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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

MR. AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR (of the Representation of the Aborigines. Servants of India Society) has, as President of the Bhil Seva Mandal, just addressed a memorial to the Bombay Government asking, for the present, for two nominated seats in the Bombay Legislative Council for the aboriginal population. The aborigines, as the memorial points out, form no less than 6.3 per cent. of the total population of the Bombay Presidency and yet no special provision is made for their representation on the Bombay legislature. That territorial representation alone will not meet the present case is patent enough : Bhils, the largest aboriginal community, are the most numerous in two districts (viz. Panch Mahals and West Khandesh) in which they form between one-third and one-fourth of the population. It is thus clear that Bhils will not be able to win the single seat allotted to each of these districts by their own votes even if they know how to make the most effective use of their votes. But other communities are dispersed over several districts and thus are, at a considerable disadvantage as compared to Bhils. We are, however, making a large assumption, not justified by facts in, supposing that aboriginal communities can act in an organised manner and use their vote to the best advantage. For they are woefully deficient in education. As Mr. Thakkar's memorial strikingly puts it, "the proportion of literacy among (Bhils) the largest aboriginal group is less than half of what exists among the most depressed of the depressed classes." If therefore the depressed, that is to say, untouchable classes require special representation to safeguard their

interests, much more so do the aborigines, who are still lower in the social scale and still more helpless to prevent the worst type of exploitation from which they are continually suffering. The Hindus are becoming somewhat alive, at least intellectually to the wrongs of the untouchables, but they are as yet altogether blind to the still graver wrongs done to the aborigines. Shall the Government too remain equally blind? The Bihar and Orissa Government have assigned two nominative seats to the aboriginal population in their Legislative Council. The aboriginal population in this presidency is of equal numerical strength. Mr. Thakkar is thus very modest in asking for two representatives for the aborigines by nomination in the Bombay Council, which has a larger number of seats than the Council of Bihar and Orissa. It is to be hoped that when Government will take action on the Reforms Committee's report, they will take the occasion to redress the injustice done to Bhils and other aboriginal communities in this Presidency.

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Indore Inquiry. At last we have official confirmation of the news going the round of newspapers for a few days past that H. E. the Viceroy has decided to appoint a Commission of Inquiry to investigate the alleged association of H. H. the Maharaja of Indore with the Mumtaz affair. We have not the least doubt that, outside the small coterie of sycophants in Indore, public opinion, whether in British India or in Indian India, will solidly support Lord Reading's action. It is true that an indignation meeting has already taken place in Indore and that a deputation is being arranged to dissuade His Excellency from the contemplated step. It does not seem to have dawned on these worthy gentlemen that their individual repugnance to an inquiry is likely to be mistaken by the public for the Maharaja's unwillingness to have the doubts cast on his character publicly removed, which in its turn would be interpreted as proof of the Maharaja's complicity in the crime. We wish H. H. the Holkar was advised instantly to repudiate the meeting in order not to involve himself in inferences prejudicial to himself. The Commission to be appointed is not like, e. g., the Sken Committee, before which one may or may not appear to place the facts in one's possession. The Commission is a Court purporting to inquire into a crime. One can refuse an inquiry by such a Commission only by confessing the guilt. We are sure the Maharaja will welcome this opportunity given him for establishing his innocence and will reprimand the busybodies in his State who are bringing him into disrepute by making unauthorised representations to the Viceroy. An attempt was being made to show that the non-Brahmans of Maha-

raja would resent an open inquiry into the Maharaja's alleged connection with the crime, the Maharaja being a non-Brahman; but *Jagaruka*, the foremost non-Brahman paper in this part of the country, has given the lie to such reports by first demanding the appointment of a Commission and then by expressing its gratification at the rumoured appointment when there was only a rumour to that effect. Lord Reading deserves great credit for this act and the public will not be wanting in due appreciation of his sense of justice.

* * *

THE Indian public cannot but regard as most disappointing the

Release of Political Prisoners.

non possumus attitude of the Government of India in regard to the release of political prisoners which recently formed the subject of an important debate in the Assembly. This is all the more deplorable in view of the reasonableness of the Assembly's demand. It is true the original resolution went further than Mr. Goswami's amendment which was eventually carried. This required Government "forthwith to secure the immediate release of all political prisoners detained without trial"; also to remove all difficulties in the way of the return to India of what are known as Indian exiles and to place all people against whom Government have evidence on trial. Roughly speaking, what the Assembly demanded was that nobody should be detained in prison without trial; and that those that have been so detained should be given an opportunity of refuting the charges made against them. To us there appears nothing in this which any civilized Government should shy at. The so-called "Bengal terrorists" have been rotting in jail for over a year without the public knowing anything of the charges against them and the Assembly was right in taking Government at their word and demanding that if they have sufficient evidence against them, they should be tried under the ordinary law of the land. The public have too sad an experience of the exercise by Government in the past of their arbitrary powers to suppose that they would never be unjustifiably used. The case of Mr. Krishna Kumar Mitra who was deported in 1909, as it now turns out, merely for participating in the agitation against the partition of Bengal, is a notorious instance of the bureaucratic abuse of power. The moral prestige of the Government is at the present time too low to inspire any confidence in their professions and we think the Government would have better consulted its own interests if they had met the Assembly's wishes.

* * *

Depressed Class Representation.

A DEPRESSED class deputation waited last week on the Governor of Bombay and asked for more satisfactory arrangements for their representation in local bodies and the Legislative Council. At present depressed class representatives mostly enter these bodies by the backdoor of nomination, which is naturally resented by the community. What makes their dissatisfaction still deeper is the fact that the power of nomination is not always exercised with the sole eye to their interest, but with a view to strengthen the position of the Government in these institutions. Moreover in nominating depressed class representatives, the Government does not in many cases select the best and most representative men from these classes. The result, in the words of the deputation, is that "in the midst of all safeguards for the protection of life, liberty and property, the depressed classes in rural parts of the country are constantly bullied, oppressed and tyrannised without being able to protect themselves." The remedy suggested by the deputation is "the system of re-

served seats in the general electorate" in the matter of the representation of their classes. This may not be an ideal arrangement from the broad national point of view, but it must be tolerated for some time as a necessary evil. It is some consolation that the deputation have not followed the evil example of some communities in demanding separate electorates for the depressed classes; and for this they deserve a word of praise. It is to be hoped that the representations made by the deputation will receive sympathetic consideration at the hands of Government; and that too before very long.

