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Editor: S. G. VAZE

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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

MR. MAHOMED ALI'S reply to my article on Hindus and Moslems shows annoyance, if not anger. I neither intended nor expected it. I used the word "separatist" to mean an advocate of separate electorates and "nationalist" to mean an advocate of general electorates. No general qualities of head or heart were present to my mind.

I knew of his amendment and final opposition. The principal difference between the original proposition and the amendment is to his credit. I gladly recognise it. Whereas some others would alter the Lucknow pact only to the benefit of Mussalmans, he adopts the basis of numerical proportion. Still he appears now as a champion of separate electorates even in the sphere of local self-government and education. He says he has changed, because Hindus as a community did not rise to the Mahatma's height of Nationalism. The fact of change is lamentable, while the explanation is inadequate. Mr. Mahomed Ali finds fault with the Hindu community, the Servants of India Society and me. All three, alas, are very imperfect and all three will try to profit by his criticism.

V. S. SRINIVASAN.

MR. JAYAKAR having, very unwisely in our opinion, decided not to seek re-election to the University seat in the Bombay Legislative Council, which he vacated by resignation, Dr. R. P. Paranjpye has offered himself as a candidate in the Liberal interest. The other candidate for the same seat is Dr. G. V. Deshmukh from Bombay. A distinguished medical practitioner, Dr. Deshmukh is, however, a perfect stranger to public life. That he is quite new to politics is shown by the fact that in his manifesto,

in compiling which he must have expended some thought and time, he makes it appear that he belongs at the same time to three political parties professing conflicting opinions: the orthodox N.-C.-O., the obstructionist Swarajists and Responsivist Swarajists! He of course belongs to no party whatever. The Responsive Co-operationists have already publicly disowned him and issued a warning to the electors that Dr. Deshmukh's success at the polls would be proof positive that responsive co-operation had no adherents in the Presidency. The Swaraj party led by Pandit Motilal has, however, since adopted Dr. Deshmukh as its candidate, and the Congress, which is now tied to the chariot-wheels of the Pandit, has also through its leaders blessed his candidature, though these leaders do not favour Council entry at all. We would strongly recommend the candidature of Dr. Paranjpye to the electorate, not so much on the ground that Dr. Deshmukh is a cypher in education as well as in politics as on the ground that Dr. Paranjpye, the author of the Compulsory Education Act, ought to be in the Bombay Legislature to see to it that the Act is put into force. The present Education Minister is phenomenally inactive in enforcing compulsion and we have no doubt that Dr. Paranjpye's presence on the Opposition benches will do more to energise Mr. Jadhav than anything else we can think of. Mr. Paranjpye may also be trusted to safeguard the privileges and rights of popular representatives, which need to be jealously watched at the present time particularly in view of the Swaraj party's vow of silence.

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LALA LAJPAT RAI is "very strongly opposed to the boycott of Councils and also to the policy of wholesale obstruction in the Councils." He believes "that the Councils should be worked for what they are worth" (vide the *People* of January 17). But there is one important exception. Lalaji is in favour of working the reforms *minus* the transferred departments. He would not have any true patriot touch minister-ships with a pair of tongs. Lalaji's opinion, therefore, amounts to this: he would like everyone to make the best of the least substantial part of the reforms, and would insist that the most substantial part should be left severely alone. To take an illustration, he would work with all his might and main to improve the jail administration—just because it is a reserved department and the people's representatives wield no power in respect of it. That is why we find Lalaji pleading his hardest before the Punjab Government's Jail Committee, both the composition and terms of reference of which are on his own showing extremely unsatisfactory. The good part of the Committee's recommendations (if there should be any good part) is also capable of being gently consigned by the bureaucracy to the dust-heap. But apparently for the very reason that the people can at best exert some amount of influence but do not enjoy even a particle of power in the jail department, Lala Lajpat Rai

would devote his energies to that subject. Let this department be, however, transferred to the control of Ministers, Lalaji will instantly turn his disdainful back on it. Is not the Minister's control over such a department something short of full? Is he not liable, at least in some cases, to be overruled by the Governor? Is not the Governor likely to appoint only weak Ministers? Do let us therefore have done with these Ministerships. If it is a patriot's duty to stand aside from all places where the power conferred upon people's representatives is not altogether complete, it is equally his duty to concentrate his attention on things where people's representatives enjoy no sort of power. If one has not the very last word in a matter, one should not raise one's voice at all in regard to it. If, however, one is given no voice in a thing, one should make it one's business to be raising one's voice constantly about it. This seems to be the rationale of Lalaji's politics at the present day.

* * *

Compulsory Education in Bengal. It is gratifying to find that though Bengal refuses to have Ministers, the bureaucracy is considering schemes of educational expansion. On Jan. 12 a mixed conference of officials and popular representatives was held in the Howrah Town Hall to discuss the Elementary Education Bill, which, it is understood, the Bengal Government will introduce in the next session of the Legislative Council. The Bill has not yet seen the light of day, but the leading features of the measure would seem to be two: entrusting primary education to an *ad hoc* education committee in each district, composed of the District Magistrate, the District Inspector of Schools, Sub-Divisional Officer, three representatives of the District Boards, and three representatives of the Union Boards of each sub-division in the district, and the levying of an education cess of one anna in the rupee of rent. Both these proposals were furiously attacked at the conference. To make education the sole concern of a special statutory body is a desirable reform, but the obvious defect in the proposed composition of this body is the absence of men who have specialized in education. It is, however, the proposal in regard to taxation that will arouse the bitterest opposition in the Council and it is idle to hope in this landlord-ridden legislature the Bill will go through unless the Government is prepared to resort to extraordinary powers, which we neither expect nor desire. It is, however, satisfactory to see that real friends of the poor like Dr. Nares Chandra Sen Gupta have already commenced a vigorous propaganda, not in favour of the Bill, but in favour of the imposition of taxes on landlords—and if necessary even on tenants—for the sole purpose of the wider diffusion of education. Dr. Sen Gupta points out that the incidence of taxation on zamindars in Bengal amounts only to 10% of the net income, while in other provinces it is nearer 50%. The landlords are thus certainly capable of paying the cess—a fact which we should think needs no proof. But he shows further that such an imposition will be entirely in keeping with the spirit of the Government's contract with them—with the spirit of the Permanent Settlement. The administration no doubt admits of further retrenchment, but it is certainly not wise to hold up compulsory education—which is a prime need that will cost something like 80 lakhs of rupees—because the bureaucracy does not effect economy where public opinion would have them do so. It is heartening to find that Mr. Sasmal, a prominent member of the Council, has declared himself willing to vote for additional taxation provided elementary education is entrusted to a popularly constituted body.

