

THE Servant of India

Editor: S. G. VAZE

Office: BUDHWAR PETH, POONA CITY

VOL. VIII, No. 51. }

POONA—THURSDAY, JANUARY 21, 1926.

INDIAN SUBSN. Rs. 6.
FOREIGN SUBSN. 10 s.

CONTENTS.		PAGE.
TOPICS OF THE WEEK ...	---	599
ARTICLES :—		
Responsive Co-operationists of Maharashtra	...	601
The Malabar Tenancy Bill. By P. Kodanda Rao, M.A.	... ..	602
Some More Points. By Professor G. R. Abhyankar, B.A., LL.B.	... ..	604
REVIEWS :—		
Tory Democracy. By Professor T. G. P. Spear, M.A.	...	605
Cassel's Economic Theories. By Professor P. A. Wadia, M.A.	... ..	606
The Historical Development of Christianity. By N. M.	... ..	607
Modern English. By Professor R. Sadasiva Aiyar, M.A.	... ..	607
British Labour Propaganda. By D. V. A.	...	608
Short Notices	... ..	608
MISCELLANEA :—		
Australia and South Africa.—Mr. Sastri's Speech	...	608
BOOKS RECEIVED	... ..	609

TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

TWO important meetings were held on Friday last to pledge India's whole-hearted support to the South African deputation, and through them to the Indian settlers in South Africa: one in Bombay and the other in Madras. Both were very influential and thoroughly representative in their composition. The solidity of public opinion on this subject will perhaps be best exemplified if we say that in the Madras meeting men of such diversified views in politics as Mr. O. Thanikachalam Chetty, Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, Mr. G. A. Natesan, Dr. Varadarajulu Naidu, Mr. Srinivasa Aiyengar, Mr. Yakub Hassan, Dr. Natesa Mudaliar, Mr. O. Kandaswami Chetty and Mr. T. Prakasam, took active part. And if at this meeting Dr. Annie Besant and Mr. Srinivasa Sastri were absent, it was only because they were at the same time engaged in considering another subject of interest to Indians abroad, and at this latter meeting too Mr. Sastri referred to the South African problem indignantly protesting against the disabilities which are heaped upon our fellow-countrymen in South Africa. Perhaps the best features of these meetings were the inauguration of a fund in Bombay to enable the South African Indian settlers to carry on a campaign against the Asiatic Bill and the suggestion made in Madras that the Government of India should send

an all-party deputation to England with a view "to place before Parliament the grave consequences of the anti-Indian policy of the South African Union Government, as illustrated by the Asiatic Bill, and refer the matter to the League of Nations for decision." In the presence of this problem all politicians of whatever party feel altogether helpless, and the only practicable proposal seems to be this one of referring the dispute between India and South Africa to the League. As the *Hindu* well points out, "It is open to India as an original member of the League of Nations to invoke the aid of that body under either article 12 or article 15 of the Covenant and demand either arbitration under the former article or conciliation under the latter." The remarks of the *Calcutta Guardian* are very apposite on this point.

If only our Legislature recognized the importance of the point, it would concentrate all its energy during the coming session on either getting a truly representative Indian Delegation sent to Geneva next September or else on addressing a protest to the League headquarters and to every single member of the League, specifying India's stultification as a member of the League and demanding to be heard. The position thus created by so weighty and dignified a protest coming from the Indian Legislature would not be very pleasant either for the Indian "representative" supers sent to Geneva in spite of the Indian Legislature or for the British Delegation itself. Even if no question was actually raised in the Assembly of the League, Britain's "face" would have been seriously damaged, and that not merely *coram publico*, but *coram mundo*. And—in 1926—it is not even to be taken for granted that the questions raised will not find a voice somewhere in the League Assembly itself.

* * *

THE Punjab Legislative Council had a very brief session last week, in which not the least important work transacted was the introduction of a Bill embodying the general principles of land revenue assessments in statute law, in accordance with the recommendation of the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill. The framers of the Bill have taken this occasion to make two important changes in the existing practice. The maximum limit of the Government's demand for land revenue, which was supposed till now to be half the nett assets, is reduced in the Bill to one-third, because the Government finds that during the last forty years the limit has generally been in practice one-third instead of one-half. The other change consists in the extension of the normal period of assessment from twenty to thirty years, areas still being developed by canal irrigation being specifically excepted from this pro-

Principle of Land Revenue Assessment.

vision. The Bill also limits the enhancement that may be taken at re-assessment to one-third, but this restriction is not to apply to urban assessments or to areas where agricultural conditions have been radically altered by the introduction of canal irrigation. Matters of subsidiary importance are to be provided for in rules, which have to be laid on the table of the House for a certain period before they come into effect. Among such matters are the methods of estimating the nett assets, the method of assessment, the exemptions to be granted for improvements, &c.

* * *

Imminence of
Corruption in Indian
Politics?

IN Christmas week the leaders of the Liberal party all over India had conversations with some prominent Independents of Bengal, who are called Nationalists in that Presidency, with a view to find out whether a coalition between the two parties was immediately practicable. These conversations ended in smoke, we are now told by Babu Bipin Chandra Pal, who was himself present at these meetings, and the reason assigned by Mr. Pal for the failure is the unwillingness of the Nationalists to wound the susceptibilities of the Swarajists at the time of the General Elections towards the end of the year as they are afraid they would do if they openly joined the Liberal party. The prospect of a Liberal-Independent coalition is thus, in Mr. Pal's opinion, "very remote" so far as Bengal is concerned before the General Elections; but after the Elections probably such a coalition is unnecessary, for Mr. Pal expressed the opinion to a *New India* correspondent that members of the Swaraj party themselves after the elections are over will quietly give up their filibustering activities and will accept office if they obtain a majority of seats at the election, which, however, seems to Mr. Pal very unlikely, their influence being found to be visibly decaying. If the Swarajists will assuredly abandon obstruction, why fight them at all, why not allow them to accept office if they can be trusted to settle down to constructive work, Bipin Babu was asked. Constitutionalists outside Bengal see little harm in Swarajists assuming executive responsibility in this way, but the prospect does not appear very reassuring to men in Bengal. For Bipin Babu answered the query thus with evident warmth: "I cannot accept this as a satisfactory solution, for the simple reason that from past experience I fear that if the Swarajists capture the Executive Government, they will be doing things which they have been charged with doing in regard to the more limited patronage of the Calcutta Corporation. It will kill the purity of Indian politics." What exactly he had in mind he elaborated in greater detail at a public meeting, where he asked his hearers to fight corruption wherever it would raise its head.

"Are you going to sell," he asked, "legislative seats, to sell your votes to help capitalists and exploiters with a view to replenish your party chests? Are you going to sell whatever patronage you may secure by occupying local self governing bodies to replenish your party chests? Are you going to utilise your power of granting contracts as municipal councillors and as members of district boards?"

Are you going to sell your right of giving these contracts to various applicants for a consideration, not personally for you, but for your party? In the olden days we read charity covered a multitude of sins. But now party politics covers a Himalayan multitude of sins."

* * *

BARODA State was busy last week in celebrating the Jubilee of its present ruler, His Highness Sir Sayajirao Gaekwar. At one time Baroda was recognised as the most progressive State in India, and the introduction of compulsory education and the separation of judicial and executive functions, which reforms the State was the first to initiate in the whole of India, afforded sufficient justification for this claim. But long since Baroda has lost its primacy to the South Indian States of Mysore and Travancore. We have shown before in these columns that in education and several other respects, the States in the Madras Presidency have left Baroda far behind. In fact the reforming zeal has long been conspicuous by its absence in Baroda and we find that there has actually been a setback to the diffusion of education, for which the State was at one time deservedly famous. Sir Sayajirao, with all his desire to model his State on western lines, has never been known to favour popular government, and though perhaps Baroda was among the first to admit its people into consultation on legislative and administrative bodies, these are still in the same rudimentary condition in which they were at the start; while some other States, coming into the race at a later period, have long overtaken it. Mysore and Travancore are, in respect of popular government, a generation in advance of Baroda. It was hoped that His Highness would be pleased to announce a substantial instalment of constitutional reforms on the occasion of the Jubilee celebrations, but these hopes have been sadly disappointed. We in the Deccan used to look upon Baroda with pride as an exemplar to other States; but our pride is humbled and Baroda must now be ranked with second class states.