* * *

WE have been watching events with

A come-down from Conscience to Judgment.

much intentness in order to find out what the leaders of virginal non-co-operation would do in future elections to the Legislative Councils. Mr. Gangadharrao Deshpande declared the other day that though he considered it wrong to vote at all, he would advise men of his way of thinking to vote for no-changer Swarajists in preference to all others—if vote they must. Devi Sarojini and Moulana Shaukat Ali have since spoken with a clearer accent: omitting all if's and but's, they simply united their voices with those of Pandit Motilal Nehru and Lala Lajpat Rai in asking all Congressmen, Gandhian as well as Swarajist, to vote for the Congress representative at the Bombay University bye-election. No aloofness or neutrality for them: they are as much for active participation in elections and other political activities of the Swarajists as any Obstructionist, Responsivist, Liberal or Independent. But these leaders, however eminent, are not much known for independent thinking. The thinking is done by others, among whom we are certain Mr. C. Rajagopalachari occupies a very high position. He has now spoken very much in the strain of Mr. Deshpande. He has many points of difference regarding the present policy and political programme of the Congress; but however great the differences may be, orthodox non-co-operators must not stand aloof. "No matter of conscience being involved, we ought to support the national decision and the national organization," he declared at Chittoor. The reason given is most important; it was of course implied in the pronouncements of other leaders, but it is expressly mentioned by Mr. Rajagopalachari.

And we may ask him, since when has non-co-operation become a mere matter of expediency unrelated to any vital principle? Surely, as conceived by Mahatma Gandhi and as propagated by his followers and by Mr. Rajagopalachari among others, it was a matter of conscience actively to dissociate oneself from Government. The Government itself was of course a deep-dyed sinner; but it was declared in season and out of season that those who co-operated with it by exercising the vote, or offering themselves for election, or sending their children to State aided schools, or appearing in law-courts, whether as parties or as pleaders, and in various other ways, were also sharers in Government's sins, and no reproach against Liberals was at the time more common in the mouths of the more responsible propagandists of N.-C.-O. than that they were unprincipled opportunists, trying to confer material benefits on the country even at the cost of moral degradation. Nothing distresses us so much in the otherwise most welcome collapse of non-co-operation than that even the prime movers of that movement are found to temporise so much. Never were political leaders guided so exclusively by considerations of expediency as the leaders of N.-C.-O. and yet never was movement declared to be inspired by such strict regard for principle irrespective of consequences as this very N.-C.-O.!

IMPLICATIONS OF NATIVE TRUSTEESHIP.

THE League of Nations seems at last to be getting to grips with the question of administering mandated territories in the interest of the native populations. An idea of the progress being made in the conception of native trusteeship will be best gained by perusal of the Minutes of the seventh session of the Permanent Mandates Commission which are just to hand in this country. All these minutes and the Administration Reports of the Mandated countries, which were criticised by members of the Commission, make interesting reading, but the document which of all is of most absorbing interest is the Memorandum submitted by Sir Frederick Lugard on the necessity of reconciling the conflicting claims of the economic development of mandated territories on the one hand and of the well-being of the natives on the other. This paper is printed at pp. 194-197 as Annex 11 in the volume mentioned above. It will be remembered that the East Africa Commission's Report, in referring to the Trusteeship for the Natives, said: "We are not only trustees for the development and advance in civilization of the African, but we are also trustees for the world of very rich territories. This means that we have a duty to humanity to develop the vast economic resources of a great continent. There is no reason to suppose that these trusteeships either should or do conflict." In this summary fashion did the Ormsby-Gore Commission dismiss the question of the very first importance that arises in administering mandated countries, or Crown Colonies like Kenya, to which it is the boast of Great Britain that the mandate principle is applicable. Dr. Norman Leys and Mr. Leonard Woolfe and others have, however conclusively shown that the two trusteeships mentioned above often conflict with each other and the question is, which of the two shall prevail? Sir F. Lugard insists in the Memorandum referred to above that it is the duty of the Mandatory power to postpone the economic development of the territory under its charge to the securing of the welfare of the natives.

In several mandated countries as in Kenya it is often found that the native tribes have decreased instead of increasing since the advent of the European; and one of the causes of such decrease is "the sudden introduction of an industrial civilization" with its demand for native labour which entails too heavy a burden on a population not yet accustomed to the new conditions and to European methods. There are of course some essential public works, which must be completed at whatever cost. But in regard to other public works which are not so essential and enterprises conducted by private capital and initiative, the administration in control must forbid the employment of labour as soon as it is found that these forms of development impose too heavy a strain on the native population. We would rather have Sir F. Lugard himself enunciate the principle.

Wage labour under European conditions of fixed hours and consecutive work from day to day imposes a novel strain on primitive tribes, and though they quickly become used to it, many of these with poor physical stamina succumb, and the rate of mortality is high. The withdrawal of bodies of adult men from the village communities, generally unaccompanied by their women, tends to create an abnormal state of affairs and to break up the social life—the more so that the labourers, on their return, are apt to disregard the tribal authority and restraints which they had previously respected. In order to diminish those disastrous results, it is desirable: (a) that the recruiting of labourers should be strictly regulated, specially as to the number that may be withdrawn from a village or tribe without detriment to the native welfare; that they should be medically examined before engagement; that the conditions of transport to the scene of labour should not impose a severe strain; that their food, housing, medical care and hours and conditions of service should be of the best; (b) that when once the absolutely essential works (like the construction of public buildings, arterial railways, etc.) are completed, further progress in development should be strictly limited to the capacity of the people to bear the burden without involving either a decrease in population or the premature breakdown of tribal and social organization.

The restriction should be regulated in a just proportion between the two classes of development, especially where the population is sparse. The Government should postpone the construction of branch railways, of roads, and of irrigation and other works which are not of essential importance, for it is of no use opening up fresh areas if the labour necessary to develop them does not exist. Private enterprise must for the same reason be content to progress slowly, and the Government, when granting new concessions, must have strict regard to the available labour supply. Both Government and private enterprise should use their utmost endeavour to economise labour by introducing every kind of labour-saving device, and the term of contracts should not be so long as to break down the health of the labourer or cause, by his prolonged absence, the breakdown of the tribal and social life. If possible, labourers should return to their homes at seed time and harvest so as to keep in touch with their communities and with their wives and families and neither imperil the food supply nor throw undue work on the women.

The best criterion as to whether the demand for labour is excessive or not is that all wage-labour should be absolutely free (except for vitally essential services) and that *no compulsion should be used either under the guise of a fiscal tax or by indirect pressure*. If adequately remunerated and if the conditions are made sufficiently attractive, there is little fear that the labourers who voluntarily present themselves for work, will, by so doing, contribute to the causes which result in a decrease in the population.

It must, however, be admitted that these precautions for the welfare and increase of the native population are dictated by a utilitarian motive. The natives are regarded as the greatest "asset" of the country because of their potential value as labourers. The same argument applies to the good treatment and good feeding of a horse or a plough-ox or to the increase of stock. Even if the native be an independent producer, his value as an "asset" is reckoned by his productive output and his capacity to purchase imported goods. The mandatory principle postulates something more than this. While fully recognising that economic develop-

ment is not only of essential importance but a duty and that "considerations exclusively philanthropic" lie outside the sphere of administration, the moral welfare and the advancement of native population—independently of their value as an "asset" of economic progress, is an obligation imposed by the mandate.