* * *

BABU KHEM CHAND, the nominated member for the depressed classes in the U. P. Council, recently raised an interesting debate on his motion, which he eventually withdrew, for giving special facilities for the education of the depressed classes. Besides suggesting the grant of a large number of scholarships to depressed class pupils studying in colleges and in high and primary schools, he also wanted "one sub-deputy inspector and two supervisors drawn preferably from the depressed classes" to be placed on the special duty of pushing on the spread of education among the depressed classes. His resolution also called upon the Government to prepare a definite programme so that all children of school-going age belonging to the depressed classes could be brought under instruction in primary schools at an early date. It need not be pointed out that this is nothing but a demand for compulsory primary education at any rate for the children of the depressed classes and, emanating as it does from a representative of those classes, is doubly welcome. The debate was also remarkable from another point of view. On the motion of Rai Bahadur Thakur Hanuman Singh, the U. P. Council passed an important amendment urging that "there should be a rule that any aided institution refusing admission to any student of the depressed classes would forfeit the aid granted to it." It remains to be seen whether the Government will take action upon it or merely ignore it. But whatever they do, there is no doubt that the U. P. Council has done the right thing in carrying it. If we are not mistaken, such a provision exists in the Bombay grant-in-aid Code, thanks to Dr. Paranjpye when he was Education Minister, and has not been known to cause much hardship. We are sorry that on this point we do not see eye to eye either with the U. P. Minister for Education or his Secretary who were curiously enough a day after the fair in speaking against the amendment. Far from the principle embodied in it being 'contrary to the practice of all countries,' as the latter has been reported to have said, it seems to us that it only brings it into line with the grant-in-aid system prevalent in all civilized countries.

* * *

Planters and Malaria

It is announced that Dr. Harold Ross, brother of the famous Sir Ronald Ross and a well-known expert on malaria, is coming to Assam to investigate the problem of malaria in the tea gardens. One need hardly say that it is not the Government of Assam that has invited him. It will be remembered that Sir Ronald Ross has been invited by the Ceylon planters to suggest plans to fight malaria in the plantations. Some time ago the planters of Assam had invited Sir Malcolm Watson to advise them on the malaria problem. The enterprise of the planters is very commendable indeed. Sir Malcolm was for a long time in the Malay States and succeeded in almost freeing the land of malaria. Although over a million men die of malaria every year in Bengal and other provinces in India are affected by the disease in varying degrees, the Governments of these provinces apparently do not believe in such nonsense as investigating and adopting plans to fight malaria under acknowledged experts such as Sir Malcolm Watson or Sir Ronald Ross. Readers of Ronald Ross's Memoirs know how shabbily the Government of India treated him and his mosquito malaria theory while he was in the Indian Medical Service. Will the planters of Assam and Ceylon shame the provincial Governments into taking active measures to fight malaria now?

LORD READING'S SPEECH.

By V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

I.

THE happenings at Delhi remind one of nothing so much as of two estranged lovers, both of whom protest the utmost longing for reunion, but each of whom sighs in vain before an amused world for the other party to respond to clear advances by adequate signs of a changed heart. The world, however, is ceasing to be amused. It perceives that the aim, whether of the Government or of the Swarajists, is to win, not the heart of the other party, but the sympathy of the public. It is not failure of the negotiations which they wish to avert, but the blame and responsibility for it. While this game of pique is going on, the country waits, is puzzled and suffers. It has long been obvious that the India Office and its agents here only try to lose time till 1929. Their way of doing it is to ask for co-operation from those who are certain to refuse it. If by mistake or under stress of events the Swarajists do co-operate, Government asks for complete and formal surrender. The Swarajists for their part must argue that their apparent co-operation is only a concealed and effective variety of non-co-operation. The programme scheduled at Cawnpore is to begin as soon as Government says "No". The Viceroy says he will await the turn of events during this session, and the Home Member, not wanting in resource, says there is no such thing as the last word. Pandit Nehru is in a cleft stick.

The drifting policy of the Swarajists plays into the hands of the Tory Government. Lord Reading is enabled thereby to pose as an amiable teacher whose temper remains unruffled, however sorely tried by naughty boys. His speech is a model of equanimity and persuasiveness. One cannot find fault with the spoken word unless it be a fault that it is admirably adapted to the purpose, namely, the veiling of a *non possumus* so as to look like the renewal of a long unheeded offer. On the last occasion when the Viceroy addressed the legislature, I took exception to his asking us to trust the sense of justice of the British nation. The *Bengalee* belaboured me for doing so, but did not convince me. This time His Excellency tells us: "A more generous response would, I feel sure, have evoked generous action. The heart of Britain would have been won by immediate and sympathetic acceptance of the advances she had made, and a new situation would have been created, based upon mutual trust and goodwill." I am impelled as before to cry "Question?" Not that I think the British are without a sense of justice or they do not now and then act generously and even magnanimously. But self-righteousness is no more attractive in a Britisher than in an Indian, and one objects to a claim to these virtues being solemnly set up just when no practice of them is intended. A long and eventful connection like that between

Britain and India must have both shadows and lights, and let me gladly add my settled conviction that it has been decidedly beneficent, more so than any other connection in history has been. Still it would take more credulity than the inexperienced Indian politician has to believe that if the Swarajists had become avowed co-operators last year, the present Conservative Ministry would have definitely launched a scheme of Swaraj for India.

Why, one feels tempted to cite some reasons to justify the contrary belief. We have hardly forgotten our share in the War and the encomiums showered on us during its continuance. It was when recompense was suggested that the generosity of acknowledgment was found to be out of all proportion to the generosity of gift; and we had even a gentle reminder that virtue is its own reward. In South Africa Mr. Gandhi suspended his passive resistance movement in order not to embarrass the Government at the time of a serious labour trouble and induced his Indian followers to assist their white oppressors in a fierce war though under humiliating conditions. Did he get generous treatment? In Kenya it was Indian trade that occasioned British intervention, it was Indian labour that built the great railway, it was Indian intelligence that sustained British administration and it was the Indian Army that saved the Colony for Britain. Did that save us from the Great Betrayal of 1923? Take Mesopotamia next. Our administration bore the British burden there, our armies kept the British flag flying, our clerks ran the establishments. But soon under the pretext of Arab jealousy the offices were closed to us and "Indians not wanted" became a common advertisement. But the recent anti-Indian legislation in Burma, to which the Viceroy gave his assent only the other day, has taught the most slow-witted Indian the bitter truth that at his very door and under the Union Jack, ungenerous and insulting treatment may be meted out to him without the voice of Great Britain being raised to protect him. In the domestic politics of India one has only to remember on the one hand the unexampled outburst of brotherliness and comradeship between Britisher and Indian when the non-co-operation cloud darkened the sky: racial distinctions were abolished, repressive laws were repealed, we had a vision of Sandhurst and Woolwich, and official and non-official Europeans joined in a recommendation that our constitution should be revised before 1929. How near we then were to the millennium! As soon as the political sky began to clear, the too trustful Liberals were flung overboard, the Sandhurst and kindred promises were repudiated, Lord Peel cast back the Assembly's request for constitutional advance in its teeth, and the Rowlatt Act with all its accursed provisions came back to life in the Bengal Ordinance.

