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Editor : S. G. VAZE.

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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

IN the death of Sir K. G. Gupta, which occurred at Calcutta on Monday last, the country loses one of the earliest Indian entrants into the Civil Service by the front door of open competition in England. Sir Krishna had a distinguished service record and was the first Indian to be appointed a member of the Board of Revenue. The next natural step in his promotion was the Lieutenant-Governorship, which too would have come to him but for the colour of his skin; and he was sent away to England and America on special duty in connection with some fishery investigation. When Lord Morley decided to appoint Indians to the India Council, the distinction of being the first Indian member of that body fell to the lot of Mr. K. G. Gupta as he then was. There was much shaking of the head in Indian political circles at his appointment to this position; the help he gave to Mr. Gokhale in the shaping of the Morley-Minto reforms and the deep solicitude he otherwise showed for public good soon set these fears at rest. He retired in 1915 after serving his full term in the India Council, since when he began to interest himself in public affairs and used to be a familiar figure on the platform at the annual sessions of the Liberal Federation. As a member of the Esher Committee, he wrote a minute of dissent which ably sets forth the Indian view-point of Army reform.

MR. D. HANUMANTHA RAO, who passed away a few days ago, was for some time a member of the Servants of India Society. Political differences on the question of the satyagraha movement started by Mr. Gandhi in 1919 prematurely cut off his connection with the Society; but during such time as he

was in the Society he did not fail to impress everybody who came into contact with him as an unostentatious public worker, a genuine patriot and a man possessing the strength of his convictions. But though he left the Society to work in a different sphere, our members never ceased to admire him for the selfless manner in which he continued to labour in the cause of his country. Mr. Hanumantha Rao was latterly conducting in the Madras presidency an institution on the lines of the Satyagrahashram at Sabarmati and had won praise even from Mr. Gandhi. We offer our condolence to his widow, who was a real help-mate in all that he undertook.

OVER a year ago the Bombay Government issued a comprehensive resolution dealing with the recommendations of the Excise Committee and mentioning the action they proposed to take on them. The only point with regard to which they were then undecided was the future of excise advisory committees. They then invited proposals from the Commissioner in Sind and the Commissioner of Excise as to their reorganisation but had declared their intention to meet liberally the Committee's recommendations in this behalf. We are afraid that the expectations they thus raised will be disappointed by their recent decision on the subject, which contravenes the Committee's recommendations in important particulars.

The principal reason why these bodies have failed to evoke public interest is their advisory nature, their decisions not being binding on the authorities. The bulk of non-official evidence led before the Committee strongly supported this view, as a result of which it recommended that the decisions of these Committees "should be respected and carried out." Where the Collector differed from these, the matter should, the Committee suggested, be referred to Government, whose decision was to be looked upon as final. This was really the most important of the Committee's proposals, but the Government have ruthlessly rejected even this very reasonable proposal and maintain that the committees must continue to be advisory as at present!

Only in one respect do they seem to agree with the Committee; but when one looks a little below the surface, one finds that the agreement is more apparent than real. With a moderation which we think was entirely misplaced, the Committee suggested that two-thirds of the members of these bodies should be elected and one-third nominated; while, the corresponding proportions in the case of far more important bodies like legislative councils and local boards are four-fifths and one-fifth! But even this modest recommendation has failed to receive unqualified acceptance at their hands. They make a show of accepting this proposal; but, quite contrary to the Committee's wishes, provide representation on these bodies to the drinking classes and also to the liquor trade. Who can now say that their zeal for prohibition is not genuine? The Collector will

of course as heretofore retain the chairmanship and will naturally have a casting vote.

Not much cleverness is required to foretell that bodies so constituted will not be more popular than those of which they are supposed to be improved editions. The result will be that there will hardly be any inducement to the non-official element to interest itself in their work and their meetings, of which there need not be more than one if the Collectors are so minded, will as a rule not be fully attended, leaving the Collector as the boss as at present! The Government had set out to "improve the constitution and enlarge the functions and powers of excise advisory committees." We leave it to our readers to judge whether their present proposals will achieve either the desired improvement or enlargement. If this is progress, what is stagnation?

* * *

THE one substantial change the Punjab Money-lenders Bill (now named, "to meet objections on grounds of sentiment," the Punjab Borrowers Protection Bill) underwent in the Select Committee is that the money-lender will not now be required, as originally intended, to send to the borrower a statement of account in the prescribed form every time a transaction took place, but will only be liable to do so if and when a statement of account is called for by the borrower. This is a desirable change, which will ensure that the borrower is posted with all information he may need without imposing any unnecessary or vexatious conditions upon the lender. The requirement in regard to the presentation of six-monthly statements of account is maintained intact, which, we believe, will not prove too burdensome. All money-lenders within the terms of the Bill will of course have to record accounts in such form and in such books as will be prescribed by the Government, this being the only means of preventing falsification of accounts. The penalty provided for not keeping accounts in approved books and in approved form is the disallowance of the whole claim, that for not furnishing the six-monthly statement is loss of interest during the period and that for failure to furnish a statement when called upon to do so is the award of a fine under sec. 188 of the I. P. C. (imprisonment being ruled out). These provisions do not appear to us to be unreasonable, and the criticism made by Mr. Owen Roberts, viz. that the clauses laying down punishments proceed upon the basis "the lesser the offence the greater the crime" seems peculiarly inapplicable.

There are certain other criticisms of detail, however, made by dissenting members which deserve consideration at the hands of the Legislative Council; e. g., that of Mr. Owen Roberts in regard to the use of the letter card or of Dewan Bahadur Raja Narendranath in regard to the application to be made by the borrower to the Magistrate for a statement of account, his suggestion being that the Civil Court should be substituted for the Magistrate. We are particularly pleased to see the insertion of a new clause (Clause 7) providing that the absence of a protest by the borrower against the correctness of a statement of account received by him shall not be regarded as evidence presumptive that the statement is correct. A corresponding provision in favour of the money-lender, which is recommended by Mr. Owen Roberts, may be inserted if necessary, though for our part we do not deem it necessary. The Select Committee has not, however, been able to hammer out an agreed measure; it does not seem to have converted a single opponent into a friend. The opposition again is

not confined to details, but extends to principles. The opponents would, as before, reject the bill lock-stock and barrel. We for our part would like to be reckoned among the friendly critics of the Bill.

* * *

WHATEVER else the Reforms may have done, they have been so used as to reduce greatly the time formerly allowed for the consideration of non-official business.

