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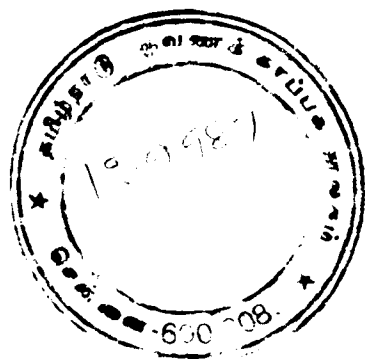
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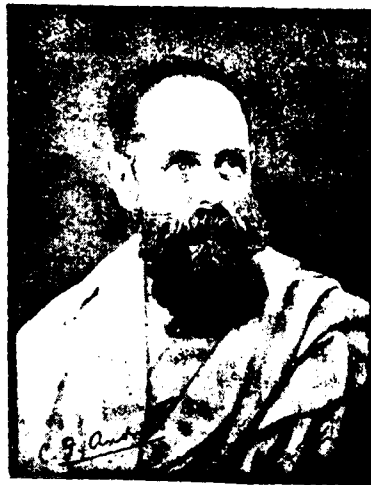
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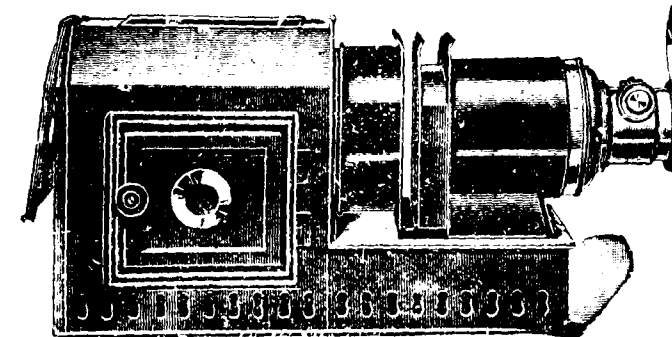
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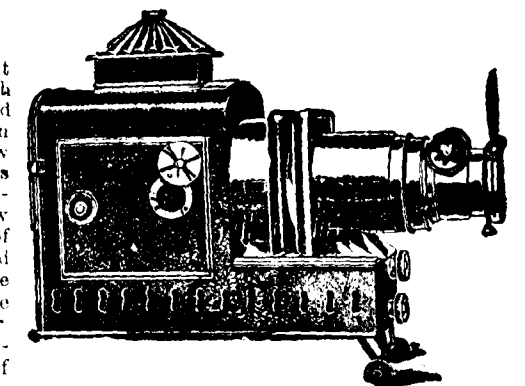
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THE INDIAN REVIEW

A MONTHLY PERIODICAL DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST.

Vol. XXVII.]

OCTOBER, 1926.

[No. 10.]

The South African Deputation

THE Deputation from South Africa have come and gone. Short as has been their sojourn in India, every opportunity has been afforded them to see the country and people at first-hand and study things for themselves; and they carry away pleasant recollections of Indian hospitality and a knowledge of Indian conditions which must inevitably affect their future attitude to this country.

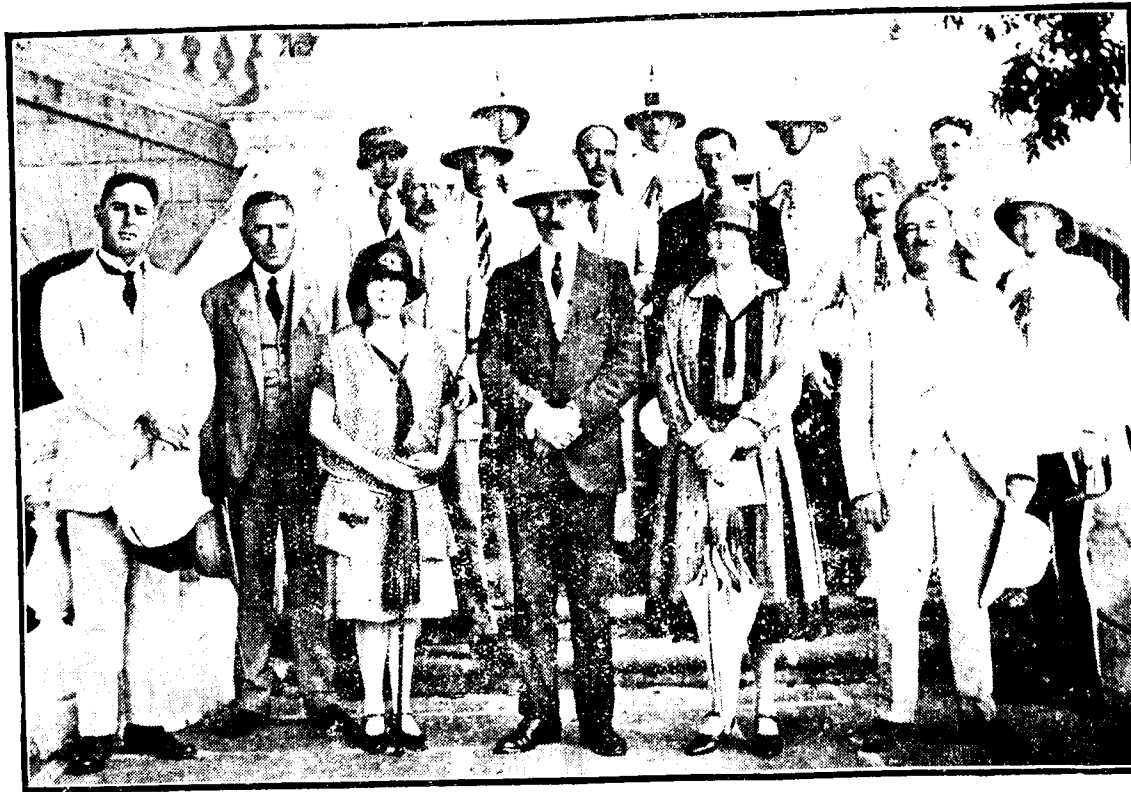
"I can say," said Mr. Duncan, "that the present visit has enabled us, me at least particularly, to look at India in a new perspective, and I am sure, the impressions of cordiality and good-will gained during our stay here will help materially towards the solution of the problems now engaging the attention of the Indian and South African Governments in a manner which it would not have been possible but for this visit to India."