In the fulfilment of this duty an adequate proportion of the revenue must be expenditure not directly remunerative from the economic point of view—as, for instance, on medical services and administrative staff. Education must not have a purely utilitarian bias by providing clerks, and accountants, and storekeepers, or artisans and telegraph operators, but must aim at raising the social standards of village life and training the people to a sense of responsibility and of social service.

In a word, the Administration, while assisting private enterprise in every reasonable way, must not allow itself to be dominated by the utilitarian spirit, for its special function is to frame its policy for the future and not exclusively to immediate economic success. The time when the bulk of the population of Tropical Africa will be "able to stand alone in the strenuous conditions of the modern world" may not yet be visible on the horizon, but the mandates impose upon the Powers which have accepted them

the obligation to conduct the people towards that goal.

It is for the application of these principles that men like Leys and Woolfe are fighting. It is easy to show how in every single respect, and particularly in regard to indirect compulsion, Sir F. Lugard's principles are openly violated in Kenya and the whole purpose of the epochmaking book of Dr. Leys is to demand that, where the material development of a colony and the interests of the natives conflict, the latter be given the first place even if it should mean the holding up of the colony's development. That Sir F. Lugard has submitted this Memorandum does not mean that the principle is accepted by the League; indeed it has been hotly contested by M. Freire d'Andrade. Nor does it follow that even when the League accepts the principle in theory, it will be unflinchingly observed in every mandated country. But the laying down of the principle is certainly the first step in the desired direction, and we may well be thankful for the fact that the League is at least in possession of the sound principles that must be followed if the Mandates are really to have a meaning.

SERFDOM IN THE KONKAN.

By P. G. KANEKAR.

I recollect two or three years ago reading an article in the *Saturday Review* on this question of the land, and I noticed an observation in it so striking and remarkable that I could not forget it. The writer said that *if our agricultural system be a paternal system, our agricultural labourer is its disinherited child.* — JOHN BRIGHT.

THE districts of Ratnagiri and Kolaba in the Konkan have a peculiar land tenure called the Khoti. This system has reduced the actual cultivators of the land to the position of serfs, especially in the district of Ratnagiri, only in two Talukas of which, viz., Malvan and Vengurla, the Rayatwari tenure prevails. Since the advent of the British rule the Khoti question has been engaging the attention of the British officers concerned in the land settlement of the district and the higher officials in India as well as in England, has given rise to a lot of litigation, and has evoked some legislative measures. The Khoti Settlement Act of 1880 has been several times amended. Some years ago there was an agitation on behalf of the ryots which ultimately resulted in the amendment of the Act. Many of the ryots' grievances are still unredressed and not a few of the abuses against which the Act and its amendment aimed still prevail. During the last two years the question has become much more acute and just at present the relations between the Khots and their ryots have become considerably embittered.

The Konkan Co-operative Enquiry Committee appointed by the Bombay Central Co-operative Institute visited several places in the Ratnagiri and the Kolaba districts and submitted its report to the Institute. In their report on the Ratnagiri district,

the Committee incidentally referred to the Khoti tenure. In the course of their report the Committee said: "There is one thing, however, which makes the position of the tenant precarious, and that is that in almost all cases the hut or the house of the tenant stands on land which does not belong to him. He may go to Bombay for a while to earn a living, but he must have his hut in his village. In the majority of cases he would be unable to purchase the site on which the hut is built or any other site at the market rate. Whether he would be able to pay for it during a certain period if the site were acquired for him by a measure of legislation is a problem important enough to be considered by itself separately." And one of their recommendations with a view to encouraging the growth of co-operation in the district was that the question whether, in Khoti or in Rayatwari tracts of the district, the sites on which the houses of the tenants stood could be acquired for these tenants by equitable purchase from the landlords or Khots, should be considered. Another suggestion was that the feasibility of devising legislation which would concede to the Khoti tenant the right of mortgaging his land to a co-operative credit society, of which he was a member, without prejudice to the Khoti's ultimate right of ownership, should be seriously considered. These suggestions, innocent as they were, met with a storm of protest from the Khots, who smelt a rat in them. Especially the first suggestion, viz. the one about acquiring house sites for tenants by equitable purchase from the Khots, was looked upon as a proposal of serious encroachment

on the sacred Khoti rights. Perhaps it was thought that once the ryots had their huts or houses on their own sites, it would enable them to entrench their position against the Khots who would have in consequence to loosen their grip on their ryots. Meetings were held as soon as the recommendations of the Committee were known and associations for the protection of Khoti rights were formed. This outcry led in its turn to the awakening of the ryots, who held meetings in Bombay where a great many of them emigrate and also in the district, not only supporting the Committee's recommendations but also ventilating their other grievances against the Khots. Messrs. Bole and Surve took up the ryots' cause in the Legislative Council and asked for a Committee of enquiry into their grievances. A few cultivators made up their minds to resist the illegal exactions of Khots and actually refused to *Veth*. This being too much for the Khots who had hitherto enjoyed the illegal privileges, a campaign of oppression and persecution was started against the recalcitrant ryots. It is alleged that several vexatious criminal charges were made, civil suits were filed, goods and chattels including agricultural implements and cattle were attached, cattle found grazing on the pasture grounds were impounded and their owners fined, and the ryots were forbidden to use the watering places. Also a number of cultivators were asked by the Khots to leave their lands. At present charges and counter-charges are being made by both the parties in the Marathi papers. Instead of appointing a Committee as suggested by Messrs. Bole and Surve, the Government has entrusted the enquiry to the Commissioner of the Southern Division who is now touring in the Khoti Talukas of the district for the purpose. As the scope of the enquiry is said to be limited to the enforcement of the present Khoti Act and as the enquiry is to be purely official the public should know something about this anomalous land tenure.

Before describing the condition of the ryot and discussing the validity of the claims put forward by the Khots, it would not be amiss to give an idea of the general agricultural conditions obtaining in the district. Most of the land is rocky and sandy and so far as fertility of the soil is concerned, Ratnagiri is the worst district in the whole of the Presidency. The Konkan Co-operative Enquiry Committee in their report say :

"The average size of a holding cultivated by a family is only half to one acre, and even such a small holding does not lie in one place but is made up of from one to twenty scattered strips of land. Much of the soil, too, is poor, the average yield of rice land being from 10 to 15 maunds (of 64 lbs. each per acre, as contrasted, for instance, with an average of 20 to 30 maunds (of 72 lbs. each) in the Kolaba District. Practically all the cultivated land is one-cropped. Two-cropped lands are an exception. Every acre of rice land in Ratnagiri requires four to five acres *warkas* land to go with it in order to supply the necessary raw materials, fodder, &c. Four to five acres of rice land with the necessary complement of *warkas* would be required

to constitute an economic holding, that is, a holding which would maintain the cultivator's family from year's end to year's end. When the size of the actual average holding is compared with that of an economic holding, it is easily understood why cultivation is left to the weaker members of the family and the stronger members migrate to Bombay or elsewhere to earn their own living and supplement the income of the family at home."