The privilege of apportioning time between official and non-official business vested in the Governor has almost invariably worked to the detriment of the latter and the complaint seems to be universal in the provinces that while too little time is allowed for non-official business, quite a liberal ration is allowed for official business. So far as this province goes, we have on more than one occasion commented on the disproportionately small amount of time allotted for the consideration of non-official business, making it impossible for elected members to voice public grievances on the floor of the Council. The U. P. do not seem to fare better in this respect; for recently when the demand for the Legislative Council was under discussion, occasion was taken by non-official members by means of a motion for a cut, to mark their dissatisfaction at the step-motherly treatment which non-official business was consistently receiving at the hands of the Governor. The fact that the motion was carried against Government shows the strength of feeling amongst non-officials on the subject. A feeling of annoyance under the circumstances is, in our opinion, quite natural, when it is remembered that the amount of non-official business disposed of by the Council is a mere fraction of what popular representatives intended to place before it for its consideration. In our own presidency, e. g., occasions when our Council could, owing to shortness of time, deal only with half a dozen or so of non-official resolutions when there were at least 15 times as many on the agenda have by no means been rare! The non-officials in U. P. have thus led the way in entering in a constitutional manner an emphatic protest against this unsatisfactory state of affairs. It need hardly be said that their example deserves to be copied wherever the need is felt of a larger ration of time for unofficial business in order to enable popular representatives to discharge their obligations towards their constituents in a satisfactory manner.

* * *

THE question of appointing a larger number of Greater Secretariat Indianisation secretaries and deputy secretaries in the secretariat was raised in the U. P. Council in connection with the voting of grants, on which a well-deserved defeat was inflicted on Government. As usual, they put forward the unconvincing plea of a paucity of suitable Indians, due to their very small number which used to be recruited annually for the I.C.S. until quite recently. If so, why not accelerate the rate of Indianisation still further? But when proposals to that end are made, they encounter the strongest opposition from the Government themselves. Even supposing that their contention is not without force, one finds it very difficult to believe that everything possible is done to respect the public demand for a conferment in a larger measure upon Indians of these positions of trust and responsibility in provincial secretariats. The record of the U. P. Government in this behalf is very disappointing, the number of Indians appointed by them since 1923 to such positions being three! Do

they seriously expect the public to believe that during three long years no more than as many Indian members of the Civil Service could be found who would have worthily filled the posts of secretaries and deputy secretaries? Moreover they ought not to overlook the fact that Parliament has now irrevocably committed itself to the more definite association of Indians in the administration of the country and that the Government of India, at the instance of Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, have agreed to make a larger number of these secretarial appointments available to Indians. Under these circumstances for the central and provincial Government not to try honestly to bring about a larger Indianisation is, it seems to us, nothing short of insubordination.

LIKE Dr. Norman Leys, another official seems to be about to leave the Kenya Government's service, because he is unable to toe the line of the white settlers of Kenya. For the *Manchester Guardian* has the following in mail week: "We find a mere handful of wealthy concessionaires in Kenya, without rebuke by the Governor, attempting to hound the Chief Native Commissioner for Native Affairs out of the service merely because he voiced, as was his duty, in his official report, such native grievances as he found to exist. Already in recent years several officials have been compelled to leave the country because they defended native rights too boldly. If Mr. Maxwell has to go too, it will mean that from now only the nominees of the exploiters will be eligible for high office in Kenya." The exploiters are at any rate firmly convinced that every official in the nominal service and actual pay of the Government must be ever at their own beck and call. They always require the attendance of heads of Departments, not excluding the Governor, at their unofficial Parliament called the Convention of Associations. At the recent session, however, held towards the end of February, the Chief Native Commissioner failed to attend and it is probably this very default that has brought the matter of his dismissal to a head. When a question affecting native labour was being discussed, it was discovered that the C.N.C. was not in attendance. The President instantly sent him a summons; but the C.N.C. politely replied that he would try to come and hoped he would be able to come. Finding that he did not obey the summons, the President adjourned the discussion of that question to the following day, but that day too the C.N.C. failed to put in an appearance. Immediately a vote of censure was passed upon the wretched official in the most flamboyant language imaginable. We shall quote here only a part of the resolution, which is much too long. After saying that the C.N.C. had "shown his contempt of the efforts of the Convention to solve the (labour) difficulty," the resolution proceeds: "This Convention has arrived at the matured opinion that the feeling generally existent throughout the country is fully justified, viz. that the present holder of the post of C.N.C. is ill-fitted to hold that post and that his continuance in that office is a distinct menace to the future prosperity of the Colony and accordingly requests the elected members to take every legitimate step within their power to secure his removal to some other post more suited to his abilities."

THE last English mail has brought us a valuable little book dealing with the Indian problem and written by Mr. B. Shiva Rao and Major Graham Pole.

Many people are found in England who, while genuinely sympathetic towards and anxious to do their best for India, do not know exactly where to turn for information about what it is that is required to pacify the discontent in India. To such people in Britain, as also elsewhere, the present book will come very handy. It opens with a chapter on India's past which takes the reader very rapidly through very ancient times and brings him right up to the 1917 Declaration of Indian policy by Parliament. Incidentally the myth that India was not a nation and did not know unity prior to the advent of British Rule is effectively exposed. Information about the area and population of the country, social and economic conditions, the present educational position and the condition of labour then follows, which is necessary for a right understanding of the Indian position. Unwilling to part with any real power in favour of Indians, the bureaucracy meets their demand for full self-government by an offer to introduce some changes in the Government of India Act. The authors show conclusively that this will not do, what is necessary being its substitution by a fresh piece of legislation designed to suit new conditions. Anti-Indians like the Sydenham group are in the habit of confusing the British public by casting doubt on the capacity of Indians to appreciate the value of law and the order and franchise. The book points out in a convincing manner how utterly such criticism lacks foundation. India's demand is embodied in the Assembly's resolution of September last, the resolutions passed by the Liberal Federation and the Muslim league and last but by no means least the Commonwealth of India Bill. These or their main features appropriately find a place in the book; as also a summary of the recommendations of the majority and minority of the Muddiman Committee. The brief extracts from evidence submitted to this Committee printed as appendix add to its value as a publication furnishing the British elector with relevant information about the Indian problem. The book is published by the Labour Publishing Co. Ltd., 38, Great Ormond Street, London, W.C.1. and is priced at one shilling net.