* * *

WE would in all humility present For Lalaji's behoof. Lalaji with the following paragraph from the *Guardian*, a detached though a thoroughly competent observer, if there is one, of Indian politics:—

We are really sorry to find that Lala Lajpat Rai has for tactical reasons elected to join the Swaraj Party on their rickety Cawnpore platform. We all know that he does not believe in the nostrum himself; his offer to try it for a bit and then retire into private life, if it does not work, seems to us doubly mistaken. Political life does not consist of ultimatums, but of plodding work. The idea of telling the country that if they refuse one's own panacea one "won't play any more in your yard, one won't play with you any more," smacks of the nursery. If one has got political principles, one sticks to them—should one not?—because one holds them to be true, not because they are expedient: and one tries the whole of one's political life to apply them, inch by inch, line by line, here a little there a little, convinced that they must eventually prevail, just because they happen to be true. "Sulks" are not in this line of thought at all: and one is sorry to find men like Lalaji and—one is sorry to have almost to add—Mahatmaji toying with that idea. Greatness consists not in success, nor in flight: but in perseverance, through good report and bad, even unto the end.

If only such a noble spirit of self-sacrifice and downright sincerity were united to a fixity of purpose!

RESPONSIVE CO-OPERATIONISTS OF MAHARASHTRA.

THE policy of the party of responsive co-operation in Maharashtra does not seem to be guided by any coherent principle. While its leaders, Messrs. Kelkar and Jayakar, announced, apparently with the object of producing a theatrical effect on the Cawnpore gathering, their intention to resign from the Legislature even before the Congress or the Swaraj party had adopted the policy of Sinn Feinism, the other members of the party are in no particular hurry to send in their resignations from the Bombay Legislative Council. Indeed they have decided to stick on just as long as they possibly can, and neither Messrs Kelkar and Jayakar nor the rest seem yet to entertain the idea of severing their connexion with the Swaraj party. Constitutional propriety, however, requires them to resign their membership of the Swaraj party before everything else. The Swaraj party is not merely a deliberative body, which can admit into its fold men who hold differing and even conflicting opinions without detriment to its own integrity. It is avowedly organised for the purpose of propagating and giving effect to a certain political creed and those who do not subscribe to this creed have obviously no place in it. The rules of the party state in the clearest possible language that any member who disobeys the mandate of its executive will be liable to be expelled from the party. Messrs. Kelkar and Jayakar joined the party on this distinct understanding; aye, in virtue of the offices which they held in the party, they undertook to enforce strict discipline on others. And yet now they retain the membership of the party, although their policy is in flat contradiction to its official policy. It is true, as Lala Lajpat Rai observes, that they "have practically left the Swaraj party." But it would have been more in accord with constitutional propriety and indeed with their self-respect, if, like the responsive co-operationists of Berar, they had done so in form as well as in fact.

As regards resignations from the legislature, their necessity or otherwise depends upon what the members of the Swaraj party in Maharashtra hold to be their election pledge. If they fought elections in 1923 on the obstruction platform, it is their obvious duty to resign their places on the legislative bodies, since now they desire to practise responsive co-operation instead of unqualified obstruction in the Councils. But this point is somewhat in doubt. Although the Maharashtra section professed the principles of the Swaraj party as a whole and put obstruction on its election manifesto, yet its adherence to this policy was so notoriously half-hearted and of such a make-believe character, that we for our part would be quite willing to give them the benefit of doubt and would allow them to pursue co-operation in the Council without calling for their resignations. That is the reason why on a previous occasion we expressed the opinion that the Swarajists can accept office even in the life-time of the present Councils, without being untrue to their

election pledge. For the Maharashtra Swarajists played fast and loose in their election addresses with the policy of non-acceptance of office just as much as they did with the policy of obstruction. But responsive co-operationists consider themselves bound by their pledge of non-acceptance of office; for in their statement of policy just issued they say that acceptance of Ministerships is for the present out of the question. On this interpretation of their election pledge, however, it follows that they are bound to pursue obstruction in the Legislative Council. It is possible for them to maintain that they did not seek election on the clear-cut policy of indiscriminate obstruction though their programme was slightly flavoured with obstruction, even as in advocating acceptance of office, they employ the language of obstruction and favour that course on the ground that it would afford opportunities for obstructing mischievous designs of the bureaucracy. It is possible for them to plead that their election pledges in regard to obstruction or non-acceptance of office should not be taken literally, but they cannot contend that the pledge in respect of obstruction should be understood in a loose sense, while to that in respect of non-acceptance of office they may be held rigidly.

It would have been better on the whole if, since Messrs. Kelkar and Jayakar have already resigned, others would have followed suit. In that case, however, it would have been their clear duty, as in our opinion was the duty of Messrs. Kelkar and Jayakar, to offer themselves for re-election. The Liberal party had already given an assurance to the Swarajist leaders that they would not contest the election if Responsivist leaders would seek re-election as against the candidates of Obstructionists. We make no doubt that the Liberals would have stood aside from the other bye-elections too if, by the resignations of the other Swarajist members of the Council, the contest would have been between the two factions of the Swaraj party. Even so, however, we are by no means certain that all the sitting members would, in a contest with the no-changer Swarajists and non-Brahmans, have been able to retain their seats, had they decided to give them up. To tell the truth, not one of them was sure of success. Messrs. Kelkar and Jayakar, however, in resigning their seats and not seeking re-election, seem to have been guided by the feeling that they could thus repel the unjust charge currently made against them that they are fond of power and seek it as a means of self-advancement. Indeed in a recent interview Mr Kelkar stated that he had by this action proved that he did not care very much for a seat in the Legislature. In thus trying to meet an unsubstantial charge, however, he has laid himself open to the grave and just accusation that he has sacrificed the interests of the country. If Mr. Kelkar must, for the sake of preserving himself against the reproaches of the public, vacate his seat in the Assembly, the same course should be followed by others as well. Or is it the case that Mr. Kelkar places himself on a higher pedestal of

virtue than the rest?

The recent meeting of the responsive co-operationists in Bombay has cleared the air, so far as acceptance of office is concerned. In advocating this policy, they used to maintain that they are for accepting office only because it would enable them to carry out the policy of obstruction, to which they were committed, more effectively than before. Even in the Cawnpore Congress the amendment moved by this party was of set purpose so worded and the speeches made thereto were so phrased as to give the appearance that office was sought only as an instrument of obstruction and not of constructive effort. Those who know the Maharashtra Swarajists at close quarters are fully aware that though only on public platforms they love to flirt with obstruction, they really favour the acceptance of Ministry for constructive work. But people in other provinces are easily led astray. Even so astute a leader as Lala Lajpat Rai, after stating that the responsive co-operation of Messrs. Kelkar and Jayakar is identical with the co-operation of Liberals, says that "the only way in which Mr. Jayakar's responsive co-operation may possibly differ from the policy of co-operation of Mr. Chintamani and others is that the former perhaps wants to practise obstruction even from within the Cabinet." Mr. Jayakar wants to do nothing of the kind, though he would occasionally like the world to believe that he desired Ministership for that purpose. The official decisions, now announced, of the Bombay meeting put it beyond doubt that office is desired not for obstruction, but for construction, for we are told that two members, Messrs. H. D. Saheba and D. N. Patel, have signed a dissenting minute in which they make it clear that "they are not in favour of responsive co-operation, but in favour of capturing offices for obstruction." Which means that the others are in favour of acceptance of ministries for the sake of construction.