According to the Census Report of 1921, the natural population of the Ratnagiri district was in that year 14,46,945 and the actual population 11,54,244, there being 16,582 immigrants and 3,09,323 emigrants. The majority of the emigrants are *Kunbis* or the *Maratha Kunbis*, who are the cultivators under the Khoti tenure. They are known as *Tilori Kunbis* and most of the domestic servants in Bombay who are called *Balyas* or *Bankotis* and *Ghatis* or *Ramas* by the Parsees, belong to this community. Others are employed as postmen, peons, coolies and bigaris. They are hard-working, honest, obedient and exceptionally docile. Their backwardness in education can be imagined from the fact that though they number several hundred thousand they cannot boast of a single matriculate among them! Only a few of them can read and write. According to the 1921 Census Report, the proportion of literates among *Kunbis* is 6 per thousand.

The density of population per square mile of cultivable area is very high: 1138 in Chiplun and Guhagar, 848 in Ratnagiri (Taluka), 712 in Deogad, 690 Rajapur, 671 in Dapoli and Mandangad, 467 in Sangameshwar and 328 in Khed. (These are the Talukas where the Khoti tenure prevails.) There are only a few Talukas in the Presidency where the density of population per square mile of cultivable area is greater than in Chiplun and Guhagar, but there the soil is much more fertile. This explains the emigration of the people on a vast scale. Add to this the evils of one of the worst sorts of landlordism—the Khoti tenure—the tyrannies of which are simply shocking to those who are acquainted only with conditions obtaining under the Rayatwari system, and then the picture of poverty and misery, indebtedness and helplessness, will be complete.

II.

The great obstacle to all progress both in Ireland and in England is the landlord spirit, which is dominant in political and social life. It is this spirit which prevents our dealing with the question of the tenure of land . . . There is still a great struggle before us, but we will beat the unrighteous few who wish to profit by the sufferings of the many.
—RICHARD COBDEN.

WHAT Cobden said of the landlord spirit in Ireland and in England in his time is many times truer in India today. The Bengal Tenancy Bill and the Malabar Tenancy Bill are but feeble attempts to remedy the evils of landlordism in the respective provinces. The Zamindari system in Bengal and Behar, and the Talukdari system in Oudh, have brought into existence large and powerful parasitic classes in those provinces. Much of what is due to the toilers and the State—the community—is being

usurped by the middlemen with the result that the ryots suffer from chronic poverty and the State has very little money available to spend on the nation-building departments. It is a notorious fact that the Moplah riots in Malabar were mainly and originally due to the oppression of the ryots by the *jenmis*. Last year Prof. Radhakamal Mukarji described, in one of his lectures at the Nagpur University, the condition of certain agricultural workers in the different parts of the country. To put it briefly :

"Some have small plots of their own or work as partners. Others move from plot to plot, while some are bond slaves attached permanently to the Zamindar or the cultivator's family. In the Bombay Presidency such bond slaves are the Dublas and the Kolis; they are the Ezhavas, the Puleyas and the Holiyas in the South-West coast districts of Madras, and the Padials in the eastern districts. Many of them receive money in advance and enter into an agreement for a term of years; but that term never ends, and there is no hope of redeeming the advance. Worse than these serfs, who have fallen into hereditary dependence on the landlord or the cultivator, are the Kaniyas of Behar and Chota Nagpur, who cannot bargain about their wages and obtain no guarantee of daily work and whose movements are restricted like those of the Negro slaves of old. An absconding Kaniya cannot seek refuge in another landlord's village, while the sale and purchase of Kaniyas is by no means unusual in Hazaribag."

Recently congratulations were showered upon the Maharaja of Nepal when he proclaimed the abolition of slavery in his kingdom. When is the slavery, described by Prof. Mukherji in British India, going to be abolished? The treatment of the Kaliparaj (black) people in Gujerat at the hands of the so-called *Ujli varnas* (the whites) was a year or so ago brought to light and it is nothing short of semi-slavery. The woes of the ryots under the khoti system are not, however, so well-known. In fact, the khoti ryots' story is little different from that of the Kaliparaj people. There are various grades among the Khoti ryots and very few of them are mere agricultural labourers. Whatever their legal status may be, the actual position of those who cultivate the land under the Khoti tenure is not far from that of semi-slaves. There is a remarkable resemblance between the practices, customs and manners of treatment to which the Kaliparaj people are subjected and those from which the ryots suffer. The revelations in the Kunbis' story, at least some of them, are quite astounding to those who are acquainted only with the ways of ordinary landlordism. I interviewed 13 cultivators, representing ten villages in the talukas of Chiplun, Sangameshwar, Ratnagiri and Rajapur. Several questions were put to them and the following is a summary of the replies given by them.

"The ryots in the non-Khoti villages are much better off than those in the Khoti villages. Under the Khoti tenure the rent of some lands is fixed and that of others consists of a fixed share of the crop. In the latter case the actual quantity of grain to be paid any year is fixed after the 'Abhavani' (the annual estimate of crops by inspection of the standing crops). This Abhavani system is applicable also to *nachni* and other