THE publication of the report of the proceedings of the Standing Committee on Indian Affairs for the session 1925 reminds one, says our London correspondent, that that Committee has still to be appointed, though it is believed that the Secretary of State for India is taking the necessary steps to set it up again, with or without new blood. Unless the Secretary of State is going to give it something more to do than fell to its lot last year, it hardly seems worth while to re-appoint the Committee. It appears that in 1925, apart from formal business, it met only three times, when its entire attention was occupied with a consideration of the Government of India (Civil Services) Bill. Having reported on the 26th May, having met for the first time after its appointment on the 12th, it never sat again. All the matters of interest to the people of India, both then and thereafter, took place without any attention whatever being devoted to them by the Committee, principally, no doubt, because nothing at all was referred to them by the omniscient peer that, in odd moments, presides over the destinies of India at the India Office, when other more pressing business does not occupy him. What use this Committee, and for that matter his own Council, is to him is one of those obscure problems that will doubtless never be elucidated.

LORD READING'S REGIME.

LOOKING back on the last five years during which His Excellency Lord Reading presided over the destinies of India, as the jargon goes, one cannot help wondering how little the event has justified the extraordinarily high expectations which educated Indians had formed of the ex-Lord Chief Justice of Great Britain. These high expectations were not confined to moderate politicians supposed to be particularly sensitive to a show of liberal sympathies. They were shared by non-Co-operators as well in equal measure. It is amusing to recall how Mahatma Gandhi went out of his way to interdict a boycott of the Viceroy's reception on the day he landed in Bombay, on the ground that, Satanic as the Government was, it was not good tactics to antagonise, at the very start of his career, a statesman who had enjoyed such high reputation for justice and sagacity as Lord Reading. For a long time thereafter the Viceroy continued to inspire secret hope in political circles known to be given easily to despondency. With what trepidation and hopefulness were conversations entered into on the unofficial side in the summer of 1921! If all political parties thus united to hope for great achievements at that time, all will now be similarly united, we guess, in recording the verdict that Lord Reading's régime has proved blank.

The work that had obviously been cut out for him was the effectuation of the Reforms Act in a generous spirit. Few had hoped for a statutory enlargement of the reforms within five years of the passing of the Act. But the hope must have lingered in many minds that if an amendment of the Act was out of the question, it would be possible by establishing right conventions to broaden the scope of the reforms and liberalise the administration. These changes could be introduced by the Viceroy on his own. Again, the reserve powers conferred upon the Executive could have been reserved by the latter really for occasions of the gravest emergency and thus, by the mere fact that they fell into desuetude for a long time, would have become an interesting survival of the days of un-mixed autocracy. It soon became evident, however, that the Government of India and Provincial Governments were prepared to invoke the aid of such reserve powers whenever in their superior wisdom they considered their use desirable. In the second Assembly and Provincial Councils the policy of indiscriminate obstruction professed by a section of politicians helped the Executive to call these reserve powers into activity with some show of reason, but even before the obstructionists afforded this most serviceable excuse, the Executive had taken pretty good care to see that these powers did not rust. The certification of the salt tax is the most glaring instance of a thoughtless and entirely unnecessary resort on the part of Lord Reading to extraordinary powers on very ordinary occasions. The Princes Protection Act is yet another illustration of the failure of Lord Reading to give effect to the

reforms in spirit as well as in letter. The Act may not have done much actual harm, and may even be destined to die a natural death, without ever being resorted to; still it is open to most serious objections from the constitutional point of view and even a Viceroy moderately anxious to avoid provoking the antagonism of the Indian intelligentsia would have sternly refused to carry such a measure on to the statute book in the teeth of popular opposition. When the precedent was thus set by Lord Reading, it is no wonder that provincial satraps began to make fairly liberal use of the so-called emergency powers and certify even such grants as one for the Governor's band on the ground that they were essential, if not to law and order, to good government! Evidence accumulated day after day that the Ministers were hampered in the administration, and yet Lord Reading did not raise his little finger to prevent such a gross violation of the spirit of the Government of India Act. Naturally of course after they had sustained such a severe disappointment, few dared to hope for anything from Lord Reading calculated to accelerate the pace of reforms. If hope was aroused in the hearts of any, it could only have been due to the coming into power of the Labour party; but the party soon fell from power, and with it all lingering hopes of quickening the advent of reforms with the help of the authorities in India were dashed to the ground.

Nor did Lord Reading refrain from turning a screw or two of repression whenever his subordinate officials demanded it. Allowance will of course have to be made for the troublous times through which the country passed at the time, for the non-co-operation movement did in some places seriously imperil peace. But there can be no question that the force used was far in excess of the need, that under cover of a disturbance of the public peace, the Executive removed out of their way men whose activities were always within legitimate bounds. If it was at such time the duty of the Viceroy to have enforced wise restraint on the acts of Provincial Governments, surely Lord Reading must be pronounced to have failed egregiously in discharging it. The Bengal Ordinance was but the culmination of this tendency on the part of the Viceroy to abdicate in times of difficulty. A year and half has elapsed since the promulgation of the Ordinance, during which nothing has happened to lend justification to the bureaucracy for its use of extraordinary powers, but on the contrary everything to support the popular view that the Government was in a panic. In the case of some of the detenus at any rate it seems to be the same old story: Government taking action against men on false police reports. Mr. Anil Baran Roy, a Swarajist M.L.C., who has just been released, is not yet given an opportunity to prove his innocence. From one who filled the highest judicial office in the Empire with great distinction, this much at any rate was expected, that he would restrain provincial Governments when they proceeded to deprive men of their liberty

on mere suspicion, and that he would recommend the repeal of antiquated laws like Regulation III which offend against the elementary principles of civilized government. Lord Reading, however, refused to apply an independent mind to the question, but thought he was bound not to raise difficulties when a Provincial Governor arrived at the conclusion that he must be endowed with special powers in order to cope with a difficult situation. His utterances prior to his departure for India to take up his present high office had raised expectations that the Punjab martial law prisoners would secure justice at Lord Reading's hands; but these expectations too were disappointed.

Lord Reading thus failed to satisfy public opinion on the two matters on which it is greatly agitated: widening of reforms and repeal of repressive laws. For the rest things happened well or ill without any particular reference to the Viceroy. No doubt a forward step has been taken in many matters and a great many abuses corrected. This was in any case bound to happen after the introduction of constitutional reforms. Lord Reading's policy had little to do with most of such changes. His administration has thus proved an utter disappointment to the Indian people, though personally he was all that could be desired. His utterances were always marked by suavity and politeness, which are none too common among Indian potentates. He kept an unruffled temper when there was much to vex and offend him. The fullest credit should be given to him for these lovable traits in his character, but in his public policy he lacked a clear vision and strength of will necessary to give practical shape to the liberal instincts that undoubtedly were in him.

"FARMING OUT" OF EDUCATION IN ASSAM HILLS.