In these circumstances, am I too pessimistic to warn our countrymen against simple-minded trust in British generosity or is the *Bengalee* too optimistic in trying to persuade us that there is only a bright side to the story of British doings in India? It is easy enough to blame the Swarajists for all our ills. Poor chaps! It is true enough their policy is unwise and their strategy utterly futile. But let us not be deceived. There is overwhelming evidence that for the time being the old Imperialism, with some at least of its sinister consequences, has reasserted itself in Great Britain, and that till the people of India learn to unite and put full constitutional pressure on British policy, they must be prepared to be used again and betrayed again. However, we are at one on the main issue. Those for whom the *Bengalee* writes and those for whom I write are thoroughly agreed about this—that India's political salvation must be sought within the Brittanic Commonwealth and by peaceful and constitutional means; that the progress that we make at any time towards emancipation depends entirely on the moral and economic strength; that the moral and economic strength can be built up only by using to the best advantage all the opportunities and resources that the present constitution places at our disposal; that the policy of non-co-operation and its bastard child, Swarajism, deliberately discards these opportunities and resources and puts the country and the people at a continuing disadvantage; that we must adopt towards our British brethren in India an attitude of sane and just fellow-citizenship, neither trusting them altogether as angelic nor distrusting them altogether as 'Satanic', but treating them as just human, subject, alas, to temptation and capable, thank heaven, of generosity; that as inheritors of free and democratic institutions, they are, despite grievous lapses, more tolerant, sportsmanlike and liberty-loving than most other nations on earth; and that we must govern our mutual relations by the sovereign consideration that as we have to abide together under one flag, the wise course is to work together whenever we can, to oppose each other only when we must, but always to understand and be understood, to improve and be improved.

II.

I HAVE so far dealt with the part of the Viceroy's recent speech in which he expounds his views on the question of constitutional advance. I now propose to offer a few observations on certain other parts which, if of less importance, are not of less interest. The appointment of a Royal Commission on Agriculture has been expected for some time; but this is very different from saying that it has been keenly desired or earnestly demanded. Agriculture and rural economy have been transferred to the care of Ministers in the provinces, and although they constitute one of India's standing problems, the public mind would seem tacitly to have postponed

its solution till complete internal autonomy should free the hands of responsible leaders and enable them to tackle it along with other difficult problems, with which it is too deeply involved such as land-revenue, permanent settlement and general finance. Curiously enough, the first stirrings of opinion in respect of this Commission were heard in England. It is a riddle in the psychology of our British administrators that they should have voluntarily bestowed this expensive boon upon a people to whom, in more urgent matters and after protracted agony of agitation, they have refused a sympathetic ear. Lord Reading's recital of the originating circumstances touches the surface of the matter and produces no conviction as to the *motif*. I should have liked an allusion to the involved history of this question, as it would then have worn the semblance of a ruler's sincere remorse. The innumerable phases through which the administration of land revenue and allied subjects has passed from the days of the East India Company will reveal a story of ignorance, perversity and callousness scarcely to be paralleled in British annals anywhere. The rebuffs and insults which popular representatives and even sympathetic civilians have had to bear during decades in order to draw the attention of the authorities to the chronic misery and indebtedness of the ryot and to the cruelties of our land revenue system, would read like a page of fable. The Torture Commission of 1853, the story of the *Nil Darpan*, the agitation for inquiry into the economic condition of the ryot, Romesh Chunder Datt's revelations regarding land settlements, the Famine Insurance Fund—these are only a few of the many passages in a long record of bitter struggle between Government and people. All this has been nearly forgotten, and none but a student of history would willingly turn over the sad pages again. If the terms of reference had included some of these long-standing grievances, we should have regarded this Royal Commission as an act of belated repentance and partial expiation. As it is, one cannot reject as altogether fanciful the explanation that the Secretary of State has drawn a red herring in the path of the political agitator. This may, for all one knows, be an attempt, of which the past history of India can furnish examples, to get straight to the peasant in the field without the intervention of his natural leader and teach him the difference between Codlin and Short. But enough of this cavil which does not proceed wholly from a grumbling disposition. A wise cow will not refuse to drink out of the public trough because it was built for fame, not out of genuine compassion for dumb creatures. The Royal Commission, even with its restricted scope, can be a source of great good to millions of our countrymen, and it is our plain duty to afford it every possible assistance in its labours. Of course nothing can turn us from the pursuit of our political aims; but one longs for the eloquence which can teach our Swarajist compatriots that to utilise to the full the opportunities opened up by this Commission is worth a dozen campaigns of preparation for civil disobedience.

The dispute with South Africa has been treated in a passage more moving and adequate than one has ever read in the utterances of the present Governor-General. No doubt in South Africa, where passion runs high and has nearly smothered reason and justice, the weighty and well-considered words of Lord Reading will produce no impression. But His Excellency may have the satisfaction that his warning as to the Imperial bearings of the question and his emphatic statement that Boer policy conflicts with the principles for which the Empire stands will be read in India with the utmost gratitude and joy. These feelings, however, will be mixed with a certain amount of alarm. In speaking of the Paddison deputation, the Viceroy makes reference to "smoothing any difficulties that may have been found in their existing scheme of purely voluntary repatriation." Now the country heartily distrusts this voluntary repatriation and suspects it is in reality compulsory repatriation. Why our Government should undertake to make this odious scheme effective the people have the right to know. Unfortunately, the India Government have kept the official despatches on the subject a secret from the public, and this has been a slight drawback in what would otherwise be a complete concord between Government and people. Another reason that may have caused a little weakening in our attitude is the frequent change of hands that this portfolio has had to undergo in the last few months. In the absence of definite information of the complaints that the South African Government has made on the subject of repatriation, the sensitive mind of India may well be pardoned if it entertains a suspicion that our Government either have made or are about to make an unnecessary surrender without any compensating advantage.

I confess to having been a little startled on reading the Viceroy's remarks on the League of Nations. Lord Willingdon's Report is no doubt full of interest and will repay perusal. But I had an idea that after the way in which he has treated our wishes in regard to the personnel of the Indian deputation to Geneva, he would give a wide berth to the topic in his public pronouncements. But I rub my eyes and actually read the words "to give India a prominent position in the League"! It is prominence of a kind which is secured by a Britisher being always the leading representative of India in the Assembly. To get rid of this unenviable prominence we prayed some time ago that an Indian should be chosen to lead. We were encouraged to hope that this was about to be done, but the hope has not been fulfilled. On the other hand, the wholesome practice of appointing at least one non-official to the deputation has been abandoned, and as I have said once before, the people of India, as distinguished from the Government, have been shut out of the League, which is supposed to be an organisation of the peoples of the world, not merely of the States. A mere straw, a critic would say, but it shows which way the wind of policy blows now. It is not in the direction of preparing the people to stand on their

own legs and look after themselves. Our fond countrymen from South Africa wish their troubles brought up before the Assembly of the League. How strange and unrelated to reality the idea sounds. The India Office and the Government of India have their own notion of the position and prominence of India as an original member of the League. Let us remember the fate which overtook the resolution passed last year in our Legislative Assembly regarding the grievances of our brethren in Tanganyika, before we entertain this far more ambitious project.