crops of the *warkis* lands and to sugarcane, *tur*, *varna*, chilly and such other crops. The estimate of the crops is made by the Khot, the cultivator concerned and a third party who is generally a partisan of the Khot either through obligations or fear. Consequently the crop is often overestimated. Where a portion of the crop according to the *abhavani* is to be given to the khot, the rent is to be paid in kind, and when the quantity of grain raised is required for the cultivator's family he is allowed to pay the rent in cash. However it costs more to the cultivator inasmuch as the Khot charges a higher rate than the market rate. The cultivator has to pay more than what is due from him even when the rent is to be paid in kind. The Khots have two sets of measures, and in measuring the grain to be received from the cultivator they use that of the larger ones. Thus, if a cultivator has to pay $2\frac{1}{2}$ maunds of grain, he must take to the Khot about 3 maunds. All the expenses of cultivation including those for seed are to be borne by the cultivator. The Khot increases the amount of the rent due from certain kinds of tenants, if they have increased the produce by their efforts and by investing their own money. He also can ask certain tenants to leave their land as yearly *kabulayats* or agreements are taken from them and as they are considered as tenants-at-will! When such tenants are asked to evacuate they do not receive anything by way of compensation for the improvements they might have effected in the land—for their labours in bringing hilly ground under cultivation or even for the wells they might have sunk in the land. All the trees on the banks of a river are considered to be owned by the Khot and the cultivator has to pay annually four or eight annas for every jack tree standing on the land used by him; the trees planted by the cultivator may at any time be cut down by the Khot. Also in addition a share of the produce of the trees, viz., mangoes, jack fruits &c., is claimed by the latter. Though he is not legally entitled to such share, he forcibly takes what he wants and the cultivator is powerless to resist him. Although the Khoti Act prohibits *veth* (forced labour), it is quite common in the Khoti villages. The tenants are forced to carry *doli* for the Khot. Also the men, women and grown up children in the cultivator's family have to do all sorts of work at the Khot's whenever there is a wedding ceremony. Also it is the practice amongst the Khots to reserve the best lands for their own use, and the ryots have to do the cultivation work there and supply ploughs and draft bullocks for the purpose. The ryots cannot bargain for their wages, but they have to be satisfied with grain barely sufficient for one meal for working for a whole day. Some of the Khots are also patels of their villages and, being influential people in the Taluka and the District, are able to intimidate the ryots successfully. Chronic indebtedness prevails among the ryots, only some 5 per cent. of them being free from indebtedness. They have to incur debt in bad years when they are not able to pay the rents and also for marriages. The rate of interest is between 25 and 50 per cent. and after the expiry of 12 months compound interest is charged by the Khots. The ryots rarely get receipts for the amounts paid by them in satisfaction of their debts. The houses or huts of the ryots built on the sites owned by the khots are liable to be removed when so asked by the Khots. The ryots pay the ground rent and are only yearly tenants. The ownership of the pasture lands and the wells in the villages is claimed by the Khots who can prevent the ryots from using them whenever they like and often they do prevent. The ryots are not allowed to build houses with stone foundations and tiled

roofs, only thatch being tolerated in the place of the latter. The intolerance of the Khots goes still further. Kunbis are forced to wear only a small piece of cloth to cover their loins and under no circumstances must they wear *dhotis* in the villages. Some of those who migrate to Bombay earn good wages and purchase *dhotis*, *phetas*, shirts, coats and *uprindās*; but they cannot wear them in their villages. They must change them for their old *lungi* as soon as they set foot in the village. The Khots do everything in their power to discourage education among the Kunbis. Many of the Khots are Brahmins and there are also Marathas, (the Kahatriya Marathas), Mahomedans and men belonging to other castes who are Khots. Barring an honourable exception here and there, all are equally bad, whether they are Brahmins, non-Brahmins or Mahomedans".

Making due allowance for exaggeration, one can see how the Khoti tenure works so far as the ryots are concerned. If there be any exaggeration, it may refer to the charges made against all the Khots in a sweeping manner, and there may be some dishonest ryots also. But that the Khoti system leaves much scope for oppression, ill-treatment and dishonesty cannot be denied. Also, some of the acts of a few of the Khots may be even worse. Thus the condition of things described above may be held to be substantially true.

THE MADRAS HINDU RELIGIOUS ENDOWMENTS ACT.

MR. SATYAMURTHI has given notice of a bill to repeal the Madras Hindu Religious Endowments Act, which will come up for discussion during the February sessions of the Council. The question which every councillor will have to consider is whether the present Act is based on any vicious principle so that it does not deserve to stand on the Statute book. It is quite true that the Act stands in need of amendment so far as the language is concerned so as to obviate ambiguity and that a large part of the difficulty now experienced in the working of the Act is due to defective wording. But that is comparatively a matter of detail which need not obscure the present controversy as to whether the Act ought to be scraped off altogether.

The policy of the British Government in relation to religious and charitable endowments in the country has oscillated from time to time, from one of active interest in their administration to one of passive neutrality. Of course, when the East India Company was a purely trading body, it could not be expected to supervise or control religious endowments. But with the establishment of settled administration the British Government as the successors of the ancient Indian rulers, manifested a keen interest in the preservation and proper administration of the endowments and interfered to prevent mismanagement and misappropriation. The Endowments and Escheat Regulation of 1814 gave a legal sanction to their acts and vested in the Board of Revenue the control and superintendence of the endowments of certain religious institutions. In 1842 the Government

divested themselves of their control over certain temples and in 1863 during the reaction which followed the Mutiny, owing to an apprehension that the interference of the Government might be resented as an attack on Hindu religion, the Government decided to divest themselves of their responsibility in the matter and Act XX of 1853 was passed effectuating that object.

Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim (as he then was) remarks in his foreword to the second edition of Ganapati Iyer's *Hindu and Mohamadan Religious Endowments*: "Not long afterwards (1863) high authorities connected with the Government as well as judges remarked on the wholly unsatisfactory condition of charitable and religious foundations in India and the inadequacy of the laws to protect against the evils of dishonest or inefficient administration."

During the same period (i.e. since 1863) the history of English legislation on the subject reveals a different story. There we find the State gradually assuming greater responsibility and exercising greater control over the management of charitable trusts. We find the appointment of Charity Commissioners (who correspond to the Board created by the Madras Act) and their powers being enlarged and made more comprehensive by successive Acts of Parliament.

I need not pause to cite the ancient Hindu Law texts or precedents which empower and enjoin the king to guard and protect carefully public trusts. The Privy Council remarked in an early case reported in 1 L. A. 209 (*Muthu Ramalinga vs. Perianayagam*): "It is evident that before that regulation (of 1817) the British Government by virtue of its sovereign power asserted, as the former rulers of the country had done, the right to visit endowments of this kind and prevent and redress abuses in their management." In these days of increasing State control in all directions, a result which is due to and is justified by the increasingly popular control of the State mechanism, it would be in the fitness of things that the State should undertake the duty of superintending public trusts. Indeed, we should be prepared to attribute culpable negligence to the State if it shirked its responsibility in the matter and allowed funds which the industry of pious founders had gathered to be frittered away by irresponsible managers and in frivolous litigation.

In Madras there have been attempts since 1910 to introduce a change in the law and to induce the Government to abandon its attitude of neutrality and assume a more active rôle in protecting the interests of charities. This along with so many other controversial subjects was shelved during the time of the War. Legislation was effected only in 1924-25 which resulted in Act I of 1925.

The main defect in the law as it stood till 1925 which was revealed in its administration was that if a trustee were to mismanage the trust funds, there was no effective method of checking it save by the removal of the trustee which had to be done by suit, and when once litigation was started the defences

raised were so many that the plaintiffs were put to great expenses which deterred many a public-spirited man from attempting to protect trust property and meanwhile the trustee could deal with the trust, funds for his defence in such suits and the passing of a decree would obviously be but a very poor substitute for an efficient control of the trusts.