WHILE the advanced communities have neglected and kept aloof from the hill tribes of India, the Missionaries from abroad have come in their midst primarily to preach the Gospel and evangelize. They have opened educational and medical institutions and have raised large sums chiefly from their own countries to finance them. No impartial observer of missionary activities in India will deny that they have brought knowledge, health and succour in many a dark corner of this vast land. It is the barest truth to say that missionary influence has acted as a leaven of progress among the depressed classes and among the hill tribes.

Turning to the hill districts of Assam inhabited by various tribes, such as Khasis, Nagas, Garo, Khasin, Kacharis and Mikirs, one finds missions working among them for many years. The Welsh Calvinistic Presbyterian Mission has been working in Assam chiefly in the Khasi and Jaintia hills for over three quarters of a century. The following table shows the work of the missionaries in the field of education among converts in the Pro-

vince of Assam:—

	Total Population.	Number of Literates.	Percentage. of Literates of All ages.
Roman Catholics.	4,877	679	13.9
Presbyterian	63,329	13,129	20.7
All other Protestants	60,669	7,337	12.7
Total	128,875	21,545	16.7

By far the largest proportion of the converts belong to hill tribes. The percentage of educated persons among the Christian converts in the hill tribes is very much higher than that among the non-Christians, as the following table compared with the previous table will show:—

Animists	Percentage of literates to population.
Khasi	3.2
Kachari	1.1
Garo	0.6
Mikir	0.4

For this satisfactory position of literacy among Christians in the hill tribes, one feels nothing but gratitude to the devoted service of the missionaries.

There is, however, one aspect of the educational work of the missionaries among the hill tribes in Assam in its relation to the Education Department, which we feel compelled to condemn as involving a gross violation of policy of religious neutrality of the Government. The primary education of the hill tribes is almost wholly in the hands of the Christian missionaries. The following quotations from the Assam Education Manuals, 1905 and 1923, give an idea of the relation between the Missions and the Assam Education department, so far as primary education is concerned:—

"All schools in hill districts are under the superintendence of the Deputy Commissioner, subject to the control of the Education department. The immediate management is generally in the hands of the Missionary Societies, who have settled in the particular districts. Grants in lump sum are given from the provincial funds to the Societies subject to the condition that the education afforded is efficient to the satisfaction of the Director of Public Instruction." (Assam School Manual, 1905, p. 35).

"*The Khasi Hills.*—The direct management of the schools is in the hands of the missionary bodies, who have established themselves in the districts. The great majority of the schools have been established by the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Mission. Grants-in-aid from provincial funds are given towards the maintenance and development of schools subject to the satisfaction of any standard which the Director of Public Instruction may set in regard to the course of instruction and the general condition of school management.

"*Garo Hills.*—Schools are maintained both by Government and the American Baptist Mission. The immediate control and management of the Government School are in the hands of the Deputy Commissioner. The Mission Schools are maintained with the help of Government

grants." (Assam Education Manual, 1923.)

It will be seen from the above extracts that the Government have practically divested themselves of the direct responsibility of educating Khasi and Garo hill tribes and have, as it were, "farmed out" primary education of these peoples to the missions. Government makes a lump grant to the Missions which partly pays their expenses of educational work. The situation raises serious questions of educational policy of the Government. It is a matter of common knowledge in Assam that those schools are turned into chapels by the Missions and the teachers act as pastors and the very powerful instrument of education is used for evangelising purposes. In the absence of a conscience clause and of non-Mission schools, the non-Christians are indirectly compelled to go to mission schools, observe Christian services and attend devotional classes. Parents, who do not want their children to observe them are prevented in the complete absence of Government schools in Khasi hills and their insufficiency in Garo Hills from sending their children to school, who have thus to remain illiterate.

The Government have about one hundred primary schools and the American Baptist Mission about the same number. It appears that the Government is gradually taking over schools from the control of the American Baptist Mission. We welcome this decision of the Government, which gives greater scope for the non-denominational education to the non-Christian Garos (1,55,000) who form by far the larger proportion of the total population (1,62,000). The case of Khasi hills is worse than Garo, inasmuch as all the primary schools there are conducted by the Welsh Mission and there is no Government school for the non-Christian Khasi population of over a lac in a total population of over 1½ lacs. In the Khasi hills there is even no talk of taking over primary schools from the control of the Welsh Mission, who have a practical monopoly over primary education in these hills.

Briefly stated, the situation is this: the Government have entrusted the primary education of the hill tribes to a very large extent to Missions who, as is only to be expected, in their zeal for the spread of the Gospel, have used the educational instrument placed in their hands for furthering Christianity. Public funds are thus allowed by the Government to be used in an indirect manner for Christian religious propaganda.

Regarding the schools conducted by the Welsh Presbyterian Mission in the Khasi hills, it is to be noted that some of them exist in the territories of the Siem's Khasi Chiefs who are semi-independent, having treaty relations with the Government of India. It is open to question whether the money of the taxpayers of British territories should be spent for education of Siem subjects.

Let us not be misunderstood. We have the highest regard for the Missionaries and their benevolent and uplifting activities. We do not have the slightest objection to Christian propaganda as such being carried on by Missions. But we most

strongly object to public funds being even indirectly used for evangelical propaganda. It will be a most dangerous precedent in a country where more than one religion has a large following. Religious neutrality among a diversity of religions is a condition of the very existence of the State and its proper and just functioning. This is elementary and needs no dilation.

Our proposals, therefore, are that the Government should (a) open schools under its own direct management, (b) gradually take back the responsibility of primary education now largely in the control of the Mission, and (c) lay down a strict condition that no part of the grant given in aid of education from public funds to the Mission schools should be diverted into the use of evangelical purposes.

Imparting of education like defence of life and property is a primary duty of the State and cannot be contracted out to those who offer the lowest tender.

A. V. THAKKAR.

SERFDOM IN THE KONKAN.

VI—Abolition of Khoti, the only Remedy.