THE MALABAR TENANCY BILL.

II.

IN the previous article it was pointed out how the Select Committee moved with the current of modern thought in giving occupancy rights to all cultivators, but went right against it in giving permanent rights to middlemen and in thus sacrificing the landowners. Most people care for land for the income they get out of it and not for sheer love of the soil. The question of the distribution of the income is thus more important than that of occupancy rights. The Select Committee, however, spent most of its time and energy in discussing the nature of the ancient and obsolete rights of kanamdars and failed to obtain adequate and reliable information as to how the income from the land was at present being shared by the different parties interested in the land. The Committee was anxious to minimise financial dislocation as much as possible and with that view has made rent proposals which in some instances create anomalous and absurd situations. The kanamdars have hitherto been paying the annual michavaram, the interest on the kanam amounts and the renewal fees once in twelve years as the landlord's share all told. With the abolition of the renewal fees, the incomes of the landlords fall considerably, especially where the michavarams are low to counterpoise heavy renewal fees. There would have been good justification for thus sacrificing the landowners if the benefit had gone to relieve the rack-rented cultivators. But that is not the case, and it seems outrageous that owners should be depressed and the cultivators should be oppressed in order to fatten the middlemen.

The solicitude of the Committee for the middleman is frustrated when the cultivator is either a kanamdar himself or a new verumpattamdar. In the former case, the cultivator pays twice the Government revenue to the middleman, while the middleman has to pay a third of the net produce to the landowner. As the Government revenue is very low on the admission of the landowners themselves, the middleman will have to pay more than what he receives. If the cultivator is a new verumpattamdar, he pays a third of the net produce and the middleman has to pay the same to the landowner, and that leaves him not even the money order commission!

As regards the kanamdars, the bill proposes to regulate the michavaram. Now the michavaram is

the difference between the rent and the interest on the kanam amount. Current rents vary according to the productivity of the soil, competition and the renewal fees, while the interest varies according to the rate of interest and the kanam amount. The bill, without attempting to regulate all these variables, proposes to regulate only the michavaram, which is a resultant of them.

The Committee has rightly decided to confine the privileges under the bill to kanam transactions which are *bona fide* leases and not usufructuary mortgages. But it proposes to do so, not, as one would expect, by defining the circumstances under which a kanam transaction shall be deemed a lease or otherwise, but territorially: North Malabar kanam transactions to be considered mortgages and South Malabar ones leases, a presumption not universally true. It must be admitted, however, that it is a difficult business to define when a kanam transaction ceases to be a lease and begins to be a mortgage. The best course is to facilitate the return of the kanam amount to the kanamdars and thus simplify the tenure.

A disconcerting feature of the bill is the retrospective effect given to the privileges of the kanamdars. It means that tenants introduced since 1923, after eviction of the former tenants by perfectly fair and *bona fide* legal processes, will, for no fault of theirs, be deprived of the rights they would otherwise get under the present bill, and be evicted at once. The object of this provision should have been secured by passing a Stay of Proceedings Act when the bill was introduced. A retrospective clause now will victimise innocent third parties.

So much then for kanamdars. The rents payable by cultivating verumpattamdars are to be current rents, though everybody agrees that they are rack-rents and that the cultivators have been reduced to the status of labourers. The Committee recognises the Malabar custom that the cultivator is entitled to a third of the net produce, but unwilling to disturb the *status quo*, has allowed it in the case of tenancies created after the passing of the bill. It means that even in the case of land already under cultivation, if the existing tenant is evicted and a new one let in, the latter need pay only a third of the net produce as rent. This will naturally act as a powerful check against eviction of existing cultivators. It is imagined by some that the tenants would wantonly invite evictions in order to secure reduction in rents. But that will not generally be the case, for the evicted tenant is not likely to get back the holding on a new lease, and few would risk losing their holdings for the pleasure of somebody else enjoying reduced rents. Since eviction is disadvantageous to both parties, this provision tends to equalise the bargaining power of both and thereby the rackrented tenants may be enabled to secure some reduction in their rents. This clause will no doubt tend to eliminate the middlemen as it will not pay them to be such, and that again is not an undesirable object. In fact, this provision is the soundest part of the whole bill though it might have

been better still if it had secured fair rents to existing tenants also. It is noteworthy that the representative of the janmis not only offered fair rents to the cultivators, but insisted on their being secured to them and it was rather cruel of the Select Committee to veto the offer.

No part of the bill is to apply to small landowners having ten acres and less. The idea was that a tenant could bargain on more equal terms with a small landowner who had not the power, influence and wealth of the big land monopolist. Also that the small owner, in view of his limited property, should be allowed to make the most of it, in which case, there is no reason why legislative protection should not be confined to the small tenant, leaving the large tenant to stand on his own legs. On account of the joint family system, it is rather difficult to define the small janmi or the small tenant by the acreage held.

Quite a number of members who opposed the grant of rights to kanamdars did so because no provision was made for compensating the janmis for being deprived of some of the rights they now possess. Somehow no claim for compensation was made by kanamdars whose existing rights will be diminished if they have kanam sub-tenants under them. Now the question of compensation in this connection seems somewhat misleading. What is being asked for by the tenants is, not a particular kind of wealth—to wit, land in exchange for a different kind of wealth, but the redistribution of the same amount of wealth from the land in proportions different from what they are now. In which case, there can be no question of compensation, for that would be negating the redistribution. To-day everybody is welcome to exchange his wealth for land if the landowner is willing; no legislation is necessary for that. Legislation is necessary if the landowner is to be compelled to exchange his land in favour of the tenant's money, but that is another matter and that will not be a case of compensation. The real question, which has nothing to do with compensation, is whether the distribution of the wealth from the land is justified and should be made or not. There is no justification for any such measure for the benefit of the middlemen; there is for the cultivators. Shock-absorbers may be intercalated in the latter case to prevent sudden and drastic changes and allow for a gentle slide.