It is fortunate that of late every step in the negotiations between India and South Africa has been a move in the right direction. The Government of India did well in inviting South Africa's representatives to this country. The outlook is becoming brighter as we view the advance from downright contempt and hostility to mutual good-will and appreciation of each others' difficulties.

But the outstanding feature of the negotiations is the fact that for the first time in our history the Indian Government is having direct diplomatic relations with the Government of South Africa. The Imperial Government has judiciously kept itself in the back-ground. We hope that for the credit of the parties concerned as well as in the interests of either country an amicable settlement of the problem is at hand.

As we go to Press, the personnel of the Indian Delegation to the forth-coming Round Table Con-

ference at Cape Town is announced. It is in the fitness of things that the delegation from India should be led by the Indian Member of the Government in charge of the Department of Emigration. For, Sir Mahomed Habibulla has already impressed himself on the Deputation by his tact and courtesy and we have no doubt his statesmanship will be equal to the task before him. Mr. Corbett of the Department of Commerce who will be the Deputy Leader is thoroughly conversant with the various aspects of the Indian Emigration problem. Of Sir George Paddison and the brilliant Mr. Bajpai little need be said as their recent achievements in South Africa are still fresh in our minds. The inclusion of such a stalwart champion of our cause as The Rt. Hon. Mr. Sastri will be hailed with satisfaction by all. The Hon. Mr. Sethna and Sir Darcy Lindsay are valuable additions to the Delegation. On the whole the Delegation is unexceptionable. "There are no doubt names missing," writes Mr. Gandhi, commenting on the personnel of the Delegation, "but that is not a matter of much consequence. It is enough to realise that those who are included in the delegation are all good and sound men representative of varied interests;" and he very rightly urges that this delegation "should receive the moral approbation of the public." We are glad that the indefatigable Mr. Andrews is already in South Africa preparing the ground with a view to help the Delegation in his own inimitable way. Is it too much to hope that a Conference meeting under such good auspices will succeed in arriving at a solution satisfactory to all?



THE SOUTH AFRICAN DEPUTATION IN MADRAS.

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 OF SIGNATURES

A South African Reminiscence

BY MR. H. S. L. POLAK.

I was in England when the negotiations between General Smuts and Mr. Gandhi had finally broken down in the late summer of 1914. I had gone home from South Africa at the summons of the late Mr. Gokhale who was resolved to have the question of the position of South African Indians raised in the House of Lords, and he paid me the compliment of inviting me to be his expert adviser. It may be remembered that the debate was raised by Lord Amphil, and among those who intervened on the Indians' behalf were Lords Sydenham and Curzon, whilst Lord Crewe replied on behalf of the Government. So soon as Mr. Gokhale received the news of the revival of the Passive Resistance Struggle he determined, upon his forthcoming return to India, to organise a most energetic campaign on behalf of the South African Passive Resisters, and asked me to return to South Africa, study the situation there, and then proceed to India with the latest news to assist him in the organisation of the campaign. He then went to Vichy for a cure and later left for India, whilst I returned to South Africa arriving there to find the Struggle already in full swing with several friends and colleagues in prison and others, including a number of ladies whose names have since become well-known in connection with the events of those days, preparing to share that imprisonment.

In the course of my duties it became necessary for me to go to Newcastle-in-Natal, to attend the trial of some of these ladies and to appear on their behalf before the local magistrate, and a few hours later it fell to my lot to attend and address a meeting of Indian strikers from the neighbouring coal mines who had concentrated upon Newcastle when the Indian workers at the mines in the north of the province went on strike in protest against the iniquitous £3 annual Poll Tax, the promise of whose repeal, given by the

Union Ministers to Mr. Gokhale was still unredeemed. It will be remembered that, with the consent of his associates, the repeal of the Poll Tax had been added by Mr. Gandhi, as a special case and a matter of honour, to the list of those particular grievances the removal of which was the object of Passive Resistance. The fact that I had addressed this meeting stood me a little later in good stead.