The King commanded that villeinage should cease, and the laws relating to agriculture should be put in order: that the free peasant may grow a brave and enlightened, diligent and good, honourable and prosperous citizen.—*The inscription on the Pillar of Freedom in Copenhagen in commemoration of the decree of the Crown Prince of Denmark in 1789 by which the Danish peasantry were liberated from feudal bondage.*

THAT the khots are enjoying rights much in excess of those conferred on them by the Sanads is quite clear. In fact the Sanads are not their, but the ryots' and the Government's title deeds if their meaning is construed in the light of other contemporary documents. They were wrongly interpreted to the early British officers by those who were interested in khoti and on whom the former had to rely for information and interpretation. The ryots had to suffer much under the British Government in that their rights were overlooked and the position of the khots was considerably strengthened. The survey operations, instead of improving the ryots' lot, rendered it much worse, as the ryots were made to pay a good deal more than what the ryots under the ryotwari system had to pay. Moreover, a number of lands in the occupation of the ryots were merged in the private holdings of the khots when the former were sold up. The Government yielded to agitation set up by the khots against the bôt khats of 1863 and caused the entries in favour of ryots as occupants to be cancelled. The number of ryots who are privileged or permanent occupants under the 1880 Act is very limited, the rest having been reduced to the position of mere tenants-at-will. The process of rendering the privileged and permanent occupants as tenants-at-will has been steadily going on, through intimidation and other unfair means, and the Government has not lifted a finger to stop that process. Whatever efforts have been made by Government to put a stop to the abuses of the khoti system have proved practically fruitless. The *vetth* is as rampant as ever and the ryots still complain that they do not get receipts from the khots for the dues paid to them. So far as such matters are concerned, the Khoti Act

is practically a dead letter. To ask the ryots to seek legal remedies in these matters is to betray one's ignorance of the actual state of things obtaining under the khoti system. The khot's position is exceptionally strong and his armoury is full of powerful weapons. If the ryots refuse to submit to *ve'h*, he can prevent them from using the common grazing grounds in the village which he claims as his property. Also he prevents them from using the village wells. And if the ryots have the temerity to complain against their khot, their way is blocked at the very first step. The police patels in khoti villages are generally the khots or their near relatives. Again, the houses of most of the cultivators stand on the grounds the ownership of which is claimed by the khots. If a cultivator has the misfortune to incur the displeasure of his khot, he must pull down his house and leave the place. No wonder he meekly submits to *ve'h* and avoids the consequences of recalcitrance.

The evils of khoti tenure cannot be effectively checked unless the very system is abolished. If the Government thinks that it can be mended, let it review the history of the khoti question since its advent in the khoti districts and see whether it has been able to check the evils to any considerable extent during the period of over a hundred years. Either it has not done its duty by the cultivators or its efforts to mend the system have met with little success. That the system must be ended if it cannot be mended, goes without saying. The evils are economic as well as moral. Those who actually cultivate the land have to suffer perpetual economic degradation and as they are not allowed fully to enjoy the fruits of their labour, the cultivation itself suffers not to a little extent. The moral evils are not so apparent. A comparison, however, of the khoti ryots with the ryots under the ryotwari system in the neighbouring villages and especially with the ryots in the non-khoti talukas will show how the khoti system acts as a drag on the development of the qualities of manhood. The khoti ryots are exceptionally submissive, and backward in education—as backward as the aborigines. No country can hope to rise to a higher stage of civilisation by keeping the tillers of the soil in such a degrading condition.

If the feudal system could be abolished in the western countries, there is no reason why khoti cannot be abolished in this 20th century of grace. Vested interests must yield before justice and humanity. Prescriptive rights should not be allowed to override equity and justice. Khoti *watans* ought to have been treated long ago along with other service *watans*. Now the khots must be made to disgorge the privileges and gains they have hitherto enjoyed. At least they must not be allowed to interfere with the freedom of the ryots. All the khots are not sanadi khots and the non-sanadi khots cannot lay any claim to hereditary khoti. Moreover the khoti *watan*, even when it is hereditary, is transferable. Many of the present-day khots have come in through sale or mortgage. That some of the original khots were instrumental in bringing the lands in their villages under cultivation is no reason why the khoti system should be preserved intact. Their labours, if any, have been more than amply repaid; on that ground they cannot claim the continuance of the privileges to the end of time. If the Government dare not treat khoti *watans* as service *watans* as it ought to, it should offer suitable compensation to the khots and resume its right of collecting revenue. It can then deal with the ryots who are called *uparis* or tenants-at-will by establishing them on the lands which they now occupy, by passing a legislative measure on the lines of the

Irish Land Act. This will enable the *uparis* to become peasant proprietors. Whatever the claims of the khots may be, they can never be said, by any stretch of argument, to be the proprietors of their villages. And in some places in the West, for example in the Jersey Islands, the cultivators can, as a matter of right, acquire proprietorship of the land in their occupation, by paying a reasonable price for it to the owner by suitable instalments. This alone will remove the present anomaly in the khoti districts and 'the magic of property' will work wonders. Of course measures will have to be taken to prevent minute fragmentation of land and as "a highly developed system of peasant proprietorship, which is not accompanied by an education conducive to a high social ideal, seems to be almost inevitably accompanied by debt and by a greed of land destructive at once of soul and mind," the benefits of education and co-operation will have to be made easily available to the peasant proprietors.

An alternative to the buying off of the rights of the khots straightaway is to fix the *phaida* (commission) of each khot once for all and to pay him that amount annually from the Government treasury, the work of recovering aggregate dues from the ryots being done through Government departmentally as is done in ryotwari villages, and the khot having nothing *qua* khot, to do with the ryots. Under either of these arrangements, no doubt the ryots will be still worse off than the ryots under the ryotwari system in that they will have to pay even then as they do now, something over and above the Government assessment. But at least they will get rid of the every-day interference of the khot, his illegal exactions, his tyranny, in short the dead-weight of his overlordship. It will not be a small gain economically and, more than that, morally.

Till this highly desirable consummation is brought about, the following measures are essential in order to afford an immediate relief to the long suffering ryots:—

(1) No man who is either himself a khot or a khot's relation should be appointed as police patel in a khoti village.

(2) The watering places and common grazing grounds in khoti villages should be declared as communal properties and the khots should be debarred from claiming their ownership.

(3) The Government should acquire house sites for such cultivators as have no land of their own and have to erect their huts on grounds owned by the khots.

(4) The khots should be compelled to keep counterfoils of the receipts passed to the ryots, each counterfoil bearing the signature or thumb impression of the ryot concerned testifying to the fact that the receipt has been duly passed to him.

(5) The *Abhāumi* system which is still prevalent in some of the khoti villages should be abolished.

These and such other measures are, of course, mere palliatives and quite insufficient to eradicate the evils of khoti, but they are suggested here, as radical measures for the abolition of khoti are not likely to be adopted immediately. They will take some time to come into force and the way for them must be paved by adopting such lesser measures as are indicated above.