It is not surprising, therefore, that opinion is sharply divided on many of the proposals, particularly those relating to kanamdars. At a certain stage the janmi representative left the Select Committee in protest. The Report of the Committee is riddled through with dissenting minutes and it is legitimately open to doubt if it represents the view of the Committee. Of the thirty members, who have signed the Report, as many as fifteen have expressly opposed the clause granting permanent rights to the kanamdars. With the casting vote of the Chairman the clause would go out altogether and with it also the other provisions relating to kanamdars. The original bill was obviously intended for the se

benefit of the kanamadars, and the Select Committee has given the plaintiff, who was not over-modest in putting up his claims, much more than he claimed, much to the amazement and concern of the plaintiff himself. The amended bill has not a few anomalies and contradictions and is far from being an organic structure. It is, therefore, rather difficult to withhold some sympathy from the Law Member of the Government in his denunciation of the bill. He has gone further and promised to oppose the bill *in toto*, as he thinks it incapable of being amended into an acceptable shape. The chances of the bill passing the legislature in its present form are therefore remote. Not only the Reserved half of the Government, but even the Leader of the Opposition is opposed to it. The prominent leaders of the Ministerialist party are publicly committed to divergent views, and even the resolution of the recent Non-Brahmin Party Conference has asked for a drastic amendment of the bill. It is to be hoped that whatever happens to the contentious clauses of the bill relating to kanamadars, the provisions for the actual cultivators, which have received fairly unanimous support, will be put through. The sincerity of the kanamadars' espousal of the cause of the verumpattamdars will be tested by their support of these provisions and not making them conditional on their getting what they have been asking for themselves. They are welcome to keep up their agitation, but need not now stand in the way of others.

It is just possible that the bill may be thrown out altogether, in which case, we hope, the Government will immediately announce their final policy. Uncertainty provokes more mischief than fate; and the threat of legislation even of a mild type, creates more dislocation than the actual enactment of a more drastic measure. It is playing with the lives of millions to allow the uncertainty to shadow their lives a moment longer than is absolutely necessary. The complexity of the tenures and the very wide variability of all the incidents of kanam tenure make it well nigh impossible to frame a bill intended to recognise and regulate the existing system in an equitable manner. The only alternatives are to leave things alone, which is inadvisable; or to relate and approximate the intended legislation to sound economic and general principles, which is very desirable. The cultivator should be secured fixity of tenure, fair rents and the control of the land, with a limited freedom to alienate, the middleman should be eliminated, and the owner reduced to the position of a rent receiver. It is true that these principles have wider application than to Malabar. But we are not of those who wish to wait till they are able to legislate for the whole universe. In Malabar the need for legislation is much greater than elsewhere, the circumstances are more ripe for it, and the facilities are greater. Unique as Malabar is in many respects, why should it not be unique in being the first to initiate land reform in the Madras Presidency?

P. KODANDA RAO.

INDIA'S EXCHANGE PROBLEM.—II

IN Part second Mr. Madon examines the defence of the Government's Currency and Exchange policy put forward by the Finance Member in his Budget speech of February 1925. He begins by controverting the statement of the Finance Member that putting back exchange at 1s. 4d. would be a great injustice to those who had entered into contracts at the current rate which is in the neighbourhood of 1s. 6d. In the first place, the current rate is quoted in sterling, which, translated in gold by allowing for the dollar sterling exchange, is nearer 17d. than 18d. and is never higher than 17.67d., while the Finance Member is thinking of 18d. (gold). But as this rate or any other was not declared to be permanent, no one has any right to expect that current rates would be maintained and hence there would be no injustice. On the contrary there would be injustice to all those who had made long-term commitments on the basis of the ratio of 16d., which was a part and parcel of the Currency system of the pre-war period. These long term debts include the total rural indebtedness of 800 crores, mortgages and debenture debts to the extent of some 200 crores, leases and similar contracts and the land-revenue. Now if the 18d. (gold) ratio is established, all these debts and also the interest on these debts would mean 12½ p. c. more in terms of gold or commodities. For the sake of the layman it might be put in this way. If a cultivator has borrowed Rs. 1,000 and has contracted to pay land revenue of Rs. 100 he will have to sell at 4 seers to the rupee 4,000 seers of wheat to pay his debt and 400 seers to pay his land revenue. With exchange at 18d. prices would be lower and wheat would sell at 4½ seers a rupee and hence the payments would mean 4500 seers and 450 seers respectively. Thus there is a total loss of 550 seers of wheat. Mr. Madon, therefore, decides the question in favour of producers, who will lose by a higher exchange and against the importers who would gain to the tune of 12½ per cent.

The next point taken up is the stability of prices as a ground of maintaining a higher exchange. The Finance Member is certain that "if exchange had been pegged down in relation to sterling or gold the movement of world prices would have reacted upon the Indian price-level." At this point Mr. Madon gives index-numbers in various countries to show that as there are divergences between several authorities, no index-numbers can be trusted for purposes of comparison. Here we disagree with him, because with all their defects index-numbers are very valuable as showing the general trend of prices even if they are not accurate. Here Sir Basil Blackett is on more solid ground and there is absolutely no doubt that with exchange at 16d. we would have had higher prices in India. But the suggestion contained in the Budget speech that Government has prevented prices from rising and kept them stable by manipulating exchange is curious, because all along the Finance Member has repeatedly said that there is no manipulation.

The next apologia in favour of a high exchange is that a given amount of rupees produces a larger amount of sterling and thus leads to a saving of interest on the sterling debt. Mr. Madon retorts by proving that although this is true so far as money is concerned, in terms of commodities there is no gain because with higher exchange and low prices the same commodities will have to be sold to get the new rupees with an enhanced gold value. We think this is an important point and is apt to be lost sight of when we are speaking in terms of money. There is no solace in a higher exchange if for securing rupees we have to part with the identical goods. In this connection the Finance Member has stated that "the importer has been forced by India to pay the increased price represented by the increase in the sterling value of the rupee." This, Mr. Madon says, is preposterous because prices are governed by demand and supply, and unless there is shortage nobody would pay higher prices simply because we put up our exchange.

Next, the effects of the lower prices are traced through the various classes of wage-earners. The only employees who have an interest in low prices are employees in Government service and employees of Municipalities and Railways who have a security of tenure and whose wages are independent of trade conditions. Employees in trade and commerce and factories are interested in high prices, because if trade is slack some of them would be dismissed. Now the primary producer does not get wages, but lives on the price realized by the sale of the food-grains and other products. Hence, if the other employees get 80 per cent. more wages in order to compensate them for the higher prices, the agricultural producer also must get 80 per cent. higher prices for his produce; otherwise he is in a worse position than others. Looking to the index-numbers of various commodities, we find that prices of sugar (231), tea (211), cotton (239), cotton cloth (261) are all higher than 180, i. e. more than sufficient to compensate them for the higher costs and profits. But the producers of cereals, pulses, oil-seeds, jute raw as well as manufactured are badly off, because they are getting lower prices than the pre-war ones and these very producers form a large majority of the cultivator class. The result is that producers get nearly the same price as the pre-war price or in some cases even a lower price, while their outgoings are all higher.