THE MALABAR TENANCY BILL.

THE Madras Legislative Council is to consider in its forthcoming session in February a measure of great importance, to wit the Malabar Tenancy Bill as it emerged from the Select Committee. Since the inauguration of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, this is the first time that the new legislature has been called upon to consider a land bill and the future of land legislation will be greatly influenced by the principles that may now be accepted. It also puts to the test, as it were, the new legislature's sense of fairness, equity and responsibility, and is likely to furnish important evidence to the Royal Commission, whenever it comes. It is, therefore, of more than local interest and a matter of deep concern for those who strive by parliamentary action for further reforms.

Malabar is unique in its land system as in so many other matters. And in order to appreciate the significance of the attempted legislation, it is perhaps necessary to recall some of the relevant fea-

tures of the system and the historical background. Almost all the land in the district belongs to private landowners, the janmis; and there is hardly any communal land, even for house sites. The janmis are "ryots", as under the Ryotwari system they have to pay assessment to the Government, calculated not on their rentals, but on their lands; and the assessment is revised every thirty years. They are not, however, supposed to be cultivating ryots—in fact, separate cultivators are presumed—and the share of the Government is a third, not half, of net produce.

The janmis let out lands on a variety of tenures. The Bill takes into account only two classes of tenants, as they form the bulk of the tenant class—the kanamdar and the verumpattamdar. The latter is the ordinary tenant at will, and most often the actual cultivator. It is admitted on all hands that he is notoriously rack-rented. Though by old customary law he was entitled to a third of the net produce of his holding, he is now reduced to the position of a mere labourer. Net produce and verumpattam rent are interchangeable terms!

The kanam tenure is a bit complicated and peculiar. The kanamdar takes a holding on lease from a janmi or a tenant and pays rent. At the same time he deposits some money, called the kanam amount, with his landlord, on which the latter pays interest. The kanamdar consequently pays the landlord the balance of rent after deducting the interest from it, and it is called michavaram. It will be noticed that there are two separate transactions of a contrary nature in a kanam tenure: the landlord gives out his land and gets rent thereon; while the tenant gives a loan and gets interest thereon. The first corresponds to a lease of land, the second to a usufructuary mortgage. Whether any given transaction is primarily a lease or a usufructuary mortgage depends on the kanam amount being comparatively small or large compared with the value of the land, and every gradation between one and the other occurs, though on the whole kanam transactions in South Malabar are often leases and in North Malabar mortgages. The former may develop into the latter by the landlords levying additional kanam amounts at every renewal of the transaction—which is once in twelve years—until a limit is reached when the interest on the kanam amount equals the rent and the michavaram dwindles down to zero.

The rents payable by kanamdars are generally much below what a verumpattamdar would pay for the same holding. But this is counteracted by the levying of fees at every renewal which are not nominal nazars, but substantial amounts, and may be said to be in inverse ratio to the rents, and are really part of the rent paid in advance. On the termination of the lease, it may be renewed or redeemed. In the latter case, the whole of the kanam amount is repayable to the tenant as the value of the improvements made by him. The kanam amounts, the rates of interest thereon, the rents and consequently the michavarams, the renewal fees are all

variable and do not approximate to any standard. This makes any legislation meant to recognise and regulate the existing practice extremely complicated and difficult.

Subinfeudation is very common and there are often more than three or four links in the chain of interests in the land. Only the tenant at the bottom is a cultivator and is mostly a verumpattamdar. The most common relation is that of a janmi, a non-cultivating kanamdar under him and a cultivating verumpattamdar below him still. But a variety of other relations also occur.

The tenancy agitation was initiated by the non-cultivating kanamdars in their own interests and it was only very latterly that Dewan Bahadur M. Krishnan Nair thought of the verumpattamdar also. The claims of the kanamdars for permanent rights of occupancy were primarily based on the rights which, they contend, they enjoyed before the advent of the British in Malabar and that was about 1800 A. D. They, however, admit that for the last seventy years and more the janmis were considered allodial proprietors of the land and that the kanam tenures were terminable. Mr. Krishnan Nair, in the second draft of his bill, put forth economic considerations and proposed to give occupancy rights to verumpattamdars as well, but limited the privilege to such of them as were in continuous possession of their holdings for six years, while every kanamdar was to get the privilege. He stabilised the current michavarams and rents paid by kanamdars and verumpattamdars respectively, fixed the renewal fees at 25 per cent. of the kanam amount and admitted the right to additional kanams. If the bill as introduced by him became law, all kanamdars, both cultivators and non-cultivators, would get occupancy rights but few verumpattamdars. The rack-rented verumpattamdars would get no relief on rents and michavarams, which at present bear no definite proportion to the net produce of the land, but vary according to rent, kanam amount, the interest thereon and the renewal fees (which themselves vary very much) would be confirmed. The fixation of renewal fees as a percentage of kanam amounts would be an unconscionable hardship in cases where the kanam amounts are large as when the transaction is really a usufructuary mortgage and ridiculously small, where the kanam is small as when the transaction is really a lease. The central fact to be remembered is that the kanam amount is a loan bearing interest and repayable when the kanam deed is terminated, while the renewal fee is part of the rent paid in advance.

The janmis or landowners were all along opposed to any legislation, and more particularly so if it was meant to dispossess them in favour of another set of non-cultivators whose historical claims, at best doubtful, have been obliterated during the last seventy years, and who were of small economic influence in the development of the district. Latterly they expressed their willingness to concede occupancy rights to all cultivators, whatever their tenure, provided they paid fair rents, approximat-

ing to the present verumpattam rents. The Government declared that a case was made out for legislation in the case of homesteads and the actual tiller.

The Select Committee—it was thirty-four strong!—availed itself of the liberty, specially accorded, to debate the fundamental principles of the bill and made radical changes in it. With Mr. Krishnan Nair, it distinguished between kanamdars and verumpattamdars, but it also distinguished between cultivating and non-cultivating tenants, and between leases and loans and between small and big janmis and gave occupancy rights to all cultivators, whether they held on kanam or verumpattam tenure, gave permanent rights to non-cultivating kanamdars alone and excluded North Malabar from the scope of the bill on the ground that the kanam transactions there were loans, not leases; and also excluded the janmis who own ten acres and less. As for basic rents, it distinguished between cultivating verumpattamdars now on in possession of their holdings and those who may, after the passing of the Act, be let into possession of either new undeveloped and or land now under cultivation, the previous tenant of which was evicted; and decided that present tenants should pay current rents, while the new tenants need pay only a third of the net produce of the holding. Cultivating kanamdars were to pay a michavaram not exceeding twice the Government assessment on the holding and non-cultivating kanamdars a third of the net produce less the Government assessment. The Committee abolished the renewal fees and additional kanams and besides gave retrospective effect to the provisions concerning kanamdars. Other provisions define the conditions under which the permanent rights may be terminated and the michavarams and rents may be raised or reduced; but these need not detain us now.

If this bill became law, the non-cultivating kanamdars will get permanent rights. And this is the most contentious clause in the whole bill and perhaps the only objective of the promoters of the legislation. Mr. Krishnan Nair used the verumpattamdar and the economic arguments more as a decoy under cover of which he sought to serve the kanamdars. This provision was hotly contested by the janmis and when it passed, they left the meeting in protest. It turns out now that of the thirty members who signed the report, as many as fifteen, including the chairman, have expressed themselves against it, and with the casting vote of the chairman, it would have gone out altogether. The tendency of land legislation all over the civilised world is to eliminate the middlemen, reduce the owners to mere rent receivers and vest the control of the land in the actual cultivators. Here the owners are sacrificed to fatten the middlemen, and with hardly any justification, economic, legal or political.