It cannot be said that this defect has been entirely cured by the Endowments Act, because in the case of Mutts and excepted temples recourse must still be had to the courts under § 69 of the Act, and even under the old law the Committee had the power to dismiss trustees in respect of those temples where the Committee functioned. But the Act is not without several useful provisions. For example, the provisions which empower the Board to frame schemes under § 53 in the case of non-excepted temples and § 59 in the case of excepted temples and Mutts is designed to avoid unnecessary expense in litigation. § 40 has introduced a simple method of enforcing payment of funds when the endowment is a charge on property. The provisions relating to the preparation of the budget and those relating to audit by independent auditors of the funds of the endowment must prove salutary. § 72 introduces a necessary restriction on the powers of alienation of trustees. With this might usefully have been added a provision as to how the trustee should invest surplus trust funds, as there is at present no statutory rule on the subject.

It is really unfortunate that this piece of beneficial legislation was ushered in in an atmosphere surcharged with party feeling—the Ministerialists priding themselves on having remedied an age-long grievance, and the Opposition denouncing the bill in no measured terms. The Ministerialists intended it as a party measure, a measure by which they could consolidate their position in the country, being in possession of patronage over a very large number of officers under the Act; and it was this fear that stiffened the Opposition in the way it did. The feelings engendered when the Act was born have not died out and they are exactly the feelings that are responsible for the friction that the Board unfortunately meets and has met many a time. The members of the Board are apt to feel that those who do not instantly obey them and do as they did, have been set up by the Opposition and this tends sometimes to induce them to exercise their powers harshly and unduly. And the communal feeling is always present and forms as it were a mental background to colour all prejudices. If this feeling should continue assuredly this Act cannot work; nor can any other. It would be far better if the Opposition concentrated their attention on the language of the Act, or the practical difficulties which are felt in its actual working and seek to remedy them instead of trying to scrap the Act as a whole. If the Act were approached with a view to set right its imperfections so that it might win the approval of all, an atmosphere of cordiality and goodwill will be brought about, in which alone any Act can work successfully.

N. R.

INDIA'S EXCHANGE PROBLEM.

III.

THE next apologia in favour of a high exchange is that a reversion to 16d. would mean increased taxation, since the saving in Home Charges would be wiped out. Mr. Madon thinks otherwise; he calculates that with a 16d. exchange there will be a gain of 5 crores in Customs, 2 crores in Income Tax, about 3 crores on Railways and a trifle on Salt. Supposing, however, that these gains are not realised the loss on exchange should be recovered from the rich consumers and not from poor producers. One great advantage of a 16d. exchange to the producer is the saving in the interest on the internal public debt and the interest he pays to his own creditors, reckoned in commodities which he has to part with.

With respect to the loss sustained by the producer by his getting fewer rupees for the sterling price of the exports, the Finance Member had said that this was compensated by the higher prices in sterling so that the amount of rupees he got was the same. Mr. Madon asks: why should the producer be satisfied with the same amount when everybody else has been getting more? Besides the assumption that world-prices in gold will continue at a high level is not tenable. Supposing world-prices fall, then we would have to bring down exchange again in order that the producer may get the same amount in rupees. As this is not possible, it is no use consoling the producer with the promise that he would be getting the same number of rupees.

The Finance Member had characterized as a hoary old fallacy the theory that a high exchange benefits the importer and a low exchange benefits the primary producer. In order to examine the question, Mr. Madon has examined at length the outgoings of the primary producer as well as the secondary producer, i. e. the factory owner. If the working capital of the factory is reduced on account of the Banker seeing that the factory is not up to the mark, if profits are consequently lowered, the position of the secondary producer becomes precarious and he is obliged to liquidate the stocks. Later on he is obliged to cut down wages and this precipitates labour conflicts. All this results from a high exchange, because the Indian factory has to sell goods at the price at which the foreign producer lays down his own, viz. 12½ per cent. less than if exchange were at 16d. The factory-owner and the labourer have thus to bear the whole burden of this fall because the other elements are not easily alterable. Ultimately even insolvencies and liquidations will be witnessed and a commercial crisis is not improbable.

Although it is true that some factories are feeling the effects of foreign competition to the extent of 12½ per cent., we do not share the extreme pessimism of Mr. Madon with regard to the position of Indian factories. If some mills are on the point of liquidation, the causes for this must be sought elsewhere than in exchange. Taking the case of Japanese competition in cloth, it is quite clear that

much of their advantage arises from long hours of work, working with double shifts and employment of women and children in defiance of the International regulations. The remedy for this defiance would be a duty levied on all goods coming from countries that do not conform to the conventions adopted by the Washington Conference.

In this connection the author has given detailed concrete figures for two typical mills, one Indian and the other Japanese. As a result it is seen that other factors being the same, the Japanese mill is enabled to undersell by some 17 lacs of rupees simply on account of the high exchange. The Japanese are thus enabled to secure a strong footing in India without the sacrifices necessary in the case of the Indian mills and this footing would lead to a permanent competition even after exchange has been brought to the old level. And if the Japanese mills elected to work even without profit for a few years, their Indian rivals would be ruined and would be forced into liquidation. This is quite true; but it is not very probable that Japanese mills would work without profits simply to get a firm footing in India.

The general contention emphasized throughout this discussion is, however, sound and it is this. Temporary effects are not negligible if they are such as to cause an amount of harm; because although adjustments may be made in the long run in the transitional period, the 'economic harmony' might be disturbed. For the matter of that, everything might be righted in the long run; but you cannot adopt an attitude of non-chalance in the case of vital industries on the basis of this optimistic dictum of Bastiat. Far from being a hoary old fallacy, the theory of a high exchange stimulating imports is a recognized part of the wider theory of International Trade.

Mr. Madon admits that in the case of middlemen in this country and other countries who are called exporters and importers, a high or low exchange is a matter of no concern. Whatever the prices, they charge their own commission according to a fixed percentage and their interest lies in a stable exchange, whether high or low. In this connection he emphasizes a distinction between the real producer and the exporter which many of us are inclined to ignore. The gains and losses of these middlemen are very small compared to the gains and losses of the primary producer.

If the effects of a high exchange are called temporary, then we have a right to expect that the ultimate goal is the normal par, that is to say, the rate of exchange in the pre-war days. This is what Mr. Madon thinks. We do not think, however, that the Finance Member meant this when he said that the effects are temporary. What he meant was that when all other factors are adjusted to suit the high exchange, then the temporary effects would vanish and there will be no gains or losses to anybody, 'the economic harmony' being established. A high exchange, when made permanent, ceases to have any force. This is the substance of the official view

contained in the Budget speech. There is some truth in this; but it is a truth which may properly be called a half-truth; because if this line of reasoning is adopted, any step in economic policy can be justified.