I returned to Durban in order to make arrangements for my approaching visit to India, and Mr. Gandhi discussed with me his plans for the organisation of the strikers in the north of Natal and informed me of his intention thereafter to march with them into the Transvaal and there to court arrest, in order by this striking demonstration of mass-suffering, to appeal to the sense of righteousness of the Union Government and the conscience of the white population of South Africa. This consultation, however, was simply for my better information, as it was realised by Mr. Gandhi that participation in that matter would inevitably bring all concerned within the reach of the law, and he agreed with Mr. Gokhale as to the desirability of my being left free to join the latter in India and work there by his side for the relief of distress in South Africa and the more rapid termination of the Struggle. Mr. Gandhi thereafter left for the North, in order to take up his task and form a concentration camp for the benefit of the Strikers who had either left or been driven away from the mine. The arrangements for feeding the refugees in this camp were left in the charge of our colleague Mr. H. Kallerbach. A few days later, Mr. Gandhi announced to me his intention of leaving immediately for the great march into the Transvaal and to continue the march until his small army of Passive Resisters were arrested and imprisoned. As I was to have a final interview

with him before I left for India just before taking my passage, I telegraphed to him for an appointment. He was, however, already on the march and replied by telegram that I could meet him at a certain place in the Transvaal, but that if I went there to meet him it might happen that I should render myself liable to arrest. This telegram reached me in the middle of a committee meeting in Durban, I immediately handed it over to my colleagues who were curious to know its contents and still more curious to know what I should do in the light of the warning that it contained. I told them that I had no choice in the matter, as it almost appeared, as though a challenge had been thrown down to me, and a test had been offered of the sincerity of my oft repeated lamentations that whilst on my advice and encouragement, so many of my Indian fellow-workers had gone to jail, I, presumably because of my European status, had been left unmolested by the authorities.

The same night I left for the Transvaal. On my arrival the following morning at Volksrust station I found, among other persons on the platform, Mr. Jooste, the Magistrate, who informed me that Mr. Gandhi had already been arrested in the neighbouring magisterial division, but had been released on bail, and he earnestly advised me to go back and not to put my head into the lion's den. I deeply appreciated his friendly advice, but I pointed out that I had no alternative but to proceed, and explained that I was not taking any active part in this march but was merely obtaining certain information from Mr. Gandhi prior to sailing for India. We shook hands very cordially.

The conductor of the train was an old friend, who knew Mr. Gandhi very well, and he told me that if, instead of going on to the place which had been appointed by Mr. Gandhi, I got out at an earlier halt and walked a mile or so across country, I should probably meet the invading army, with Mr. Gandhi at its head, some hours earlier. I

accepted the suggestion and thereby, though not at the moment realising it, I altered all my plans.

At the indicated halt I left the train, carrying with me a sleeping bag with a few personal effects. After crossing a few fields, I reached the main road and there learnt that the marchers had not yet arrived. Half an hour later a cloud of dust in the distance heralded their approach, and as it came nearer I could distinguish a bent and labouring figure, carrying a staff, at the head of the long and straggling column. It was with difficulty that I realised that this was no other than Mr. Gandhi himself. He had been living for weeks on one meal a day and he showed the physical marks of this combined with the arduous labours of organisation, the heavy anxiety of the responsibilities that he had undertaken in leading his army to victory, and the fatigue and weariness of a long march on a dusty and hot road. But he grimly and resolutely held on his way, intent only upon sacrifice and suffering.

We greeted each other affectionately and at once resumed the march. My intention had been to spend a couple of hours in conversation and then to take the mail train from the next station back to Natal. Man proposes, but God disposes! We had hardly conversed for more than half an hour, as we trudged slowly along side by side, when there appeared driving rapidly towards us, a Cape cart from which there descended Mr. M. Chamney, the Principal Immigration Officer of the Transvaal, and a couple of police constables. We at once guessed that a further arrest was in store for Mr. Gandhi, who turned to me and said that if he were arrested he left the care of those leaderless people in my hands, a charge that I at once accepted. Our anticipations were speedily realised. Mr. Gandhi was arrested, placed in the Cape cart, and rapidly driven away.

I at once assumed the responsibility of taking the marchers to their camping ground arranged for them that night, expecting to hand them on

as had been arranged, to the chairman of the Transvaal British Indian Association, that brave and honoured Passive Resister Ahmed Mohammed Cachalia. Unfortunately he and his host, Mr. A. M. Bhyat, had missed the road, so we did not meet, and there was nothing for it but to camp out that night in the open just beyond the station of Greylingstad, from which I had expected to take the train back to Natal *en route* for India. We had been shepherded during the latter part of the afternoon by a couple of mounted police in the distance, but they had not molested us in any way.