All cultivating tenants, whether kanamdars or verumpattamdars, get permanent rights of occupancy. And this is by far the most redeeming feature of the bill. There are some members, however, who object to verumpattamdars getting the rights. They contend that they are mere tenants at will,

and very often sub-tenants, and if, for valid reasons the immediate tenant is evicted by the landowner, the subtenant could not claim permanency. Others have demanded a period of continuous occupancy as a condition precedent for the grant of occupancy rights. In this connection it will be of great interest to examine the views of the Committee which considered the Amendment of the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885, as a result of whose labours an amending bill is on the anvil of the legislature in Calcutta. The Committee regret that "it frequently happens that the occupancy tenant right gets into the hands of the wrong person, and *the cultivating tenant who ought to have the right finds himself in the position of a tenant-at-will,*" (italic ours), and recommend that "the best solution of the difficulty will be to give to all persons holding land under the person who enjoys the legal status of ryot a right of occupancy as against his immediate landlord." This secures occupancy rights to the man on the land and is similar to the provision of the Malabar Select Committee. As to getting rid of undesirable sub-tenants, when the intermediate tenants are out of the way, the Bengal Committee proposed to give the landlord the right of pre-emption to be exercised within the prescribed time and on paying 10 per cent. of the value of the land as compensation for disturbance. A similar provision may, if necessary, be adopted here. It may be noticed that the Bengal Committee does not prescribe any period of continuous occupation to get the occupancy right. The Estates Land Act of Madras did not insist, nor have the advocates of the kanamdars insisted, on it in the case of kanamdars.

P. KODANDA RAO.

(To be continued.)

SOME MORE POINTS.

THE SERVANT OF INDIA has by its editorial article of last week performed a great public service, which stands out in bold relief in the midst of the general press conspiracy of silence. The writer of the Indore reply would have us believe that no further inquiry into the conspiracy brought to light in the Bawla murder case is called for. He admits "that nobody contends that Indore was not the place from where the attack emanated." The presiding Judge has found that the hidden hand, who planned this conspiracy, hatched it, inspired it, and so audaciously carried it out, was in Indore. Can the Indore Durbar decently brush aside this finding and coolly sleep over it, in spite of the moral and legal obligations which the feudatory state of Indore owes to the British Indian Administration in furtherance of the ends of justice? The observations of the learned Judge about 'the hidden hand' were in fact an oblique reflection upon the State. If Indore can conceal such an offender, and sit with folded hands without doing its level best to hunt him out and to drag him before the court of justice, Indore stands condemned either on the ground of inefficiency or on the ground of complicity in the affair. As the explanation states that the Maharaja of Indore had nothing to do with this conspiracy, we challenge the writer of the reply or any one interested in the Maharaja of Indore to state categorically what efforts have been made to

find out this hidden hand in the city of Indore, during the eight months since the judgment was pronounced. Is it possible to believe that the Maharaja of Indore with his unlimited resources and with his despotic powers, would have failed in his efforts to unearth this hidden hand if only there was an earnest desire and a clear conscience to strain every nerve. No account has been vouchsafed to us of such efforts, if any, in this reply, which is not only extremely apologetic but thoroughly unconvincing.

The writer has tried to answer *serialim* the several circumstances which go dangerously near implicating the Maharaja of Indore in this conspiracy. No one ever stated that the sworn testimony of Mumtaz is gospel truth and should be implicitly believed. Whatever the writer may have to say about Mumtaz, Justice Crump in his charge to the Jury clearly stated that this woman, though obviously with rudimentary education, had very considerable natural acuteness and possessed a clear head. He asked the gentlemen of the special jury that so far as the events of the night of January 12 were concerned whether there was any reason why her statements should not be accepted as substantially true? The gentlemen of the Jury unanimously believed her and the verdict was pronounced against the accused. Does it now lie in the mouth of any apologist of the Maharaja of Indore to call this woman a liar so far as her evidence in the Bawla case was concerned and which was relevant to the issues before the Court? Mumtaz from the beginning has been making allegations that the Maharaja had kept her almost a prisoner in Indore; that after she had succeeded in running away from the State, the Maharaja and his officers were harassing her to return to Indore; that she was afraid that if she went back her death was certain; that the Maharaja of Indore was concerned in the conspiracy and that her child was murdered in the Indore Palace. These allegations had nothing to do with the Malabar Hill tragedy. All evidence bearing upon them was treated, and rightly, as irrelevant by the presiding Judge. But then the question remains that these allegations are openly made and on oath. Mumtaz is the accuser and these accusations are made against the Maharaja. I do not hold any brief for any party. I do not wish to rely upon *ex-parte* statements until their veracity is tested before a properly constituted tribunal. As I cannot regard Mumtaz' statements as proven, so also I must reject any explanation on behalf of the Maharaja made behind the back of the accuser and offered without the solemnity of an oath. Any conscientious and just-minded person would have zealously courted an opportunity to prove the falsity of these imputations so damaging to the character of the Maharaja of Indore before a court of law. Reading between the lines there is not only a complete absence of any desire to seek such an opportunity but a determined effort to delude the world into the belief that the whole incident was trifling and deserved no consideration at all. None but an avowed partizan of the Maharaja could take such a view.

The most astounding part of the explanation is about the complicity of some Indore officials and Mankaris in this dastardly affair. The writer says that there is nothing new in the fact that a conspiracy was hatched in a State by a number of its officials as such conspiracies have been known in all parts of the world. Special pleading could go no further. To plead that the officers involved in the conspiracy have been dealt with rigorously by law and that there remains nothing to be done shows only a callousness of mind which cannot be appreciated anywhere except in Indore. The hold-up of the

mortal remains of Shafi Ahmed is simply queer. If only they had been blessed with the power of speech, they would have reiterated with emphasis the saying of a notorious character, "If I had served my God as zealously and fearlessly as I have done my master, he would never have forsaken me in my last moment." The connection of the Indore officials with the conspiracy cannot be explained away with mere bluff on the ground that it is an every-day incident. In the first place, we emphatically deny the correctness of this statement. If the author of the explanation had cited any similar instances in which responsible officers of a State were engaged in a diabolical conspiracy for no personal end, it would have been relevant and worth consideration. In the second place, we maintain that there is a heavy responsibility upon the Maharaja of Indore to prove that he had no part or lot in this conspiracy and that he was perfectly ignorant of it. Thirdly, it is most pertinent to consider what motive these officers had in engaging in such a conspiracy, in running such great risks in carrying it out even at the sacrifice of their own lives. It is nobody's case, neither is there any allegation, that any of the accused was personally enamoured of Mumtaz. Even Phanse, the principal organiser of this conspiracy, does not say that he had any personal motive and his counsel, Sir John Simon, admitted before the Privy Council that his client was guilty of an attempt to abduct Mumtaz and that the punishment on this count would not have been improper.

Was there any mighty person at Indore other than the Maharaja at whose beck and call those high officials were and who could have used them as instruments for committing a dangerous crime? Breathes there any soul in Indore who would dare to carry away the Maharaja's mistress against the wishes of the Maharaja, whose officers were harassing Mumtaz to go back to Indore and who were planning to secure her presence by the initiation of extradition proceedings? Has the Indore Durbar with its Criminal Intelligence Department been impotent to find out this puissant personality who could command the agency of the State service to carry out such dastardly designs? This only leads one to the inference that there is either something radically wrong with the administration of justice in Indore or that the Maharaja is privy to this affair. If the former supposition is true, the Maharaja does not deserve to occupy the throne for his gross misrule and utmost incompetency in managing the State affairs. The sooner he abdicates under these circumstances, the better would it be in the interests of all concerned. In the latter alternative, there should be an open trial and the Maharaja be given the fullest opportunity to clear his character and to vindicate his honour. The writer of the explanation in his officious overzeal and his special pleading has asked us to try and find out the sources of the income of Phanse. How in this matter the onus has been thrown upon the wrong party is too patent to need any comment. It is to be regretted that the writer of the reply has not enlightened the public by publishing facts to prove the fabulous wealth of Phanse and his capacity to bear the burden of the colossal expenditure involved in the defence of this case. We however know one fact brought to light in the course of the trial, viz. that Phanse actually borrowed Rs. 14,000 for the purchase of the Red Maxwell. If in the face of this the writer of the article still keeps back facts within his knowledge in regard to the clear and unencumbered income of Phanse, the inference is obvious that it was not convenient to make this disclosure. The mentality of the writer is in keeping with his argument