It is undeniable that Mr. Madon has drawn our attention to many aspects of the Exchange problem which are not ordinarily thought of and furnished striking arguments in favour of the pre-war exchange.

V. N. GODBOLE.

(Concluded.)

HOW THINGS ARE BUILT UP.

It is really a unique feature of the scientific life in European countries that men standing at the very pinnacle of fame, men who have devoted their whole lives to the pursuit of science, men who have won all possible distinctions by their researches, are prepared to devote a large portion of their valuable time to the task of popularising intricate scientific problems. They seem to realise that the spreading of scientific knowledge among the people, is an essential part of the educational activities of the "Gelehrtenstand". It is only due to these popularising activities of the scientists that the level of knowledge exhibited by the average citizen in London or Berlin is far higher than that exhibited by one in Bombay or Poona. The book under review* is a report of six lectures delivered by the author at the Royal Institution at London, of which he is the director. This institution has been doing exceedingly valuable work in the direction of popularising science, and if one glances at the names of the various lecturers (e. g. C. V. Boys, Sir Oliver Lodge, Sir J. J. Thomson) one can at once guess what treats the audiences must be getting and what enthusiasm these men must be giving rise to.

The book is divided into six parts, each profusely illustrated by means of plates and sketches. The first chapter deals with the atoms of which things are made, the second and third with gases and liquids respectively, and the last three with the nature of crystals. This last subject has been the topic on which Sir William has worked for a very long time, and he may be called the father of the investigations on the internal constitution of crystals with the help of that subtle agent, the Röntgen Rays. It was he who understood the value of the original discovery of von Laue, and everybody will agree that he has well deserved the Nobel Prize for Physics which was awarded to him and his son a couple of years ago.

Turning to the book under review, it is the intention of the reviewer to give in a series of articles in this journal, not only an appreciation of the work, but also a short summary of the important facts described in it, so that the busy reader will get an idea of the way in which things are built up. The book is written in such a flowing and lucid style, and contains such fascinating illustrations, that to any man possessing even the slightest amount of curiosity, it is even more interesting than "Arabian Nights."

I. THE ATOMS OF WHICH THINGS ARE MADE.

The idea that all matter is made up of very small particles, each resembling the other, and each being indivisible, is very old, and can be traced back to the Greeks. Scientists in the middle ages did

*"Concerning the Nature of Things" by Sir William Bragg, K.B.E., D.Sc., F.R.S., (G. Bell & Sons, Ltd., London.) 1925. 7x3. pp. xi+232. 6s. 6d.

not, however, attach much importance to this idea, and it was only at the beginning of the 19th century, when Dalton put forward the same views in a clear-cut theory, that this "atomic theory" obtained general recognition. It was also Dalton who gave a rational definition of the connection of an element and defined it as the substance which could not be split up further into component parts. The magnificent researches conducted by scientists in various countries have only served to show how accurate Dalton's hypothesis has been. To-day we are acquainted with about 88 different elements, each of which is made up of atoms which are distinct from the others. It has even been found possible to weigh these small units, to measure their velocities (for they are in incessant motion), and also to determine the electric charges which are carried by them. It was in fact very early recognised that these small units of matter must be charged with a definite amount of electricity, and it is owing to the attractive and repulsive forces between these charges which determine the stability or otherwise of the aggregates formed by their union.

The new methods of investigation, used in the last 25 years have shown that an atom of carbon, as is present in diamond, is 1.54 hundred millionths of a centimeter, and that of oxygen 1.30 hundred millionths. The diameter of an atom of carbon is thus related to the diameter of a two-anna piece, as the height of an ordinary house to the distance between the earth and the moon! The weights of the atoms are also extremely small. Thus it will take one billion (1000,000,000,000,000,000,000) atoms of hydrogen to make up a weight of 3 grams.

It has already been said that these atoms are in incessant motion, and it is this motion which prevents the forces of attraction between the atoms getting the upper hand, just as the motion of the earth prevents the attraction of the sun drawing the earth into it. In the case of the gases, the motion of the individual particles has the upper hand; but in the case of the solids, the mutual attraction between the atoms is much stronger. The liquids naturally occupy an intermediate position.

The two new agents, which have done invaluable service in the study of the structure of matter, are the phenomenon of radio-activity, and the X-rays. Under radio-activity is understood the spontaneous decomposition of certain atoms, chief among them being radium, involving the sending out of electrically charged particles, and of X-rays. These latter are nothing but a form of light (itself a wave motion), the waves of which are very much smaller than those of ordinary light. These methods involving the use of these X-rays has increased the fineness of our vision some ten thousand times.

Let us now turn our attention to the phenomenon of radio-activity. An atom of radium which is one of the heaviest atoms known, is apparently not a very stable structure and undergoes some sort of a decomposition process. The very fact that an atom, which was formerly considered to be indivisible, can be further divided, points to a complex structure, and it has now been universally accepted that the old definition of an atom requires to be modified. An atom is, according to modern theory, made up of a central nucleus charged with positive electricity, surrounded by very small particles called electrons charged with negative electricity. The major part of the weight of the atom is concentrated in the nucleus. The electrons are in constant motion round the nucleus, the whole presenting a picture singularly similar to the solar system. In the case of hydrogen, the lightest element known, an atom, consists of a nucleus having one positive

charge, and an electron rotating round it. In the case of uranium, which is the heaviest atom known, the nucleus has 92 positive charges and 92 electrons keep rotating round this nucleus.

It can now be very easily understood why it is the heaviest atoms that exhibit the phenomenon of radio-activity, for it is only in the case of these atoms that the structure is very complicated and the chances of instability are therefore much greater. Thus radio-activity is nothing else than the spontaneous decomposition of these complicated structures. In the course of these decompositions, the atoms of radio-active elements give out negative electrons, and also positively charged particles, which are nothing else but the nuclei of other lighter elements. The atom of the radio-active element itself thus loses both weight and electric charge, and naturally becomes identical with the atom of another and lighter element. An atom of radium, after a series of such radio-active transformations, becomes an atom of lead!

The difference between one element and another is thus only a difference in the positive charge on the nucleus, (and therefore in the number of electrons rotating round it,) and in the complexity of its composition. The old dream of the alchemist of transforming a "base" metal into gold was therefore not quite the dream of madmen, as was, and still is, supposed. Whether it will be possible experimentally to knock off, for example, a few electrons from an atom of mercury and change it into an atom of gold, or whether such an achievement will have any economic influence, are questions outside the scope of the present article.

D. D. KARVE.

REVIEWS.

HISTORY OF THE MUTINY.

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE MEDAL. By EDWARD THOMPSON. (The Hogarth Press London.) 1925. 7 x 5. pp. 143. 5s.