The policy of Government in this matter has been up to this time that of drift only, with the result that some of the evils have been intensified instead of being mitigated. Once for all the Government must make up its mind as to the policy it wants to pursue with regard to this vexed question of khoti and carry out that policy to its logical

end. In the absence of such well-considered and thorough-going policy, enquiries like that entrusted recently to the Commissioner of the Southern Division are not likely to result in substantial reforms. Whatever may be the final outcome of the said enquiry, at least for the present it has proved more harmful than beneficial to the ryots. The khots have started a regular campaign of revenge and persecution against the ryots. Outrages and malicious prosecutions have been reported from some khoti villages and attempts are being vigorously made by some unscrupulous khots to obtain annual Kabulayats from permanent occupants under intimidation. The Commissioner's visit has, instead of reassuring the ryots, caused consternation to spread among them. The Khots' Association at Ratnagiri has become very active and is trying its utmost to frustrate the ryots' demands for the reform of the khoti system. As soon as the Commissioner finished his tour in that district, a bulletin was issued over the signature of the President of the Khots' Association published in *Satyashodhak* of 29th January 1926). This bulletin presumes to give the substance of the answers given by the Commissioner to the ryots' demands and if it be a faithful interpretation of the Commissioner's attitude, the ryots can entertain little hope for the amelioration of their present condition. The Commissioner is reported, in this bulletin, to have received complaints of the khots' high-handed conduct in impounding without cause the ryots' cattle, abusing and ill-treating the ryots and taking away forcibly vegetables, &c, but the Commissioner advised them to invoke the aid of law. But it does not appear that the Commissioner went deeper into the matter to find out what prevented the ryots from taking legal steps against their oppressors. According to the said bulletin, the Commissioner found that the custom of passing receipts to the ryots was unknown to the khots in the Ratnagiri district and it is a confession worth noting in view of the obligation imposed upon the khots in the Khoti Act in that matter, refusal to pass a receipt being a punishable offence under that Act. The said bulletin issued by the President of the Khoti Sabha contains also a clever hint as to how the khots can defeat prohibition of *veth*. They are advised to charge fees for grazing, &c. if the ryots insist on a free bargain for their labour, and the Commissioner himself appears, from the wording of the bulletin, to have been the originator of this hint! The report that would be submitted by him to Government may be easily anticipated from this.

In October 1922 Mr. S. K. Bole moved a resolution in the Bombay Legislative Council, recommending that a committee be appointed by Government to make enquiries into the grievances of the ryots holding land under the khoti system in the Ratnagiri and Kolaba districts. This resolution was withdrawn when Mr. Mountford (who is now the Commissioner for the Southern Division) proposed that the mover of the resolution should wait until the enquiry which was being made into the economic conditions of cultivators of the Kolaba and Ratnagiri districts by the Co-operative Institute was completed. This enquiry, said Mr. Mountford, was entirely a non-official enquiry and would be extremely interesting and its results might be awaited before steps were taken by the legislature in the matter of khoti. The fact, however, was that the said enquiry was never meant to be an enquiry into the khoti question, which in the course of the enquiry was but incidentally touched. Even in the restricted scope of that enquiry some of the glaring evils of the khoti system were disclosed. But the Government did not appoint a Committee and entrusted the enquiry to the Commissioner

alone. Naturally the ryots have been greatly disappointed and it is reasonably feared that the Commissioner's enquiry might result in strengthening the hands of the khots, at least in giving them opportunities to entrench their already strong position against further assaults on their illegitimate privileges.

The khoti system has long outlived its time when such a system might be necessary, and whatever good features it might have then had, do no longer exist. Such an anomalous system of land tenure is quite inconsistent with the spirit of the modern times and should not at all be tolerated under an enlightened administration. It is a notorious fact that the bureaucracy cares more for revenue than for the welfare of the masses. The present excise policy is another instance in point. Also it is a fact that the Government rarely moves in such matters to right the wrongs, unless strong pressure is brought to bear upon it. The ryots are ignorant, illiterate and poverty-stricken, and consequently ill-organised and helpless to make their voice heard. On the other hand, the khots are well organised, being a comparatively smaller and compact body, and extremely jealous of their privileges. They have had the leaders of the Maharashtra public opinion on their side; they have had great influence with the Provincial Government and the district and taluka administrations; there have been well-known lawyers among them, and they have had from the beginning their representatives in the Provincial legislature. And the ryots have been unrepresented in the Legislative Council even under the Reforms. The Kunbis who mainly constitute the ryots number 3,91,453 in the two Khoti districts (3,14,107 in Ratnagiri and 77,346 in Kolaba). Besides, there are 26,418 Kunbi immigrants in Bombay City. All the representatives of these districts in the Legislative Council are, however, partisans of the khots; the members from Ratnagiri belong to the Swaraj party. One of them, Mr. Naral, is the President of the Ratnagiri Khots' Association and the other, Mr. Surve, who has been returned for the reserved seat, is also a khot. Even if the other non-Brahman candidate, Rao Bahadur Vichare, who was a member in the last Council had been returned, the position of the ryots would not have improved, for he too is a khot and a bitter opponent of the ryots' claims with all his talk about the necessity of destroying Brahman influence. All the newspapers in the Ratnagiri district are strong advocates of khoti, one of them, a red-hot Swarajist organ, having gone so far as to compare the ryots' claims to Bolshevism! In these circumstances, it is the duty of members of the Council, who care for justice, equity and humanity, whether they are Swarajists or non-Brahmans, Liberals or Moslems, officials or non-officials, to support the ryots' cause and get the khoti system abolished. Also, the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, which will shortly commence work should go into the question of land tenure, inasmuch as reform of land tenure is an essential part of agricultural reform. And its terms of reference must therefore be widened, if necessary.

P. G. KANEKAR.

REVIEWS.

ALFRED MARSHALL.

MEMORIALS OF ALFRED MARSHALL. Edited by A. C. PIGOU. (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London.) 1925. 8½ x 5½. pp. 518. 12s. 6d.

(Concluded from last issue.)

THE Memorials that we are here reviewing reveal Marshall as a great teacher who gathered round

him a band of devoted pupils inspired by the belief that through the study of economics they could render the highest social service. They reveal him also as a great humanitarian touched by a deep sympathy for the poor and intensely conscious of the moral damage, using this term in the widest and most humanistic sense, that poverty inflicts. What light do they throw upon the work of Marshall as an economist?

In addition to the memorial essays and the brief reminiscences, appreciations which make up some fifth of the volume, there are here collected twenty selections from Marshall's writings, nearly all of which have been previously published as addresses or review articles, but are for most people otherwise inaccessible. The last quarter of the book contains a selection from Marshall's letters to private correspondents. The whole makes up a commentary upon the life and work of one who must long continue to exercise a profound influence over economic thought. This commentary should be regarded as indispensable for all those who wish to derive the fullest advantage from Marshall's teaching. It throws a flood of light upon the nature of the economist's task as he conceived it; upon the working of his own mind as he built up his system of analysis; and indicates the nature of his conclusions upon many topics that are not elaborated in his books. These are far too numerous even to be indicated here. It may be permissible, however, to refer very briefly to three subjects upon which the memorials throw light in an especial degree. The first is the key to his economic system.