that the British Government is also responsible for aiding and abetting the conspiracy owing to the free use it allowed for the transmission of the wires by the accused, deliberately ignoring the fact that these arch-conspirators used code language prepared by themselves and difficult to decipher. Equally flimsy is the defence about the presence in England of Mr. Rashid, the Public Prosecutor of Indore, at the time when the appeals were about to be preferred by the accused to the Privy Council. The whole attempt of the writer of this reply only goes to confirm one's suspicions. If this is the lame and halting explanation about the clouds which are thickening round the head of the Maharaja, the conclusion becomes irresistible that there are *prima facie* grounds for further investigation into this matter without a moment's delay. The London *Times*, unaffected by any excitement or sensation which the Bawla Murder case created and living in the serene atmosphere of England, has observed thus: "There is a growth in the public opinion to modify the attitude of the control of Government towards future cases of serious lawlessness and misrule. The scandal of the Malabar Hill murder committed by the henchmen of the Maharaja of Indore has moved enlightened Indian opinion to a greater extent than has been recognised here." I have made it abundantly clear that I do not hold any pre-conceived idea or entertain any prejudice against the Maharaja. I have an open mind; but the facts disclosed in the trial and the sins of omission and commission of the Maharaja of Indore since the date of the Malabar Hill tragedy confirm me in my belief that an open trial is imperative both in the interests of the Maharaja and the good name of the State as also in the ends of justice. This affair has been hanging fire for over a year and it is scandalous enough in all conscience. We, therefore, appeal to Lord Reading to take up this question seriously and to dispose of it in the thoroughly independent, impartial, and judicious manner characteristic of him. We only hope that Lord Reading would not leave this unhappy legacy to his successor.

G. R. ABHYANKAR.

REVIEWS.

TORY DEMOCRACY.

TORY DEMOCRACY. By WILLIAM J. WILLIAMSON. (Columbia University, New York.) 1924. 9 x 6. pp. 194.

THIS is an American University production. It seems largely the result of a breathless study of the back files of the daily press; such mighty journals as the pictorial *Graphic*, the *Chronicle* and the *News* being used as serious authorities. Another source is the "Pocket Disraeli," a surprising choice where there are such authorities as the Collected Speeches, Buokle and Money Penny's "Life" and the *Times* files to refer to. The book is also not free from serious misprints such as that on p. 204, note 2, where a pamphlet containing a speech by Lord Salisbury is said to have been published three years before it was delivered.

If we might make a general criticism of the book we would say that with all its industry and learning, it is too verbose and overloaded with material to be readable. Mr. Williamson does not see the wood for the trees, and is unable to disen-

gage general ideas from the multitude of newspaper extracts. With one third of the length and one quarter of the authorities, a really clear and valuable book might have been written. As it is, the reader is exhausted by interminable quotations and wearisome repetitions until he feels inclined to fall back on the "Pocket Disraeli" in despair. There is also an uncritical tendency, an ascription of all reform from the days of Sir Robert Peel onwards to the secret workings of the Tory Democratic leaven, which prompts one either to see in the doctrine the origin of all political good, or to dismiss it, in Lord Randolph Churchill's words in reference to Home Rule, as a "farrago of superlative nonsense". The book is certainly not for the general public, though it may be of some use to the student.

The Tory democrat's attitude to democracy is like Margaret Fuller's attitude to the universe which she one day announced "she had decided to accept". "'Gad, she'd better," was Carlyle's comment. The Tory democrat is the man who makes a virtue of what since 1832 has been a necessity-going to the people for support. That this virtue never outran and did not always overtake the necessity is shown by the two following quotations of Lord Randolph Churchill:

"A Tory could go 'to any extent' to Liberalism, if by it he meant progress and provided that the maintenance of monarchy, the House of Lords, the Union between Great Britain and Ireland, and the connection between Church and State were not abandoned" (p. 16).

To-day the power of the Lords is broken, there is a Free State in Ireland, and the Church has its own Assembly.

"Tory Democrats did not aim to make philosophers of artisans and scholars of mechanics. Their ambition was to draw both artisans and still more the agricultural labourers into kindly intercourse with the classes above them" (p. 31).

Here is no democratic spirit. Its conception of society is a stationary system of classes, its radicalism a benevolent patronage. Lord Randolph Churchill's Democracy was really one of the most subtle forms of reaction. He did not belong to the do-nothing-till-you-are-pushed class of Conservatives, but to that astute and always small section which endeavours to prevent further change by satisfying the grievances of the people. His principle was expediency, not democracy, and his proposals were in essence political dope. So we find the Conservatives most democratic when in opposition, but delaying for ten years in office the grant of old age pensions. Disraeli's "reforming and Liberal propensities were somewhat dulled by political success", Mr. Balfour was out of office before he "frankly stated there was a spirit of unrest abroad" and Lord Robert Cecil's "New Outlook" of 1919 is still very far from realisation. The Tory Democrat policy is a policy of palliatives to allay discontent as against the radical policy of new institutions to meet new needs and the acceptance of change as a law of nature. Lord Randolph Churchill's Democracy was a nobleman's whim or a mountebank's phrase, while his Toryism was the

practical and intelligent application of Burke.

Mr. Williamson in his enthusiasm claims every leader from Peel "who has adopted all the principles and ideas of what people call Tory Democracy" to Robert Cecil whose "New Outlook" in 1919 advocated the democratisation of industry. The reference to Peel shows how essentially aristocratic this Democracy was, and to Lord Robert Cecil, the difference between Democracy and Lord Randolph Churchill. The democratisation of industry would mean something like Syndicalism or at any rate Guild Socialism, and it would affect, if it would not abolish, private property. Its suggestion by Lord Robert implies the acceptance of democracy as a principle which might even infringe upon property, as against Lord Randolph's acceptance of democracy as a proof which might help to buttress "the Monarchy, the House of Lords, the Union between Great Britain and Ireland, the connection between Church and State". The authentic 'Randolph' tradition is to-day represented by his son Winston Churchill and perhaps by Mr. Baldwin, the one with his Pensions and Insurance, the other with his speeches and coal subsidies. It is the prevention of new changes by making the people satisfied with their present conditions; the principle that a satiated animal is not likely to prove very restive.

T. G. P. SPEAR.

CASSEL'S ECONOMIC THEORIES.

FUNDAMENTAL THOUGHTS IN ECONOMICS. By GUSTAV CASSEL (T. Fisher Unwin, London.) 1925. 7½ x 5. pp. 157.

PROF. GUSTAV CASSEL reproduces in this book the lectures that he delivered at the London School of Economics. He claims for this book the merit of summarising the fundamental thoughts which link together the numerous works on economic subjects that he happens to have written on various occasions. He divides this book into four chapters. The first of these discusses the aims and methods of economic theory. He shows a preference for the abstract or deductive method, arguing from a minimum of assumptions with regard to social organism and gradually correcting the results arrived at by a consideration of the complex conditions that govern the actual world. He also contends that economics is essentially quantitative and pleads for the use of quantitative methods.

In the second chapter Prof. Cassel fights against the assumption which has commonly made economists postulate a barter stage in the evolution of primitive society. He regards this idea as fictitious very much as the idea of a social contract is fictitious in political evolution. Money, he says, "is not a new invention which has been introduced into a society accustomed to a regular exchange of commodities, and which has been deliberately accepted by that society." "Certainly there has never existed in the history of human life a society normally dependent upon the exchange of goods without the use of money." Perhaps the common belief in a barter economy may be accounted for when we remember that in primitive times the commodity that was usually selected as money was one that was constantly in demand on account of its intrinsic utility, and which was far from possessing the other qualities of what we now regard as good money.