I shall not readily forget that night! Our small camp fires gradually flickered out as we lay down to rest and sleep after a very frugal meal that had been cooked in the early morning. The clouds rolled up heavily and a thunder-storm played in the distance. A light rain fell at intervals during the night and a cool wind blew in gusts, increasing the general discomfort. I had not slept in the open for years, and the blanket that I carried with me was little protection against the roughness and inequalities of the ground upon which we lay. On either side of me was a poor wretched striker in the early stages, apparently, of consumption, and they coughed continually throughout the night. It was therefore, with considerable relief that I rose with the dawn, and we struck camp after a hurried wash and without eating for we were due at the township of Balfour, where we understood arrangements had been made for the next meal. I learnt afterwards that this final march (as it turned out) was one that would have done credit to a well-drilled army since we did the distance to Balfour at the rate of three and a half miles an hour, arriving at eight o'clock in the morning. Those nine coolies were splendid fellows, full of courage and strong of purpose. We were passed on the way by Mr. Chamney alone in the Cape cart, and there were no signs of police. At Balfour we received the hearty greetings of Mr. Cachalia and Mr. Bhyat,

to whom, as arranged, I handed over charge and proceeded to enjoy a much needed bath. Before I had completed my toilet I was informed that Mr. Chamney wished to see me immediately. I at once assumed that he had a warrant for my arrest and sent telegrams of warning to my wife and friends in Durban. I was surprised, however, to find, although I offered myself for arrest, that Mr. Chamney had had no such instructions, but that he had orders to arrest the marchers and would be grateful for my co-operation in enabling him to do his duty. I told him that I would cheerfully do this, provided that I had the assurance from him that the arrested men, who were to be taken back to Natal, were to be kept in custody and to be dealt with by Law, as it was their desire to suffer imprisonment for the cause that they held dear, and also because I feared that, if they were taken back across the Natal border and there released without further proceedings, they would at once endeavour to recross the border into the Transvaal, where, according to the threats I had heard expressed when I was at Volksrust by the white townsfolk, there was a grave risk of bloodshed if the local farmers took the law into their own hands. Mr. Chamney gave me this assurance and, after foodstuffs had been distributed to the marchers and they had had their meal, it was arranged that they should be gathered together and they should then be summoned to produce their authority to enter and remain in the Transvaal, and upon their failing to produce it they would be arrested as prohibited immigrants and, upon arrest, would be removed to the trains that were already awaiting them. The marchers, however, had got it firmly fixed into their heads that they were going to Johannesburg and from there to Tolstoy Farm, and they were unwilling to be diverted from that intention.

Fearing some such misunderstanding, and having learnt that Mr. Gandhi was shortly passing

through Balfour by train under arrest on his way from the Standerton Court where he had been convicted and sentenced, and was being taken to Natal where another charge awaited him, I suggested to Mr. Chamney that it would be very useful if, as I was hardly known personally to any of the marchers, I was able to assure them that I had Mr. Gandhi's express authority for urging them to submit peacefully to arrest and return to Natal, there to await their trial. I had a brief conversation with Mr. Gandhi, who was in the train in charge of a policeman obtained the authority that I had sought and then returned to the awaiting army. Immediately upon the proclamation by Mr. Chamney of their being prohibited immigrants and the announcement of their arrest as such, a few of the more headstrong shouted to the rest that they should start off at once for Johannesburg. Mr. Cachalia and I saw at once how dangerous it would be if once these two thousand people started on their way. The thirty policemen present were unarmed and would have been powerless to cope with such numbers, whilst the marchers, having once got out of hand, would get scattered over the country with grievous danger to their safety and even to their lives. We rushed at the head of the column and, fortunately, I was able to use as my interpreter a man who had been one of the leaders among the strikers that I had addressed at Newcastle some days before. He added his persuasions to ours and the magic of Mr. Gandhi's name working wonders, the little army eventually calmed down sufficiently to listen to reason. With a wisdom born of experience the local Chief Constable, who was present in charge of the police operations, suggested that I should pass through the crowd and persuade them, as I did so, to follow me to the trains which ultimately they were induced to enter with great good humour.

Mr. Chamney took the opportunity of thanking me personally for the assistance that I had

rendered to him, and which he volunteered to communicate to the Government. I told him that I was not very much interested in this, but though that it might be advisable, in the interests of the strikers themselves, if I were to accompany them across the Natal border in case they should be molested by the white farmers. I accompanied the Chief Constable a very sensible officer, as far as Charlestown, the Natal border. At the Transvaal border town of Volksrust I received the news that my colleague, Mr. Kallenbach, had already been arrested, but as he had been engaged in organising the concentration camp for the strikers and their families at an earlier stage, this did not altogether surprise me. We reached Charlestown just before midnight, and there I found an armed guard on the platform to prevent any of the strikers from leaving the trains. I also found my friend, Mr. Jooste, the Magistrate. I learnt then that there was a warrant issued for my own arrest and I was urgently implored by a friend not to wait for its being served upon me but to proceed upon my journey. I replied that since I knew of its issue, I must take my chances. If it were not served upon me before the arrival of the mail train by which I had originally intended to travel I should consider myself free to fulfil my programme as already laid down. A few minutes after the warrant of arrest was served upon me by my friend the Chief Constable, with many apologies, and I was escorted in custody back across the border to Volksrust, the merry party consisting, among others, of the Magistrate, the Public Prosecutor and the Chief Constable. Upon arrival at the station, we bade each other a cheery good-night, and I slept that night, much more comfortably upon the bare floor of the police station, and was conducted the following morning to the local gaol there to await my trial.