It might be said that although producers lose, the consumers gain from a lower level of prices. Against this Mr. Madon proves by reference to the census figures that the consumers are very few, say 5 crores, while some 26 crores are true producers "whose welfare directly depends upon getting prices for their products." Of these, 23 crores are primary producers and some 3 crores are secondary producers, i. e. they work up the raw materials produced by the first class. The policy of keeping down prices by adjusting exchange, therefore, hits this class very hard. While the true consumers have raised their wages by petitioning and agitation, the

producers are getting only Rs. 115 as compared to Rs. 100 in 1914 for most of their products so that they are practically where they were in pre-war days.

One obvious comment on this reasoning is that if we allow Mr. Madon's contention, we ought to have all the prices of food-stuffs, &c. at the level of 180 as compared to 100 in 1914. This would not be possible even if exchange is brought back to 16d. so that either exchange will have to be still further lowered or other means must be found out to push prices up to the 180 level. What are these means? We cannot think of any unless it be inflation or Currency; in this case there would be a fresh series of undesirable consequences as disturbing as those arising from low prices.

Mr. Madon then refers to the argument contained in para. 42 of the Budget speech for 1925-26. This is how the argument stands. "It follows that any effect which a rise in exchange may have in preventing a rise in the rupee prices of exported goods is balanced by a corresponding reduction in the number of rupees required by India in paying for the things which she has imported in exchange." The implication is, says Mr. Madon, that it is the producer who buys all these imports. Now this is not true. Even if this were true, there would be nothing to correspond to the exports sent to meet the requirements of the Secretary of State. These were 56 crores in 1924-25. On the basis of 18d. this is equal to 42.3 millions; but at 16d. this would realise 63.4 crores of rupees. There is thus a clear loss to producers uncompensated by any imports. The gain of course occurs to the Government of India which would save 7.4 crores on their Home Charges. Besides, India loses on the payments to be made on account of interest on external capital, shipping services, banking and insurance. With regard to the imports of gold and silver, the producer gains only on the 17 crores worth that he buys; the rest of the gain goes to the wealthier classes who consume at least half of the precious metals. The producers thus lose 9.5 crores when exchange is at 18d., while the consumers gain 9.5 crores; but these consumers are different from the producers. By analysing the figures of imports it is seen that most of the imports are consumed by the rich and the middle classes. Hence Mr. Madon concludes that the gains of the consumers of imported goods are no consolation to the producers who according to him, lose on their exports, nearly 77 crores in all on account of the higher exchange rate of 18d. He accordingly recommends an export duty of 2 p. c. as the most straightforward way in which the producer should be taxed.

As a reply to the facile way in which the gains of consumers are trotted out as an adequate compensation for loss to the producers, this is quite telling. Most of us are accustomed to think more of the consumers than of primary producers and this sort of reasoning is a good corrective in that respect; but in totalling the loss to the producers we must consider, not the rupees that they receive, but what they do with them and their purchasing power. Sup-

pose that the higher exchange is permanent; we will then have a lower level of prices and the rupees saved by the producers will purchase more of everything whenever the savings are utilized. If, however, we revert to a lower exchange, then the loss incurred during this year will not be made good.

V. K. GODBOLE.

REVIEWS.

JEHANGIR'S INDIA.

JEHANGIR'S INDIA. By W. H. MORELAND. (Heffers, Cambridge.) 1925. 8¾ × 5½. pp. 88 + xviii. 8s. 6d.

FRANCISCO PELSEAERT was a senior factor in the Dutch East India Company and his report summing up his seven years' experience in Agra was written in 1626 for furnishing information to his employers in Holland regarding the actual or potential trade conditions in North India. This *Remonstrantie* or report, though essentially commercial and meant exclusively for the use of the Dutch Company, contained valuable information, which was partially utilised by John de Laet in 1631 and by Thevenot in 1663 but the present volume publishes, for the first time, this historical document in its entirety. All students, interested in the investigation of economic and social conditions of India in the 17th century, will welcome this little volume, since it furnishes reliable data and accurate figures of wages and market rates in Agra in 1626. Besides trade conditions, Pelsaert has given a bird's eye view of the political and social condition in North India and the state of society disclosed by this document is far from satisfactory. It is true that Pelsaert's private life was open to the charge of immorality and several passages in the *Remonstrantie* lend colour to the charge; and as remarked by Mr. Moreland, Pelsaert's attitude on such matters was in harmony with his environment in Agra. But taking all these things into consideration and making due allowance for the possibility of exaggeration, we cannot help thinking that there is much truth in the uncomplimentary picture of the society at Agra as depicted by Pelsaert. Voluptuous life of the Emperor and his nobles, the miserable condition of women in the mahals, the prominent position occupied by the detestable eunuchs, the poverty of the masses "which can be accurately described only as the home of stark want and the dwelling-place of bitter woe" and the merciless oppression of officers have been fearlessly exposed and dealt with by the Dutch factor in a few but clever touches. His description on these points may not agree with that given in Moghul Court histories. But in spite of the disagreement we can safely assert that hidden behind the military exploits, the architectural activities and the gaudy shows of the Court, the real life in the society at Agra was vegetating and rotten to the core. In fact Mahomedanism after a long lease of more than 500 years was a spent-up force. Rulers as well the ruled were wallowing in luxury or stark misery as accident would have it. But in the absence of an inspiring goal and well-thought-out principles higher life was extinct. Moghul administration in its palmiest days was at best a tolerably efficient police force and nothing more. It never attempted or thought of raising the economic and moral standard of life or, excepting one solitary instance of Akabar, of solving the fundamental question of Hindu-Mahomedan relations on a rationalistic basis. Everything depended on the whim of the individual

emperor. For instance, during Jehangir's reign we are informed by Pelsaert that some Brahmins were held in high repute at the Court for their astrological knowledge; and that the slaughter of cows and oxen was strictly forbidden by the king on pain of death in order "to please the Hindu rajahs and banias" (p. 49). But immediately after the death of Jehangir, Mahomedan fanatical orthodoxy came to be adopted as the policy of the State which whipped northern India into an imposing military activity for a time; but with the disappearance of Aurangzeb, the whole edifice came down with a crash from which it never recovered. During the eighteenth century, Afghan rulers from the north-west and Mahrattas from the south invaded and brought under subjection Delhi and other provinces in turn; but North Indians—Hindus as well as Mahomedans—had no say in the matter; they were mere spectators and were unable to raise their hand even in self-defence, so complete was the decay of their moral stamina. This decay was plainly visible even during the reign of Jehangir and we may very well believe Pelsaert when he says "the poor in their submissive bondage may be compared to contemptible earthworms or to little fishes which, however closely they may conceal themselves, are swallowed up by the great monsters of the wild sea" (p. 64); or when he states that "the Governors are usually bribed by the thieves to remain inactive; for avarice dominates manly honour and instead of maintaining troops they fill and adorn their mahals with beautiful women." The decay of Indian trade, however, which forms the main subject matter of the book stands on a different footing. The helpless condition of the Indian trade in those times is brought home to our minds when the author informs us, "Portuguese, Moslems and Hindus all concur in putting the blame for this state of things (viz. decay of coastal trade) entirely on the English and on us (Dutch), saying that we are the scourges of the sea and of their prosperity." As a matter of fact not only merchants but even the best brains in India in the 17th and 18th centuries were incapable of understanding and grasping the right significance and the far-reaching effect of the situation created by the Indian seas being dominated by foreigners who were equipped with superior weapons and, what was still more important, were backed by scientists, realistic thinkers and democratic nations. They did not know that they had entered upon a new age in history and that their prosperity was gone for ever and that if it was ever to return it could only return with the acquisition of Western scientific knowledge and the establishment of a democratic form of government.