The field of study to which Marshall devoted his life is the world of men and women as they are engaged in earning their living and, primarily, as they strive to satisfy their material wants. That world was no abstract or hypothetical world, but the world in which we live, with its mixture of motives, its variety of purpose, its vast differences of occupation and methods of organisation, its chances and changes. Beneath all the variety of personal character and of environment Marshall discerned the rule of law, not necessarily applicable to the individual instance, but true of the resultant of many individual actions. To understand these laws is to enable us to predict the outcome of a given set of antecedents and this is to alter radically the nature of social reform from a making of blind experiment to an intelligent application of means to ends. Moreover, the study of economics not only provides the means for determining whether men's actions are leading them: it also makes possible the evaluation of alternative courses of action. Not that it should be supposed that Marshall was the first economist thus to see the economic life of a community as an interrelated and articulated whole. But it would be scarcely an exaggeration to say that while Marshall found economics in the form of a skeleton for which previous writers had worked out an anatomy, he left it as a living body for which he had created a physiology. In truth economics was for Marshall the study of a living and changing society. It was for this reason that economic conclusions could seldom be crystallized into dogmatic creeds. "The economists of to-day," he wrote, "abhor creeds and catechisms. Such things are left for the Socialists." But, if there be change, there is also continuity. Human nature and the material conditions of life cannot be revolutionised, except for a brief period and, as it were, in a corner. The modern world is extraordinarily interdependent, alike in regard to the things that we need, the ideas that determine our actions and the organisations through which we realise them. If we hate poverty and see the great economic evils

that surround us, we must yet resist the temptation of the mere emotionalist to pledge faith in a quack remedy. Through the aid of economic analysis we must have some prevision of the probable consequences of our social medicine. "*Natura non facit saltum*" and "*Unus in omnibus: omnia in uno.*" These were Marshall's two great maxims. Thus it is that he has left us, not a series of copy-book rules of economic conduct, but a wonderfully improved instrument for economic analysis. He would have been the last to claim that his instrument was perfect. But he rightly insisted that the chief present need in the sphere of economics was quantitative as distinct from qualitative analysis. Here the economist is often paralysed by the lack of sufficient statistics. Those responsible for public expenditure are slow to realise the social value of reliable statistics; slower still, perhaps, to realise that while bad statistics are inexpensive, good statistics, though costly, are cheap in the long run.

The second of the topics that may be touched upon in the light of the Memorials is Marshall's attitude towards Socialism. He was far from being an opponent of State action as such. On the contrary, he fully admitted that the State must play a large part in directing and controlling economic action. He was in full sympathy with the broad aims of the Socialist: the removal of poverty; the greater equality of income; the elimination of the mean spirit of mere self-seeking. Yet he remained, fundamentally, an economic individualist. Why was this so? Certainly not because he shared Adam Smith's faith in an "invisible hand" that caused a world of individuals acting selfishly, yet freely, to achieve a maximum of social satisfaction. If Karl Marx may be said to have destroyed the invisible hand for the working man, Marshall more certainly performed that service for the intellectual. I think the true explanation of his opposition to Socialism may be found in a twofold failure which he believed to characterise the work of the Socialists. The first was a negative failing; a failure to understand human nature and a failure to trace correctly cause and effect in the economic world as it is. Speaking of an ideal economic society, he said: "The picture to be drawn will resemble in many respects those which have been shown to us by some Socialists, who attributed to every man an unlimited capacity for those self-forgetting virtues that they found in their own breasts; who recklessly suggested means which were always insufficient and not seldom pernicious—recklessly, because their minds were untrained, and their souls absorbed in the consciousness of the grandeur of their ends." This conclusion was not modified as the result of his later studies of Socialism in its newer garb. Writing of Mr. Cole and the system of Guild Socialism he says: "The last new version of the Golden Age is to bring out latent powers of goodness in human nature. The task of regulation is to be as simple as it would be if all men were as unselfish and earnest as the writer himself. The vast difficulties of modern business organisation are so completely left out of account as to imply that they have never been seriously studied." (*Industry and Trade*, p. 84.) Even more serious, in Marshall's view, was the positive failure of Socialism. "There is", he said, "no principle of progressive improvement in Socialism". He felt that economic progress was largely the achievement of those who were free to experiment; to invent; to test new ideas; to take large risks boldly. He saw no guarantee of such freedom under Socialism. Economic progress, again, requires a constant selection, a steady application of the law of substitution. "Moral and economic advances depend increasingly on the extent to

which the most strength-giving influences can be brought to bear on character, and among these a chief place must be assigned to the selection of men for responsible posts in accordance with indications that they are likely to develop in those posts faculties, for which they have had relatively small need in the past. Only independent heads of business are in a position to make such selection with free hands; and only they have full incitement to exercise their best energies in the selection." The essential problem, therefore, was "how to get rid of the evils of competition while retaining its advantages". Here, as elsewhere, Marshall attempted to lay down no universal or eternal rule. His conclusions were inductive, and relative to time and place. "We believe", he maintained, "that bureaucratic management is less suitable for Anglo-Saxons than for other races who are more patient and more easily contented, more submissive and less full of initiative, who like to take things more easily and to spread their work out rather thinly over long hours... Though we recognise that the management of a vast undertaking by a public company has many of the characteristics of bureaucratic management, yet we think the former is distinctly the better suited for developing those faculties by which the Anglo-Saxon race has won its position in the world. We believe that a private company which stands to gain something by vigorous and efficient management, by promptness in inventing, as well as in adopting and perfecting improvements in processes and organisation, will do much more for progress than a public department." And this retention of the beneficial results of competition, so necessary if the wealth of the world is to increase to the extent required to banish poverty, is compatible with the achievement of a large transfer of wealth from the rich to the poor which is one of the great socialistic aims. "Economic progress requires as a condition free individual responsibility, but not the maintenance of those rights of property which lead to extreme inequalities of wealth."