The rest is history. As is known, the brave Passive Resisters went back to their mines, which were converted for the purpose of their imprisonment into gaols, by proclamation, whilst I spent a quiet five weeks enjoying His Majesty's hospitality on a somewhat meagre diet and although we were all released before the Congress met at Karachi, it was too late for me to keep my appointment with Mr. Gokhale in India.

WORLD EVENTS

BY DR. A. J. SAUNDERS M.A.

September

WE all hoped that September would bring a settlement in connection with the Coal Dispute in England, but it has not yet come. With the large and increasing return to work of miners in all the principal fields, one fails to see how the struggle can be maintained much longer. The drift back to work of so many miners in opposition to the orders of their Executive aims directly at the authority and even the very life of the Miners' Federation. The issue is now clearly drawn between the owners position: an eight hour work-day sanctioned by an Act of Parliament, and negotiation by Districts; and the miners' position: Pre-strike rate of pay, seven or at most seven-and-a-half hour work-day, and a national basis of settlement. The crux of the question now seems to be national as against district settlement. In the meantime the miners are requested to return to work, then a representative tribunal will be set up to consider the whole matter of dispute, and to bring the two parties to an agreement. As a prediction I would venture to say that the final settlement will be along these lines: Pre strike wages to continue, the work-day to be seven and one half hours, and consideration and settlement of disputes to be with District Associations.

As to the estimated loss on account of the coal stoppage Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister, President of the Board of Trade, at the end of the 22nd week said that it was not less than £200 millions, but to that amount must also be added the serious loss of contracts. It is a most unfortunate and costly dispute, and the whole country is suffering in consequence. Another estimate has been made by Sir Hugh Bell who puts the loss down at £3 millions a day, which works out to £290 to the end of August.

TRADE PROSPERITY

Despite the coal dispute the outlook in British trade is encouraging. Several prominent men in Government, banking and commercial affairs have recently expressed themselves as believing that a period of prosperity in trade is soon to be experienced. Among the reasons advanced for the belief are: the much better political situation in Europe, the entry of Germany in the League of Nations, the larger purchasing power of foreign nations, and the expanding Imperial markets of Britain.

The recent formation of the European Steel Trust is a matter of more than ordinary interest. It shows the beginnings of a Continental trade revival, and a decided move forward in the direction of European co-operation. It may mean later on strong competition for both England and America, but at present it is a most significant thing that the German coke industry in the Ruhr is prepared to work in the closest co-operation with the French iron industry in Lorraine.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The great event in the month of September in International affairs is the annual meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations. This year by far the most important business done by the Assembly was the admission of Germany to a permanent seat on the Council of the League.

Another matter was the proposal which was adopted and put into execution that besides permanent seats on the League's Council, and annual seats (without re-eligibility) for small States there shall be three-year seats which may be re-eligible for continuous re-election. This plan, together with the promising idea of group or regional seats to be occupied by different members of the same group, ought to make for more satisfaction and the assurance of different in-

terests being considered. The ideas of real democracy and equity are more and more coming into the League of Nations.

Brazil has resigned from the League, but we all hope that it will not be a permanent decision because Latin American countries cannot afford to boycott the League, for, as THE ECONOMIST says, it offers them the only possible security against the hegemony of the United States. Poland has returned to a better frame of mind, and now has one of the three-year seats on the Council. Spain has resigned from the League but her decision will hurt herself more than the League, as she no doubt will find out in the future.

ELIOT OF HARVARD

From the American educational world comes the announcement of the death of Dr. Charles Eliot, President Emeritus of Harvard University, at the ripe age of 92. He was fondly called Harvard's Grand Old Man, and served as President of the University for the long term of forty years. Charles Eliot received his education at Harvard, and became Tutor in Mathematics as far back as 1854. In 1858 he was appointed Assistant Professor of Mathematics and Chemistry. He was elected President of his University in 1869, at the early age of 35, and for the next forty years he was America's most vigorous educational leader, revolutionising the methods at Harvard, and building up a small college into a great modern University.

SIR ALAN COBHAM

The hero of the hour is undoubtedly Alan Cobham, whom H. M. the King has appointed a Knight Commander of the Order of the British Empire, for his wonderful and successful flight from England to Australia and back, a distance of 28,000 miles. The actual flying time was 320 hours, which works out to about 88 miles per hour. The hero and his two companions, Sergeant Ward and Mr. Capel received a tremendous welcome at Westminster, London, when they

alighted on the Thames on the afternoon of October 1. Sir Alan has already completed 13,00,000 miles by air in long flights, such as—to Egypt and Palestine, to Rangoon and back, to South Africa, and to Australia and back. Cobham deserves all the honours that are coming to him as the most successful British airman. Within the next few years we can expect to see astonishing progress in the development of aviation.

India will be greatly interested in the Imperial Airways new air route from Egypt to India which is to be formally opened on Wednesday, January 12, 1927, by a flight from Cairo over the Arabian Desert to Baghdad, and then across the Persian Gulf to Karachi in Northern India. It is expected to leave Cairo on Wednesday afternoon and reach Karachi on Saturday afternoon, a distance of 2,500 miles. In order to complete the service it will be necessary for the Government of India to establish a service from Karachi (1) to Bombay on the one hand, and (2) to Delhi and Calcutta on the other hand, these services to connect with the arrival and departure of the coming Imperial Airways machines at Karachi. Truly we are living in wonderful times.