But the most interesting chapter from the point of view of current interest is the last, in which Prof. Cassel discusses the question of the standards. He points out that the actual gold standards to which the European nations were getting accustomed, could be properly defined as paper standards regulated so as to correspond to the value of gold, and that this definition is truer still of post-war conditions than it was of pre-war conditions. Mr. Churchill's gold standard, he says, "where the circulation of gold coins is abolished, stands out for everybody in full daylight as a paper-standard guaranteed to be kept in a certain parity with gold by the provisions which oblige the central bank to buy and sell gold at fixed prices." Whatever be the scientific merits of such a system we cannot refrain from observing that so far as Great Britain is concerned if it has halted short of an effective gold standard, which guarantees convertibility into gold of all other media for exchange not only for external but also for internal purposes, it is because of the fact that her gold resources at the present moment are inadequate for the double task. The Committee on the amalgamation of note issues look forward in their report to the time when the gold standard will have been firmly re-established in the country, and when the ultimate convertibility of all other media of exchange into gold will have been secured even for the purposes of internal circulation.

Prof. Cassel, however, does not believe in any proper standard based on index numbers. He is an advocate of the gold standard and he advocates it not only for rich countries, but for all countries, poor or rich, because he says "the gold standard is at bottom nothing else than a proper standard, where the supply of means of payment is limited to such a scarcity as will keep the price of gold approximately constant." Prof. Cassel recognises the impossibility of securing absolute stability in the purchasing power of gold as a monetary unit. But he says the gold standard is to be preferred in spite of this drawback to any other currency system. "When we nevertheless accept the gold standard as the solution of the monetary problem, it is because we prefer making our standard dependent upon an outside objective factor, such as the value of gold, rather than leaving it to the caprices of politics." Let us not forget that this is also the fundamental objection to the currency system known as the gold exchange standard which has been said to be in operation in India, and for which the claim has been made that it is even more "scientific" than a gold standard. It might be so if "the caprices of politics" had no part to play. But this is as good as believing that the human factors that make up the Government of India are not human.

P. A. WADIA.

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPEMENT OF CHRISTIANITY.

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPEMENT OF CHRISTIANITY. (Life and Religion Series.) By

OSCAR L. JOSEPH, LITT. D. (Charles Scribner's

Sons, New York.) 1925. 6¼ × 4½. pp. 163. \$ 1.50.

THIS is a little book that may interest some in India who wish to have a brief conspectus of Christian history. It is, of course, an extraordinarily difficult thing to present in 163 pages an account of the spiritual achievements and failures of nineteen centuries in any fashion that will be even remotely adequate. It may be that this is done in this little book as well as it could be done. Its object is to tell the story "in such a way that its truly essential details shall stand out clearly and enable the wayfaring

reader to grasp them" (p. viii). Perhaps this might be attained less inadequately if more emphasis were placed on personalities. A religion writes its history on the souls of men, and the prophetic figures that from St. Paul to William Booth illuminate the dark centuries by their lives and their labours, present Christian history more truly than pages of dates and details. When we read the story by the light that they provide,—Bernard and Francis and Joan of Arc, George Fox and Wesley and J. H. Newman,—we realise that even in the darkest days God did not leave Himself without a witness and we are able, as the editors of this book put it, "to discern the guiding hand of God in each great emergency and to be reassured regarding the abiding foundations of the Church".

The perils of so rapid a summary are great and appear in such a phrase as "the pantheistic faith of Mithraism" (p. 23). On page 79 the startling reference to "Joan of Arc's espousal of the dauphin" is, of course, a slip for "espousal of the cause of the dauphin". In the list of books for further study one is surprised to find no mention of Abbé Duchesne's great History of the Early Church or even to Professor Gwatkin's admirable treatment of the same subject.

N. M.

MODERN ENGLISH.

MODERN ENGLISH. By J. HUBERT JAGGER. (University of London). 1925. 7½ × 4¾. pp. 236. 5s.

LITERARY English in recent years has been absorbing, annexing, transforming and coining words and phrases in an amazing degree, the emergence and obsolescence of words reminding one of the dissolution and formation of stars. Despoiled words like 'trend', 'lengthy', 'to advocate', 'phenomenal', and phrases like 'out to' (as in 'The Tories were out to destroy the Parliament Act'), 'be much in evidence', and 'claims to be' and all the other interlopers that the purist G. W. E. Russell gibbeted before the War, have perversely 'come to stay'. So have neologisms like 'intellectuals', 'nationals', 'intrigued' (i. e. puzzled agreeably or otherwise), 'inwardness', 'placate', 'antagonize', 'dated' (written with special reference to the time), 'place' (assign rank), Americanisms like 'disgruntled', and phrases like 'in the know of' and 'in the swim', though they have most of them been pilloried by the authors of *King's English*. Slang terms like 'to hedge', 'climb down', 'whole-hogger', 'bounder', 'oad', 'the under-dog', 'to corner', 'to floor', 'to stump' (the cricket term), and the critic's jargon of the stamp of 'log-rolling', 'birrelling', 'slating', have been granted the full rights of citizenship, while others on the borderland still clamour for franchise. The foreigner 'camouflage' is now a naturalized Englishman like 'naivety', a former immigrant. From the promise of the sub-title of Dr. Jagger's book, we expected a study of all this flux and influx of words; and these are exactly what we miss in his otherwise excellent compilation. It tells us mostly what we have already learnt from Trench's *Past and Present* and *Study of Words*, from *King's English*, Logan Smith's *English Language*, and the legion of grammars, but fails to give us what Smith does in his recent fascinating book on 'Words and Idioms.' Dr. Jagger's book leads off with a lucid chapter on phonetics, followed by a historical outline, a discussion of etymology, the appreciation and depreciation of the meanings of words, and closes with a very readable chapter on the modifications of words, treated under well-classified heads. On the "whole

the book is a welcome aid to the acquisition of correct English.

R. SADASIVA AIYAR.

BRITISH LABOUR PROPAGANDA.

THE MIRACLE OF FLEET STREET. By GEORGE LANSBURY. (The Labour Publishing Co., London). 1925. $7\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$. pp. 167. 2s.

INDIAN Labour is yet for the most part unorganised and has begun to organise itself only recently. Naturally enough it does not yet boast of a decent newspaper solely devoted to its own interests. This is a state of things which must not be allowed to continue much longer if labour's interests are not to suffer. The successes of the British Labour Party at the polls in recent General Elections are stimulating labour organisation in India; and the people of this country are particularly interested in its doings. Mr. Lansbury's account, therefore, of the ups and downs in the brief but chequered career of the daily official exponent of the Labour Party in England is specially welcome. As usual in such cases, the paper had very small beginnings. It started as a daily on April 15, 1912, with a capital of only £300, but owing to financial difficulties of a threatening character, had to be converted into a weekly in 1914, to reappear as a daily at the end of March, 1919. That a paper with such small capital had to experience many financial crises need not be stated. Suffice it to say that once or twice those responsible for its conduct had even formally decided to wind it up! But it was the generosity and enthusiasm of some friends of the Labour party that enabled the *Herald* to tide over its difficulties. Among such helpers must be prominently mentioned Muriel Countess de la Warr, who is known in Indian political circles as a staunch follower of Mrs. Besant in spiritual and other matters. Of her Mr. Lansbury says, "There has never been a crisis overcome without her help." If only Indian labour had such wealthy and sympathetic friends, how much easier would the work of organising it be! People in India cannot have forgotten the charge freely made in England not very long ago against the *Daily Herald* that it was corrupted by Bolshevik and German gold. Mr. Lansbury shows how utterly devoid of foundation such accusations were. It is of course clear that if the *Herald* had been open to such demoralising influences, its financial embarrassments would long ago have been matters of history; but the conductors are not even yet quite out of the woods. It is no doubt some consolation to them to find the *Herald* enjoying over four lakhs of circulation; but that is far from saying that the paper is now on a sound financial basis. Those who are familiar with Mr. Lansbury's writings need not be told that the book makes very interesting reading and in some parts even reads like fiction.