IT requires rare courage in a man to take what he knows well is the unpopular side; to show up a grave moral defect or obliquity in his own people; to attempt to advise them to revise their judgment about a great, yea, an heroic episode in their history, about which his people have believed and repeated as the absolute truth a picture that is purely one-sided and grossly unjust to the other people, who had as much to do and to suffer in that episode as themselves, if not more. Dr. E. Thompson, for many years Principal of the Wesleyan College, Bankura, and one of those few Englishmen who have mastered an Indian language so thoroughly that he has already won lasting fame both in England and in Bengal by his wonderful translations of Bengali poems into beautiful English verse, now seeks this higher fame of trying to reverse the almost unanimous judgment of English historians on the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857-59. The book he has written on the subject is very short. But length is by no means essential to his thesis. He shows by concrete instances, fully authenticated and carefully selected, that the brutality and the blood guilt and the diabolic savagery in those tragic months were not all on one side. There were, no doubt, gruesome, revolting and unforgettable incidents during the Mutiny for which Indians, both Hindu and Muslim, were responsible, and these the English historians of the event have made the most of. But in this book Dr. Thompson piles up a little tumulus of other incidents, few of them even noticed by English historians, quite as brutal, quite as

savage, revolting and unforgettable, every detail authenticated by first-hand and unimpeachable evidence, the authors and criminals of which were, not Indians, but Britishers. And he has performed his self-imposed task with exemplary judgment and admirable moderation. It would have been very easy for him to make his book twice or thrice as long as it is, by including in it more incidents of the kind. The student who knows the history of the Mutiny from first-hand and contemporary sources knows there is no lack of such incidents. But he also knows that the primary reports of a very large number of such incidents were deliberately destroyed either by Lord Canning himself or by his orders. And to admit any incident into this book, any detail of which could not be substantiated by reliable first-hand evidence furnished by some Englishman of high standing, would have been fatal to Dr. Thompson's purpose. Critics and reviewers, rushing forward to protect the good name and fair fame of their race, would have raised controversies about some of these details; they would have shown that the evidence for them was at some points shaky or doubtful; and in this manner they might have scored a cheap success in weakening the credibility of the book as a whole. Dr. Thompson has avoided this pitfall with great care and with complete success. And while this is a triumph of judgment, the real triumph of the author is higher still, being one of conscience. "Truth has an eternal title to our confession, though we are sure to be the sufferers by it," he says in his preface, and while making this confession fully and with a contrite heart himself, he asks of his countrymen no more than to do likewise.

Dr. Thompson wants his countrymen and their historians to confess, as soon and as fully as possible,—

(1) That the Mutiny was "a servile revolt" (p. 36), where the principals were the troops; and as such, it was inevitably marked with horrible and ghastly savagery on both sides;

(2) That infuriated British troops and their officers were guilty of as much blood-lust as were Indian; this can be proved up to the hilt, from incidents at every stage and in every theatre of the Mutiny, and related by the authors themselves, in many cases with unmistakable self-gratulation, in some with a sickening unctious;

(3) That the cold-blooded and indiscriminate hanging and massacre of innumerable people of the civilian population, who were neither mutineers nor disaffected, nor guilty of anything but mere helplessness (ch. II, sections 7, 9, and 10), was a frightfulness, that is "the darkest stain on our record" (p. 70);

(4) That this "other side of the medal" has so far been kept out of English histories and English literature dealing with or based upon the event, some of the writers most highly esteemed being guilty not only of deliberate suppression of half the truth, but of "smug effrontery" (p. 83) into the bargain;

(5) And one main root of the deep irreconcilable hatred of England which is to be found in India is the undying memory of this savage fury experienced by millions over a large tract of country—"from Behar to the Border" (p. 86)—during those tragic months.

And, having so confessed, our author wants them to reflect, further, that such one-sided English accounts of the Mutiny as have so far prevailed in English literature and history, must exacerbate Indian feeling all the more, as is perfectly natural. Englishmen should have little difficulty in under-

standing this, if they will only recall in this connection what they have suffered themselves from one-sided and "lurid lies" (p. 27) about themselves, spread all over the world at different periods of their history by Americans, Irishmen, Boers, and others.

Thus, the author's real purpose in writing this brave little book is not merely to set the accounts of a past historical event right, as between the two peoples concerned in it, but in this way and through this means to enable England to convince India that she has really undergone a conversion or a change of heart in her attitude towards her great Dependency, and so to apply the real cure to that legacy of deep-lying hatred, which has long been poisoning all the relations between the two great countries so closely linked together in their fortunes by world-forces of historical evolution, who have still to carry forward a joint yoke for a period the end of which is not yet in sight. The author hereby proves himself to be an Anglo-Indian in the highest sense of that much-abused term, a patriotic Indian who is also an equally patriotic Englishman, able to read the hearts of both his lands, and trying his utmost to improve the permanent relationship between his two mother-countries, by that most spiritual means, a moral argument addressed to the highest in each.

B. K. T.

CORRESPONDENCE.

INDORE AFFAIRS.

IMPRISONMENT OF TATYA SAHEB HOLKAR.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—It is refreshing to notice from your journal dated the 10th instant that the efforts, since the murder of Mr. Bawla, being made to disguise the real character of the present Indore regime, are recognized and appreciated at their true face value by Mr. Abhyankar.

Among the numerous victims—to take only one—of this cruel system of administration, may be mentioned the case of Shrimant Tatya Saheb Holkar, first cousin to the present Ruler. Over 10 years ago, and under the verbal orders of His Highness the Maharaja Holkar—without any charge—Tatya Saheb Holkar was thrown into a dungeon at Mandleshwar, and he and his two wives and six children have been kept as close prisoners surrounded by a strong military guard. For what offence and for how long this unfortunate prince and his still more unfortunate wives and children are to continue to suffer this agony of a living death, it is difficult to say. Scores of most pathetic appeals on behalf of the sufferers have received no response from His Highness, whose attitude towards Tatya Saheb remains as adamant as ever, since His Highness claims the right to treat his relations as he pleases under Article 10th of the Treaty of Peace concluded at Mandesore between the Hon'ble the East India Company and His Highness Malhar Rao Holkar on the 6th January 1818; and what is still more poignantly felt is that the British Government declines to interfere in the internal affairs of the Indore State and is precluded from extending justice to a direct descendant of the ruling family on the plea that over 107 years ago the East India Company stipulated that it "has no manner of concern with any of the Maharaja's children, relations, dependents, subjects or servants with respect to whom the Maharaja is absolute." Against Tatya Saheb Holkar His Highness the Maharaja has taken the fullest advantage of the terms of this antiquated treaty. To whom, then, is Tatya Saheb Holkar and his sorely afflicted family and (growing) innocent children to cry for justice and mercy?

INDOREAN.

Indore Dec. 28, 1925.

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