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Labour Legislation in Ceylon

BY MR. N. G. RANGA, B. LITT. (OXON.)

THE population of the Island of Ceylon was estimated in 1925 to be about five millions. In 1925 there were 4,508 rubber estates and several thousand other estates in that Island. The Indian workers who were working on 1,648 estates numbered 6,26,534 and the rest of the estates may probably provide employment for more than a million indigenous workers. We will not be far wrong if we suppose that nearly 50 per cent. of the population of the island depends for its work on the tea, rubber, cocoa, cocoanut and cardamom estates. The paddy fields are mostly small and are owned by small-holders and so the labour problem of Ceylon chiefly arises from the needs of these great estates for a proper and adequate labour supply.

The history of labour legislation in Ceylon goes as far back as 1841, when Ordinance No. 5 was passed for "the better regulation of Servants, Labourers and Journeymen, Artificers under contracts for Hire and Service and of the Employers." It is impossible to find any other country in the East with such an early tradition of labour legislation on modern lines. Between 1841 and 1863, five more Ordinances were passed to regulate the conditions of labour.

The great Ordinance No. 11 of 1865, as amended by subsequent Ordinances, is still in force. This Ordinance applies to servants, labourers and journeymen, artificers and chauffers. According to it the following things must or must not be done:—No verbal contract between an employer and a worker is valid for more than a month. By this provision it was intended to put a stop to the former practice of employers to tie their workers to their estates for an indefinite amount of time by threatening that criminal proceedings will be brought against them for breaking a contract. (2) Any contract which runs for more than a month shall be in writing and such contracts shall be registered in the pre-

sence of a Police Magistrate. (3) Contracts entered into in India "for the hire and service in this island of any servant" shall be valid. Thus even the Indian immigrant labour is brought under its salutary provisions. (4) Written contracts can be terminated only by mutual consent of the contracting parties. (5) Any employer shall be entitled to discharge any of his servants under a verbal contract, without previous notice, provided such servant be instantly paid his wages for one month in addition to the time he has already served. The servant has also the power to leave an employer after giving a month's notice to his employer. (6) Workers are authorised to complain for non payment of wages and the employers for any damages for breaches of contract. (7) Certain penalties were prescribed for those people who give false character to any worker in the hope of securing him a good position and for any servant who makes false statements of former employment or alters anything written in the certificates of character given him, or denies the fact of his former employment. (8) Any servant who falls ill while he is in the service of an employer, is entitled to "lodging, food, as well as medical care at the expense of such employer during such incapacity; provided that the employer shall not be bound to pay to the servant during such period his wages in addition".

In 1871 Ordinance No. 28 was passed to "provide for the Registration of Domestic Servants" and it is still in force, as amended by subsequent legislation. Head and under servants, female servants, cooks, coachmen, horse-keepers, house and garden coolies and chauffers come under the provisions of this Ordinance. (1) Every servant must attend personally, according to this Ordinance, before the Registrar who is specially appointed to execute this Ordinance, and furnish

* This practice, if introduced into India, will do immense amount of good to the more than hundred thousand farm servants and others.

him with information as regards his "age, country, previous service" and the Registrar shall hand him a pocket register in which the particulars of his employment shall be entered. (2) The persons who are desirous to enter domestic service must apply to the Registrar who gives them pocket registers after satisfying himself about the requisite training needed and the character wanted from such applicants for discharging their work properly. (3) The Registrar is empowered to order any applicant to get himself trained for some time before he is given the pocket register and his name registered at his office. (4) No master shall employ any unregistered worker. (5) Every master must enter in his worker's pocket register, the date on which the worker came into his service and the date on which he leaves him for another employer. He must also enter the cause of discharge of the worker and the certificate of character. (6) Every worker must attend personally at the office of the Registrar, within 15 days after any entry in his pocket register is made, for the purpose of having such entry recorded in the general registry. He must also show his register to the police when needed. Lastly an employer must pay annas 4 to the Registrar on engaging a new servant and an intending servant must pay the same amount before and after getting registered as a domestic servant and a servant needs pay annas 4 for a duplicate pocket register.*

Another landmark in labour legislation was made by the Ordinance No. 13 of 1889 which amended the Law of 1865 in so far as it touched Indian workers on the estates. According to this Ordinance, (1) every worker whose name is entered in the check-roll of his employer is expected to have been engaged for a month and so he must give one month's notice before he quits the service of his employer. (2) It shall be the

* Legislation similar to this Ordinance must be introduced to regulate the conditions of labour of our farm-servants, cooks etc. The Registrar may serve as an Employment Exchange in course of time.