D. V. APTE.

HUMAN PROGRESS.

PROGRESS AND THE PAST: A GLANCE DOWN THE AGES. By GEORGE FREDERICK WATES. (George Allen & Unwin, London.) 1925. 7½ × 4½. pp. 186. 5s.

THIS is a desultory and inefficient book on one of the greatest of all subjects. It suffers fatally from the astounding failure (casually mentioned on the last page, as though it were a thing of no consequence) to provide any theory or definition regarding the nature of Progress. As well write a book on Einstein's Theory of Relativity without mentioning the theory, or one about Hens without mentioning the Hens, as write a book about Progress without mentioning the Progress. In effect Mr. Wates has produced a brief universal history of the episodic

type, marred by certain devastating omissions (for example, Greek art and literature, and the whole mediæval period) and by the total absence of any underlying philosophy of history—any conception, so far as we can see, of history as other than a series of more or less interesting episodes.

Moreover, there are several serious mistakes in fact and chronology. John Wesley is put two hundred years later than Richard Baxter. 'Most of the fugitives' who fled before the Huns, Goths and Vandals 'found their way to Ireland.' Justin Martyr is placed more than five hundred years before Gregory the Great. There are also a large number of inconsequent anecdotes and references introduced, which divert attention from the main stream of history. For example, an account of the Wendish upheaval in Brandenburg during the eleventh century, a theological *bon mot* of George Macdonald, Voltaire's famous saying about the execution of admiral Byng, and so forth.

There is nothing about which the modern world is more sceptical than about the reality of progress. On the one hand we have political and industrial leaders whose policy is deliberately that of turning back the hands of the clock, on the ground that recent developments in their respective fields of activity have been retrogressive rather than progressive. On the other hand there are such intellectual movements as the mediævalism of Mr. G. K. Chesterton and Mr. Belloc, or the blank pessimism regarding the value of modern civilisation which is represented by such a writer as Mr. Edward Carpenter. There is need, therefore, for books about progress, and books written, as this is, in a positive and constructive spirit. But such books must be well thought out, well planned, and well written: otherwise they are merely a weapon in the hands of the pessimist.

Progress, in our belief, is a reality. It is the gradual release of the spirit of man, the gradual fitting and enabling of men belonging to every nation and class for the free choice of the good and the beautiful, the gradual mastering by man of every factor in his environment which has held him in bondage, the gradual development in man of a will which is in accord with the divine will of freedom and love. Progress, thus understood, may be traced by the student of history up from the first beginnings of mother-love amongst the beasts; and the story of humanity may be seen as a vast and majestic advance towards a divine goal. But if such a study is to be undertaken (and no education can be called complete till it has included some such enquiry) the first desideratum is a clear conception of what Progress means: and the second, a steady and painstaking application to the task of tracing man's gradual advance towards the ideal.

J. S. HOYLAND.

COLONIAL POLICY OF FRANCE

FRENCH COLONIAL PROBLEM. Un nouvel aperçu du problème colonial Par Docteur Aug. Vallet (Berger-Levrault, Paris) 1925. 10 × 5. pp. 213, 8 francs.

THE novelty of Dr. Vallet's view of the colonial problem of France consists in his suggestion to abandon all French colonies except those of North Africa which he likes to think as only an extension of France. His idea of a colony is that of a proprietary estate, established by the ruling state and for the ruling state. From trade statistics he shows that with the exception of the French North African colonies, the rest of

the French empire benefits the foreigners who are all enemies, past or future, and the natives. The colonial tariff policy of France has been, with brief spells of liberal tendencies, a policy of exclusion, an extension of the tariff policy of France to all her colonies without any consideration of their condition and needs. The colonies which are outside this 'tariff assimilation' policy are Ivory Coast, Dahomey and Morocco, where treaty obligations do not permit the application of an exclusion policy. Refusal to grant 'Tariff personality' (*personnalité douanière*) to the colonies prevents their economic growth and their interests are sacrificed in the interest of a group of French manufacturers and traders. The great advantage of concentrating on the 'development' of the French North Africa is, according to Dr. Vallet, to enable France with these colonies to be a self-contained empire, in men and materials, in peace and what is much more important in war. The author approvingly mentions Britain's decision regarding the reservation of the highlands in Kenya for the whites and says that in colonial administration Britain has 'once again shown an example.' (p. 73) The 'example' which has so struck the imagination of Dr. Vallet is a manifestation of the working of the most sinister and disruptive force in the British Empire. The chapter on native education exposes in full the narrowness of the author's ideas. In his opinion the cranium of non-whites is incapable of holding western ideas and higher education among the natives should be discouraged, for it only breeds discontent against the ruling state e.g. "the abominable writings of that negro who replies to the name Rane Maran—the author of Bataouala," (p. 173). * Perhaps there are not many in France who share Dr. Vallet's opinion; for though his plan contemplates the abandoning of only a part of the French empire, the blind selfish policy which he advocates can end only in complete disaster.

J. B. SEN.

SHORT NOTICE.

WORSHIP IN ISLAM. By the Rev. EDWIN ELLIOT CALVERLEY, Ph. D. (The Christian Literature Society for India.) 1925. pp. 242. Rs. 2-8-0.

TO students of religion and worship, this book will be very welcome indeed. The author's object is to explain the acts of obedience, worship and devotion, in which are expressed the relationship and attitude of a Muslim as slave to Allah. The Introduction brings together the acts and utterances which constitute the formal ceremony called the Worship. The second part of the book consists of the author's translation of Alghazzali's Book of the *Ihya* on the Worship. The translation, at once elegant and accurate, together with scholarly foot-notes, should enable the reader to understand the background, recognise the allusions, comprehend the terminology and appreciate the attitude of the common Muslim. The author Dr. Calverley combines sympathy with scholarship in dealing with the subject. The Index and Bibliography have added to the value of the book and have made it what such a book should be—a book of ready reference.

M. T. PATWARDHAN.

* Reviewed in our issue of July 30, 1925.

CORRESPONDENCE.

INDORE AFFAIRS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—In the course of an article headed "Put him on his trial" published in your issue of the 10th instant, Mr. Abhyankar discusses questions of high politics relating to Indian States and indulges in various reflections about His Highness the Maharaja and his motives of action. These are matters which I am not at present competent to discuss, but there is a statement of fact on page 534 of your issue which people in Indore know to be untrue. Mr. Abhyankar states that "most disgraceful scandals about women reported in influential newspapers were allowed to go unchallenged and unheeded before the Bawia tragedy."

