoroughly informed on the details of City administration as though he had been specially briefed. The expression "my city" occurred frequently in the talk. From a small or undeserving man it might have grated on one's ears, but no one in the party felt the smallest offence to his sense of propriety. For in the case of Mr. Mehta devotion to Corporation affairs was distinguished by a complete absence of participation in jobbery or nepotism or the countenance of it in any shape. It was never whispered against him that he sought any personal ends and, what is more to the point in this connection, he was never accused of subordinating municipal interests to the interests of his political party. He would have condemned the introduction of political considerations into the discussion of municipal problems as irrelevant and injurious. The tendency has now become marked, but it is unhealthy and must be checked. It is most noticeable in America and not unknown in England and even in Germany, but everywhere thoughtful writers have condemned it and enjoined on statesmen the duty of keeping national and local affairs as far apart as possible. Not to mention authors of less repute, the authority of Lord Bryce, historian, traveller, jurist, critic and man of affairs, may be cited in favour of the view that affairs of towns and rural parts suffer by being used as pawns in the political game by well-organised parties. These parties tend to become strong and grasping; they develop specialised interests and modes of work. Politics themselves, which are their direct charge, receive a certain amount of harm which only vigilance can check.

Matters of local concern are not their ends as they should be, but only a means to other objects outside their range. They are, therefore, apt to sustain deterioration and even serious damage. A high standard of rectitude and devotion to local self-government, such as Sir Pherozeshah inculcated by his example, becomes impossible. Honorary and paid service in the employ of municipalities and local boards is conferred as a reward for energetic and often shady wirepulling in politics. In India the danger is specially formidable. Was it not sheer vandalism which led a majority of non-co-operating councillors in certain places, not long ago, to seek to 'nationalise' municipal schools? Was it right, again, in these and other places, for political fanatics to decree compulsory spinning on the defenceless children in their charge, while in many cases remaining indifferent to their own vows to the *charka* sacrament? In the town of Madras, to take another type of abuse, the present general elections to the Corporation are being fought on principles among which the previous civic record of the candidates or their views on the problems and needs of the city are conspicuous by their absence. Men of light and leading cannot afford to acquiesce by their silence in this tendency to subordinate education, sanitation, smaller public works, and rates and local taxes to the utterly ridiculous consideration of whether a candidate is a Swarajist or a non-Brahmin. No risk of unpopularity should deter one from withstanding this palpable danger to one of the essentials of the well-being of the people. Lighting, the housing of the poor, sanitation, the beautifying of our cities, public parks, museums, theatres and libraries, places of amusement for children where they may run about freely and laugh—these and kindred subjects are sufficient on their own intrinsic merits to employ the wisest heads among us. They ought not to be sacrificed to other causes, however great and important in another sphere. It is doubtless true that the qualities of public spirit, patriotism and devotion to unselfish causes which lead to valuable services in the one sphere, lead to valuable services in the other sphere; but only a man in a million can combine meritorious achievement in both spheres. The ordinary citizen must make his choice between the two; at any rate, during the same period of activity. In our country politics are particularly attractive, and in this particular juncture, engross the energy and attention of all who understand the rights and duties of citizenship. But their domination must not be allowed to the extent of becoming a complete absorption. The foundation of our life must not be sacrificed to its superstructure.

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