duty of every employer to pay the wages of the labourer in his employment, monthly within one month from the expiration of the month during which the wages have been earned. (3) The employer is bound to pay his worker for at least 24 days in the month provided such worker is 'able and willing to work and actually demanded employment, whether the employer was or was not able to provide him with work'. (4) The wages must be paid to the worker himself and not through any agent, so that no kangani (one who recruits labour) can secure that money and trouble the worker. (5) It was provided again that all contracts which run for more than a month must be in writing. (6) The labour costs must be the first charges on the estates so that when any liquidation is declared, workers may not lose thereby. (7) Workers are empowered to sue their employers for their wages and whoever may be the proprietor and manager, they are liable to be sued. (8) 'No kangani, subordinate kangani or labourer shall be liable to arrest under the provisions of the Civil Procedure Code 1889' in execution of a decree for money. (9) To see that the employers pay the wages regularly, it is stipulated that they must send their declaration forms stating that wages are paid 'so as to reach the Kachcheri within 34 days of the last day of the month for which the wages were earned'. (10) Every employer must keep a register of all his workers with all the particulars needed by the Government and he must on the pain of a fine of Rs. 100 'prepare a discharge certificate as nearly as material' when his worker demands it. (11) An efficient organisation was established to judge the complaints of the workers for non-payment of wages and decide promptly.

Many employers used to lend large sums of money to their workers at very exorbitant rates of interest and on very iniquitous terms. The documents on which such debts and other obligations of workers were noted, were called 'tundus

With the help of these 'tundus' employers used to exploit the workers mercilessly. The Ordinance No. 43 of 1921 declared that any sort of 'tundu' was illegal. Consequently many employers "wrote off many millions of rupees due to them from their estate labourers."*

Finally the Ordinance No. 1 of 1923 was passed to 'Amend the Law relating to Indian Immigrant Labourers.' (1) According to this Ordinance, a Controller of Indian Immigrant Labour was appointed and he was provided with the necessary staff etc. (2) The Controller and his subordinates such as the Medical Officer and the Agent of the Government of India, may enter with or without notice, upon any premises on which Indian labourers, may be employed and "inspect the condition of such labourers, of their housing accommodation and of the means provided for the medical treatment of such labourers." The agents of the Controller thus inspected 245 estates in 1924 and 338 in 1925. (3) A Board of Indian Immigrant Labour was appointed to 'advise the Controller in regard to matters arising under the Ordinance'. (4) An Immigration Fund was established and all those estates which employed more than 50 Indians each were liable to be assessed. This Fund is to consist of "fees received or recovered under this Ordinance from employers and any sums voted by the Legislative Council in aid of immigration from India. (5) No contracts of hire should run for more than one month and evidently written contracts are not allowed, which is a great departure from the past. (6) The following are the charges on this fund :— recruitment of Indians, paying the prescribed allowances to them, subsistence and transportation and the reception by their respective employers, of such workers, the duty of Rs. 2 per worker to be paid to Government of India, the repatriation

of workers and their dependents when they fall seriously ill, the maintenance of the Immigration Commissioner and any prescribed allowance payable to any employer who recruits workers on his own account.

The Controller of Indian Immigrant Labour proposes some amendments to the existing legislation in his latest report and a few of his proposals are outlined here. (a) The Committee appointed by the Ceylon Government to investigate into the wages of Indian Immigrant Labour, recommended that standard wages (52 cents for a man, 41 cents for a woman and 31 cents for a child) should be established and the Controller supports that recommendation. (b) Indian workers should be paid their wages on or before the tenth day of the following month. (c) To make it illegal to employ Indian children under 10 years of age to work on estates. (d) The Medical Ordinance should be revised to "encourage estates by grants on medical aid account only in respect of medical facilities but also in respect of general sanitation on estates and to prevent overcrowding on estates. The Government and the employers spent on this scheme Rs. 21,96,929 in 1925.

Though a beginning has yet to be made in the regulation of hours of labour, it must be admitted that Ceylon Government has had a far better and older tradition of labour legislation than the Government of India.



* Administration Report of the Controller of Indian Immigrant Labour for 1925, Published on the 14th July 1926.

Indian States and Ruling Princes

BY MR. V. VENKATASUBBAIYA, B.A.

THE article on "Indian States and Ruling Princes" by Khan Bahadur Kazi Azizuddin Ahmed, C.I.E., O.B.E., I.S.O., Dewan of Datia, published in the *July* issue of the *INDIAN REVIEW*, is, to put it mildly, an amazing piece. From a gentleman possessing so many titles and holding the responsible post of Dewan of a State, one expects a reasoned statement of the case and a convincing reference to facts and figures. Mr. Ahmed, however, has contented himself with mere assertions, believing perhaps that by only putting emphasis on them they could be made to take the place of facts. In his opinion, most of the criticism of Indian States made from British India is either by discontented States' subjects or from others who are ignorant, ill informed and malicious. In his opinion the average Ruling Prince is a paragon of virtue and the Indian State is as near paradise as one could expect a human institution to approach. At any rate an Indian State is, in his opinion, very much better than a British Indian province. His reasoning is exceedingly simple. In British India there is political agitation, an urgent call for reform, a wholesale denunciation of the bureaucracy. In Indian States you find none of these. Therefore the people of Indian States are quite happy and the people of British India are miserable. According to him, the democratic form of Government is utterly unsuited to India, and hence all this political unrest in British India. Whereas in Indian States there is no such nonsense and the people are contented and happy. Here is a glimpse of the picture of an Indian Prince drawn for us by Mr. Ahmed. "The Ruling Prince mixes freely with his people, helps them informally in their adversities, privately settles civil disputes between his Sardars and scions of noble families who would otherwise be ruined in law courts. His palace is an open hospitality to the people on festive occasions and no one feels so strongly

as the Prince when his people suffer from such epidemics as cholera, plague, influenza etc. A Ruling Prince once told me in the course of conversation that an Indian Prince would commit suicide rather than tolerate any bloody scenes, arbitrary proceedings or oppressions." And so on. If no one has yet heard of an Indian Prince having committed suicide, it is, then, only because there have been no bloody scenes etc., in any State!