The facts are that the existence of certain rumours about the kidnapping of women was brought to the notice of the Indore Government which took prompt action and ordered a thorough inquiry. The result of this inquiry showed that there was no real foundation for the rumours which appeared to have been set on foot by interested persons.

His Highness, however, thought that an inquiry by the Police was not all that he wanted and desired that any apprehension that might have been created even by false rumours should not remain in the minds of his subjects; and he, therefore, commanded his Chief Minister to take personal interest in the matter and invite the public to co-operate with him in getting at the bottom of the whole affair. The Chief Minister accordingly published a notice in the local paper called *Mathari Martand* on 23rd September 1920, communicating to the public His Highness' solicitude in the matter and asking everyone who may have any information to give about any case of kidnapping to see him personally so that it might be inquired into. He also gave the assurance that if any information led to the discovery of an offence, the person supplying it would be rewarded, and that if any information failed to lead to any such discovery, the person giving it would incur no liability.

Since no one came forward to give any information of any kind, it was clear that nobody had any to give. The sensation soon afterwards subsided.

A similar attempt to circulate similar rumours was again made early this year; but it failed in its very initial stages. A similar notice in the *Holkar Sarkar Gazette* soon put a stop to the contemplated mischief. Some intriguers who wished to injure the reputation of His Highness' Government were no doubt responsible for this attempt.—Yours, etc.

V. G. PANTVAIDYA.

Indore, December 1925.

We showed the above letter to Mr. Abhyankar who has furnished us with his rejoinder, which we publish below. Ed., S. o. I.

I am indebted to the courtesy of the Editor for being allowed to reply to Mr. Pantvaidya's letter in this issue. My statement that rumours about women published in newspapers were allowed by the Indore authorities to go unchallenged is dismissed by the correspondent as one "which people in Indore know to be untrue." Does it mean that such stories were given a public denial by the Durbar to the knowledge of the Indore public, or that the Indore public believes these rumours to have no foundation of truth in them? If the former meaning is intended, I must ask the correspondent to refer me to these denials, and to the action taken by the authorities concerned to prove the falsity of the rumours, for I have not seen any one of the several rumours contradicted by the Durbar, nor were the papers giving publicity to them challenged either to substantiate the stories or to retract them as having no basis of truth. If, however, it is meant that the people of Indore are already convinced that there could be no truth in them and do not require any outside evidence in the matter, I can well believe that there must be a section of the Indore public of this mentality. The more the scandals buzz out-

side, the greater becomes the faith of this type of mind in the impeccable morals of the Indore Durbar. The faith, perhaps becomes all the keener, I suppose, when one has received a sound drumming, as the correspondent did on a recent occasion, since when we may perhaps date the rise of this conviction.

I am astounded at the writer's audacity in referring to the inquiry which a former Chief Minister was asked to conduct in regard to some of these scandals. For no one interested in whitewashing the Durbar would have been so indiscreet as to refer to things, which, to say the least about them, have such an uncanny look of suspicion about them. Mr. Pantvaidya tells us about H. H. the Maharaja entrusting the investigation to Mr. Baburao Walawalkar, to give the Minister his name. But why does the story stop short at that point? What did the Chief Minister report? Did he say that there was no *prima facie* case for pursuing the inquiry? Or did he say that certain persons connected with the palace must be removed temporarily from their places of power before a real inquiry could be made? Was the inquiry dropped because no person came forward with evidence or for any other reason? It would throw a flood of light on the matter if Mr. Pantvaidya would tell the public if it is true that Mr. Walawalkar had to leave the State on the very day he completed a preliminary inquiry into the scandals and privately disclosed some clues to His Highness. An answer to the question as to why Mr. Walawalkar, instead of returning home after working till a late hour in the evening, proceeded straight to Indore Station to shake off the dust of his feet from the State is required. If Mr. Pantvaidya can obtain an accurate account of these mysterious proceedings, I daresay he will no longer speak with such confidence of the Maharaja Holkar's enquiry into the scandals. Apart from all this, however, has Mr. Pantvaidya never heard of the valid objection one can take to the same person being the accused and the judge and the executioner all rolled in one? Perhaps in Indore these nice questions trouble him as little as they trouble the Maharaja.

G. R. ABHYANKAR.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE EMPIRE IN ECLIPSE. By RICHARD JEBB. (Chapman & Hall, Ltd., London.) 1926. 9 x 5½. pp. 352. 15s.
- PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION. By LAMAR T. BEMAN. (The H. W. Wilson Co., New York.) 1925. 7½ x 5. pp. 149 \$2.40.
- PALGRAVE'S DICTIONARY OF POLITICAL ECONOMY. Edited by HENRY HIGGS. (Macmillan and Co., Ltd., London.) 1925. 6 x 2. pp. 966. 36s.
- THE ECONOMICS OF LEATHER INDUSTRY. By B RAMCHANDRA RAU. (Calcutta University Press.) 1925. 8½ x 5½. pp. 184.
- CHILD LABOUR. By JULIA E. JOENSEN. (The H. W. Wilson Co., New York.) 1925. 8 x 5. pp. 371. \$ 2.40.
- THE EMPIRE COMMERCIAL GUIDE AND EMPIRE YEAR BOOK. (The British Commonwealth Trade Press, Ltd., London.) 9 x 5½. pp. 395. £1-1-0.
- MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE. By JULIA E. JOENSEN. (The H. W. Wilson Co., New York.) 1925. 8 x 5. pp. 263. \$ 2.40.
- EMPLOYMENT RELATION AND THE BASIC WAGE. (The Pitt Cobbett Foundation.) 1925. 1s.
- BIRTH CONTROL. By JULIA E. JOENSEN. (The H. W. Wilson Co., New York.) 1925. 8 x 5. pp. 269. \$2.40.
- BOMBAY PAST AND PRESENT. A Souvenir of the 13th Meeting of the Indian Science Congress. (The Times Press, Bombay.) 1926. 8½ x 5½. pp. 148.
- INDIA IN 1924-25. By L. F. RUSHBROOK-WILLIAMS. 1925. 9 x 6. pp. 435. Rs. 1-12.
- REPORT OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF COCHIN, 1924-25. 1926. 14 x 8½. pp. 70.

IMPORTANT BOOKS ON MYSTICISM.

- | | Rs. | a. |
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| 1. Jewish Mysticism. By J. Abelson, M. A. D. Lit. Reveals how in all ages the world's sages have believed in the one Divine essence—the sevenfold Ray of the Brahman. | 0 | 13 |
| 2. The Quest of Holy Grail. By Jessie L. Weston.—Embodies the latest results of the study of comparative religion, Philosophy and science. | 2 | 1 |
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