This review may be concluded with a brief reference to a third aspect of Marshall's work upon which it throws light: his hope for the future. Profoundly conscious that poverty is the great impediment to man's physical, moral, and intellectual progress, he necessarily saw the future of human society as depending chiefly upon two things: a sufficient command of wealth and a right use of it. An adequate command of wealth is already in sight but not yet achieved even in the richer countries. It will come through the better scientific understanding of the ways in which the resources of nature can be made to satisfy men's wants and by the exploitation of mechanical power. But this is not enough. "Alas! there is one great hindrance. One of the first uses we are making of our increased knowledge is, as it ought to be, to save from disease and want multitudes who, even a few years ago, would have sunk under their influence. As a result, population is increasing rapidly. The truth that every father owes to his children the duty of providing them with a lot in life, happier and better than his own, has not yet been grasped. Men who have been brought up, to use their own phrase, "anyhow," are contented that their children should be brought up "anyhow." Thus there is kept up a constant supply of unskilled labourers, who have nothing but their hands to offer for hire, and who offer these without stint or reserve. Thus competition for food dogs the heels of progress, and perpetually hinders it. The first most difficult step is to get rid of this competition. In many countries of the world, the population problem remains in its old quantitative aspect. It is the great bar to eman-

ipation from poverty. In all it presents, in its qualitative aspect, the most difficult question confronting the social reformer. The improvement of the human race by qualitative selection offers a greater reward than most men even conceive to be possible. It will some day be recognised as the primary concern of society in the whole realm of human affairs.

Marshall believed in the imperative need to produce more, and this was one reason for his rejection of Socialism. He believed, next, in the necessity to see that wealth was rightly used. It must give to all the necessary opportunity to find the work which, relatively to the needs of society, they could perform best. "Everyone is to have in youth an education which is thorough while it lasts, and which lasts long." The conditions of working life are to be such as to enable all men to be "gentlemen". "The question is not whether all men will ultimately be equal—that they certainly will not—but whether progress may not go on steadily, if slowly, till the official distinction between a working man and a gentleman has passed away; till, by occupation at least, every man is a gentleman. I hold that it may, and that it will." The essence of a gentleman is not to be found in the kind of work that he does, but in the culture and refinement of his own character. Much coarse work can never be avoided. Even now it is done by the gentleman, as in the case of a surgeon. But if the man start with an educated mind, if he be free from manual labour that is unduly exhausting, if no one does in the day "so much manual work as will leave him little time or aptitude for intellectual and artistic enjoyment in the evening", there will be "nothing tending to render the individual coarse and unrefined, there will be nothing tending to render society coarse and unrefined. Exceptional morbid growths must exist in every society; but otherwise every man will be surrounded from birth upwards by almost all the influences which we have seen to be at present characteristic of the occupations of gentlemen; everyone who is not a gentleman will have himself alone to blame for it." To provide the opportunity for all men, the prolonged education of high quality, the necessary conditions of housing and of sanitation, the freedom from excessive toil, the means for cultured recreation, Marshall looked in three directions: the greater productivity of labour; precautions against too large a population; and the transference of surplus private wealth to social uses. To help on towards the attainment of this goal was the great practical purpose that sanctified the labours of the economist. It was in this light that Marshall showed to his pupils the work that lay before them. It was this vision of the future that formed his own constant inspiration.

C. J. HAMILTON.

RELIGION AND NATURAL SCIENCE.

RELIGION AND NATURAL SCIENCE. By E. HAIGH. (Student Christian Movement, London.) 1925. 7 × 5. pp. 170. 3s.

THIS book is written by an eminent educationist of long standing who is interested in the teaching of Natural Science, and is intended to serve as an elementary work which will give the reader some definite ideas about the relations of the different physical or natural sciences to one another and their relation to religion, theology and philosophy. In view of this object, the first chapter is devoted to some fundamental definitions, which are absolutely necessary for the right understanding of any science, and hence also for the growth of know-

ledge. The author rightly points out that vague and detached ideas are a great hindrance to the growth of science. But it is very often difficult to arrive at such precise, and what is more important, universally admitted definitions, and, as Plato observed, nine-tenths of all controversy resolves itself into logomachy, a strife about the exact meanings of words. In the writer's treatment of the respective provinces of philosophy, theology, and natural science, the account of the relation between human discovery and Revelation deserves special mention. Divine Revelation and human discovery, says the writer, are only two ways in which we obtain knowledge from the same source. In the first case we get it, in the second we find it. In the second chapter the writer tries to bring out the relation between religion and natural science. The importance of right understanding of this relation can hardly be overemphasised, at a time when the votaries on either side are engaged in a bitter and futile warfare, like the one between Evolution and the Bible in America. There is no ultimate distinction either between the aims or the methods of religion and science, and each is bound to be lame without the aid of the other. Both require an intellectual basis, and both must therefore meet at least on this common platform. The third chapter, which deals with Natural Science and the Bible, is hardly less important. The writer very rightly points out that we must not look at the Bible as an infallible authority regarding the details (or we might even say, the principles) of physical science, matters which are discovered by observation and experiment. We must realize that the references in the Bible to such matters are only to be regarded as giving the views commonly held at that time. It is therefore a grave mistake to make the worth of religious teaching depend upon the views about the physical universe which it may contain. The writer has done excellent service in emphasising this point. Speaking of the conflict between religion and science in the fourth chapter, the author remarks that one of the main reasons of this conflict is the extravagant claims made by the devotees of natural science. But those who investigate more deeply are impressed more by the mystery and immensity of the unknown than by the small amount of knowledge of Nature yet attained. The next chapter deals with Evolution. Evolution is obviously not the final word about the universe, and is hardly adequate to explain the origin, or even the growth of life—especially of human life. Yet it need not on that account be condemned wholesale, or regarded as an enemy of religion. Every theory in science has to pass through three stages, viz. opposition, toleration and assimilation, and evolution may rightly be regarded as having reached the relation between Religion and the New Psychology, the special feature of which is the discovery of the unconscious mind. The writer gives a timely warning to water the growth of his infant science with patience and see what contribution it makes to religious thought. Such a warning is especially needed because some of the tenets of the New Psychology are in direct antithesis to the accepted religious beliefs, and are indeed dangerous to the idea of normal responsibility as such. The seventh chapter deals with the extent and the limitations of human control over the physical universe. The writer points out the difference between the laws of nature and the political or civil laws. Insistence on the invariability of the laws of nature need not be harmful to religious faith, because these laws are only the manifestations of the Divine Will. Speaking of the place of theory in science, the writer observes that faith is not a weaker kind of know-

ledge; a sort of crutch to lean upon when knowledge is not secure, but that it is a higher faculty than the intellect, although it invariably acts in conjunction with it. The ninth chapter deals with some difficulties of religion, some things which are 'hard to understand' from an intellectual plane. But such difficulties are not peculiar to religion alone, and they need not blind us to the importance or to the ultimate truth of religion: He that believes shall not make haste. The tenth and the last chapters give us a conception of Nature as a Divine Revelation and of the theistic outlook on Nature. The survey is interesting as well as instructive, and shows how such apparently anti-religious theories as Evolution or Relativity can be regarded to be a part of the Divine Order of Things. In the limited scope of a review, however, we can do little more than to recommend the work to all who are interested in the reconciliation and ultimate welfare of Science and Religion.

V. S. GOGATE.

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