D. V. A.

SHORT NOTICES.

EDUCATION FOR SELF-REALISATION AND SOCIAL SERVICE. By FRANK WATTS. (University of London.) 1925. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$. pp. 275. xxii. 7s. 6d.

THIS book by a well-known writer hardly requires any lengthy review six years after its publication. The author is Lecturer on Experimental Psychology, Manchester University. In three parts of the book covering twenty-one chapters, he has discussed such topics as Education and the Community, the many-sided Educational Ideal, the new

Renaissance in Education, the Individual Nature of the Child, the Social Nature of the Child, Individual Development as a Social Process, Psychology of Play, the Instincts in Education, the Sublimation of the Primary Tendencies.

In the chapter on Sublimation the author emphasises that "unless education can provide the means for the satisfactory control of our primitive tendencies, then, at any moment passion may become so strong and so anarchic as to imperil in its outburst the whole fabric of civilisation". In all the chapters the author has been successful in showing that self-assertion is not self-realisation, and that the latter is based on the organic conception of society. He has also clearly pointed out that self-realisation does not necessarily demand freedom from restraint. In almost all cases it can be attained only by submitting to restraint. And the doctrine considers the self not so much as realising itself against society as realising itself within it. The book should be read by all teachers of secondary schools and workers in the field of social service. They will get much food for reflection.

J. M. SEN.

MISCELLANEOUS.

AUSTRALIA AND SOUTH AFRICA.

MR. SASTRI'S SPEECH.

"Dr. Annie Besant brought together yesterday evening (15th inst.) a distinguished international gathering under the big Banyan Tree in the Blavatsky Gardens, Adyar and entertained them at a delightful Tea Party to congratulate and thank Senator Matthew Reid of the Australian Commonwealth Parliament and the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P. C., for their successful efforts in winning for Indians, resident in Australia, Civic equality, as Citizens with all the other citizens in the Commonwealth." says *New India*. Mr. Sastri's speech on the occasion is given below.

Dr. Besant, Friends and Fellow citizens of the Empire, Like Senator Reid I am proud on this occasion. You have been good enough to recognise in a generous manner the services that I was enabled as the representative of the Government of India to render in Australia and in other Dominions. Naturally, I am particularly gratified at the first fruits of that mission. But I cannot accept the entire credit that was assigned to me for this successful transaction. To Senator Reid and to many others in Australia, men of influence and high position in politics, who not merely sympathised with our aspirations, but actively helped in realising them in their country, our utmost thanks are due. I would mention especially him who was at that time the Prime Minister, Mr. Hughes. His successor after him has also built up a claim to our gratitude which, for personal reasons, I am most happy on this occasion to render on behalf of India.

Senator Reid alluded amongst other things to the White Australia Policy. I had to make it clear a hundred times while I stayed in Australia—I stayed only for a month—that it was no part of my business, while in that country, to question the right of Australians to determine the composition of their own population; but even after the hundredth disavowal I still found many people so sensitive about their White Australia Policy that they never completely laid aside a slight suspicion as to the object of my mission. Among the many stories that gained currency, especially amongst the labouring population, there was one which it might amuse you to hear. It was said that I had met on the Continent the Premier of South Australia, a gentleman who had since been knighted, Mr. Barwell, and entered with him into a sort of compact for breaking down the White Australia Policy, and that it was to carry out that compact that I had come into that Dominion. Several such stories went round. But I am happy to tell you that outside the labouring classes, these suspicious stories

never gained any footing, and amongst my most happy memories of that mission is the hospitality, the ungrudging courtesy and kindness, that I received throughout, while I stayed in Australia.

There are many things that crowd into my mind; but I must put them aside, to allude to a circumstance which again Senator Reid alluded to. That is the genuine sympathy felt all over that Dominion towards our Home Rule Movement in India. There is no doubt, notwithstanding appearances to the contrary, that we often meet with in this country, that deep in the consciousness of the Britisher is the idea of Equality and Brotherhood. Whether he will or no, in places and at times, the Britisher must help in the establishment of Equality. Sometimes, I know, he struggles hard against it. But there is something in the British Institutions which compels him against his inclinations, against his interests, and, perhaps, against his policy in India, somehow, unconsciously and unwillingly, to be an instrument in the hands of Providence for the establishment of Human Brotherhood on earth.

There is, I am sorry to say, a certain part of the British Empire where, however, institutions of a political character are built, not on the idea of equality but on its opposite. It is through influences emanating from South Africa that even this measure of the emancipation of Indians in Australia was delayed to some extent. General Smuts, whose name stands high wherever the Empire is honored and cherished, has not concealed from the world that the fundamental basis of the South African Constitution is that of inequality between white and colored citizens and he has often told us so. Why? You will remember that in the year 1923, after I had gone round he said in the Imperial Conference that I had done great harm to the cause of India by my speeches in Australia, New Zealand and Canada. He went the length of saying that the establishment of the Rights of Indians in the Empire, the establishment of Brotherhood, had really been hindered by my work. I would ask Senator Reid and the other Australians who may be present here whether they should find it in their hearts to endorse that estimate of my work passed by General Smuts. I think I did some service to the Empire in that mission (Hear, hear).

While we are meeting here, we cannot forget that out there on the sands of the Triplicane Beach, another meeting is held of the sorrowing citizens of Madras where three of our Indians, resident in South Africa, are narrating the hundred humiliating aspects and features of a situation that has for some time been very acute and is now entering indeed on a desperate phase. It is impossible for me, while we rejoice at what has been done in Australia, not to cast a look of regret at what has been done and what is being done with such spirit in South Africa—not merely to put off the emancipation of Indians, that perhaps is not so big a matter, but really to damage the good reputation of the Empire in the eyes of the world. Among other things General Smuts used to tell me at the Imperial Conference, in 1921: "Now, look here. You complain of ill-treatment of Indians in my Dominion. Why do you complain of that? You go and ill-treat our people in India. I don't mind." He asked us, in fact, to carry into effect through our Legislative machinery the provision that we had made for reciprocity, in angry political parlance called "retaliation". He asked us to use, in one word, our power of retaliation, and he said he would not bear any ill-will. General Smuts knew fully that even if we used the utmost power of ill-treatment, we could not hit back with a thousandth part of the violence or the force that he and his Government could employ against Indians.

But apart altogether from that, I ask you: Is ill-treatment and retaliation the method in which the mission of this Empire is going to be carried out? I am speaking in Adyar; I must not forget that I speak under this Great Tree. Here we have listened so often to eloquent attempts at reconciling the human race, at harmonising the forces of the world, at bringing about a peaceful and brotherly understanding among those that stand now divided sadly in heart and in mind. I bear that in mind. This tree, Dr. Besant, (turning to her)

is to us, outsiders, an object of as much veneration, nay, even personal love, as to you who are Theosophists and live here always. Speaking under the healing and benign shade of this magnificent tree, it is not for me to utter a word that may divide divided Nations further. But I must emphatically state my conviction that even if we explored the fullest recesses and possibilities of retaliation, we should not have arrived one whit nearer the final solution of this problem. It is by understanding, it is by one Dominion resolving to treat fairly the British subjects elsewhere in the Empire, it is by according full Equality and Brotherhood, it is by the establishment of reciprocity in equality, and not by the establishment of reciprocity in inequality and disability, that the larger ends of this Empire have to be subserved.

I was one of those who were behind Sir Hari Singh Gour when he brought forward his Bill of Reciprocity the year before last. We took that step, being compelled thereto, in order to vindicate the manhood of this Nation. But at no time did I believe that was the best solution of the matter. As I said, we must all realise, in anger as well as in gentleness of heart, what this great Commonwealth means, what it stands for, and in regions like South Africa, where still the Empire is not fully understood in its deepest significance, we must treat those brethren of ours with understanding and with sympathy. I would therefore ask my brothers and sisters here of Australia to help us in this work. We are trying to educate our South African fellow-citizens, so that they may understand fully what this Empire stands for, and that if the Empire did not realise it, it would mean nothing to us in India, but, on the other hand, would bring in a disaster which will not only overwhelm the Empire, but probably overwhelm the rest of the world as well.

But, having said this solemn word of warning, I must hark back to where we began. Dr. Besant, you were right in saying that the work done by the Australian Government in setting its seal of legislation on the emancipation of Indians is work for which not only we here, but British people all over the Empire, must feel grateful. I really hope that the good example will spread, and that in South Africa, in Kenya, in Fiji, in Guiana and everywhere else where Britisher and Indian live together under the Union Jack, not the might and majesty only of the Commonwealth, but its full meaning, its full potency for human brotherhood, will be realised. (Cheers.)

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- WANDERINGS AND EXCURSIONS. By J. RAMSAY MACDONALD. (The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis.) 1925. 8 x 9. pp. 319. \$3.
- SPIRITUAL VALUES IN ADULT EDUCATION: A STUDY OF A NEGLECTED ASPECT. Vols. 2. By BASIL A. YEAXLEE. (Oxford University Press, London.) 1925. 8 1/2 x 5. pp. 320 + 455. 10s. 6s. & 15s.
- EXTRA-TERRITORIALITY: ITS RISE AND DECLINE. By SHIN SHUN LIU. (Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University, New York.) 1925. 9 x 6. pp. 235.
- NATIVE LABOUR LAW AND PRACTICE IN PAPUA. By C. F. JACKSON. (The Law Book Co. of Australasia, Ltd., Australia.) 1924. 9 1/2 x 6. pp. 117.
- THE MINISTRY OF HEALTH. By SIR ARTHUR NEWSHOLME. (G. P. Putnam's Sons, Ltd., London.) 1925. 7 1/2 x 5. pp. 271. 5s.
- THE ENGLISH FACTORIES IN INDIA, 1665-67. By SIR WILLIAM FOSTER. (Clarendon Press, Oxford.) 1925. 9 x 6. pp. 354. 18s.
- THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS. By SANTOSH KUMAR DAS. Calcutta. 1925. 7 x 4 1/2. pp. 164. Rs. 2
- INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, HONOLULU SESSION. 1925. 9 1/2 x 6 1/2. pp. 207.
- THE HOME OFFICE. By SIR EDWARD TROUP. (G. P. Putnam's Sons, Ltd., London.) 1925. 7 1/2 x 5. pp. 267. 5s.
- BUILDERS OF THE EMPIRE. By J. A. WILLIAMSON. (Clarendon Press, Oxford.) 1925. 7 1/2 x 4 1/2. pp. 297. 4s. 6d

Macfadden's Valuable Books on Health.

- | | |
|---|--------|
| | Rs. A. |
| 1. Eating for Health and Strength. Shows in a very definite manner, what to eat and how to eat in order to maintain vitality at high water mark. ... | 7 0 |
| 2. Fasting for Health. Presented in a new and understandable form, with a thorough review of the startling history of scientific research into Nature's own cure-Fasting, ... | 7 0 |
| 3. The Miracle of Milk. How to use the Milk Diet Scientifically at Home. Amazing new facts about milk. Shows how milk will build up, give strength and cure a long list of diseases. ... | 7 0 |
| 4. Constipation, its Cause and Cure. Presents concise, complete and specific directions on how to cure this complaint. Tells about diet, special exercises and other measures for banishing constipation. Contains illustrations handsomely printed in two colours throughout. ... | 1 12 |
| 5. Physical Culture for Baby. Tells how by following a few simple laws of nature children can be made strong and healthy beings. ... | 7 0 |

EAT AND GROW THIN.

- | | |
|--|------|
| 1. Eat and Grow Thin- The Mahdah Menus with a Preface by Vance Thompson. Shows how a fat man can dine as well as ever and yet grow thin. ... | 2 14 |
| 2. Salads. By Mrs. C. F. Leyer. The Lure of Cookery Series. Contains a list of Green Salads and fruit Salads including Salad Dressings and Recipes for Salad Vinegars. ... | 1 4 |
| 3. Summer Drinks and Winter Cordials. By Mrs. C. F. Leyer. Gives the newest American drinks, as well as good old-fashioned English ones. Also contains recipes for the various fruit syrups and vinegars. ... | 1 4 |

The Theosophical Publishing House,

Adyar

Madras

THE INDIAN BOOK SHOP
NEW INDIA OFFICE.

George Town,

Madras.

SALE! SALE!! SALE!!!

HALF PRICE FOR THIS MONTH ONLY.

**22 Kt. GOLD PLATE CASE GOLD GILT
DIAL WRIST WATCH.**



Original Rs. 14. Sale price Rs. 7/-

Guaranteed 4 years.

Well Finish durability, and accuracy SWISS mechanism. Jerk and damp proof. Beautiful shapes in all sizes.

Order for above any 3 watches at a time will fetch a 14 Kt Nib Fountain pen, and 6 watches. One of the same watch Free.

No more recommendation is needed. A trial will convince.

Write to:—

KING WATCH DEPOT
P. B. 466, VEPEERY, MADRAS.

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

THE PROGRESS OF EDUCATION.

A Journal devoted to the Cause of Education.

(Published six times a year.)

Royal 8 vo pp. 4.

Subscriptions s. 6 per year. Postage Extra.

Editorial Committee.

Prof. V. B. NAIK, M. A. (Fergusson College).

„ M. R. PARANJPE, M. A., B. Sc. (New Poona College).

„ N. G. DAMLE, M. A. (Fergusson College)

„ N. G. NARALKAR, M. A., L. T. (New Poona College).

Contains articles on educational subjects educational news, notes on current topics, notices and reviews of educational publications, extracts from contemporary journals, pedagogical discussion on school-craft, notes on lessons &c.

The rates of advertisements are as under:—

	One issue	Three issues	Yearly
Full page	Rs. 12	30	50
Half page	„ 7	18	30
Quarter page	„ 5	10	18

Contract rates for advertisements will be settled by correspondence or personal interview.

Apply to:—The Manager 'The Progress of Education.'

C/o Arya-Bhushan Press,

POONA CITY.

THE LUCKNOW UNIVERSITY JOURNAL,

A high class University Journal for the promotion of original research.

Four issues will be published during each academic year viz., in September, December, February and May.

Editor—W. Burridge, M. A., M. B., B. Ch., L. M. S., S. A., and N. K. Siddhanta, M. A.—supported by a strong Consultative Board representative of all the Departments in the University.

Special Features.

The Journal will contain original contributions from members of the Lucknow University and will also publish Vernacular contributions in Hindi or Urdu of a suitable character. It will contain portraits and illustrations from time to time. It will also publish Reviews and Notices of all important Books and Reports coming out in the educational world. Another important feature of the Journal will be the publication of the latest news about University affairs and other interesting informations about educational matters.

Annual Subscription

	Town.	Mofussil.	Foreign
For Students of the University,	Rs. 2 0	2 8	} 10/-
For all others ...	Rs. 4 0	4 8	

Matters for publication should be sent to the EDITOR.

All business communications relating to subscriptions and advertisements should be sent to the Business Manager.

The Journal is an excellent medium for advertisement. For advertisement rates and other particulars apply to—

M. B. REHMAN,

Business Manager.

LUCKNOW UNIVERSITY, }
LUCKNOW, }

Lucknow University Journal

LUCKNOW : UPPER INDIA PUBLISHING HOUSE, Ltd., 41 Amnabad Park.