As the subject is one of very great importance let us seriously examine some of the statements made by Mr. Ahmed. Let us take first his statement regarding the absence of political agitation in Indian States. He says, "The agitation for Swaraj as carried on in British India falls flat in Native States for the simple reason that these States are governed by the Indians themselves. There are few European Officers there. The reins of administration rest in the hands of the Indians and there are no vagaries and arbitrary acts of the so called alien bureaucracy to be confronted." Mr. Ahmed apparently has not understood that what people in British India mean by Swaraj is popular Self-Government and not merely the substitution of Indian for European agency in administration. The people of Indian States being politically very backward compared with those of British India, it is a fact that the demand for popular Government is not conspicuous in Indian States. But that is only due to want of political education. It is not due to the people of the States deliberately preferring autocracy to democracy after an examination of both. In advanced Indian States, which can compare with British India in the efficiency of administration, the enlightenment of their people etc., and which possess representative institutions, the demand for constitutional reforms and a desire for keeping pace politically with British India find frequent and forcible expression. In the popular bodies of these States one hears strong criticism of the administra-

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tion and of the vagaries and arbitrary acts of the Indian bureaucracy. Mr. Ahmed, as Dewan of an Indian State, must surely have known of an important movement on the part of Indian States' subjects for the achievement of responsible Government for Indian States and of some conferences which they have held. This movement is admittedly the outcome of the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms. It is yet in the beginning but is bound to have a great future. If there is less criticism of the administration and less political agitation in the average Indian State than in a British Indian Province, it is because the former is under a despotic form of Government, and no well understood rights of citizenship are conceded to the people. In most of even the advanced States there is not an independent Press. But that does not mean that the administration of those States is impeccable. The comparative 'contentment' of Indian States is of that pathetic variety which the late Mr. Montague has made classical—a contentment of which neither Mr. Ahmed nor any of us could be proud.

Let us examine another statement of Mr. Ahmed, one which unfortunately is blindly accepted by quite a large number of people, including some conservative Europeans. "Does not the whole world know it for certain that Hindu-Mahomedan riots which occur almost daily in British India are unknown in the territories of Indian Ruling Princes whether Hindu or Muslim?" In the first place, it is not true that Hindu-Muslim riots occur almost daily in British India, nor that they are unknown in Indian States. For example, we had the famous Gulburga riots a couple of years ago in Hyderabad and there have been riots in Mysore and elsewhere. Then we have to remember the area and population of British India and the facilities for publicity existing there. Many an important event, such as a communal riot, deportation or something else of a sensational character, occur-

ring in an Indian State, remains quite unknown to the outside world; while a similar event, occurring in British India, is reported with even undue prominence. Moreover, the Hindu Muslim riots of British India are a recent phase and cannot be said to be true of British administration in general. But apart from it, it may be granted that communal riots are more frequent in British India than in Indian States. But what is this fact really due to? Is it due to the British administration being inherently inferior to the administration of Indian States, or is it due to something else? In my humble opinion, if there are more communal riots in British India,—whether between Hindus and Muslims or between different sections of Hindus or Muslims or others it is due to greater assertiveness, greater independence, greater consciousness of their own rights having developed in the people of British India. This is entirely due to the rule of law and the introduction of democratic principles in the administration of British India. In an Indian State an autocratic Ruler puts down with a high hand whomsoever or whatever movement he dislikes, and there is no one bold enough to question him. Not so in British India where the whole tradition is constitutional. It is not that injustice as between communities or sections of the population does not exist in Indian States, but that the oppressed put up with it in fear of authority. Nor is it to be supposed that Hindu-Muslim or other communal riots will be a permanent feature of the democratic form of Government which has been introduced in British India. They are a transitional phase due to insufficient education in citizenship and are bound to disappear in course of time, particularly as the existing social inequalities become less and less pronounced.

Again, take this statement of Mr. Ahmed: "In the matter of trade and industries there are not such galling restrictions as the British India people have to confront. There is no cotton

excise duty, there is no income-tax; in brief, the restrictions which stangle trade in British India are not imposed here." Mr Ahmed obviously looks upon the income-tax as a restriction imposed by the British upon Indian trade and manufacture. It is too elementary a misconception to need more than mere mention. No Indian ever defended the cotton excise duty; but even when it existed could it be said that Indian trade and industries were strangled? The growth of export and import trade of cotton and other industries during the last fifty years is an ample refutation of Mr. Ahmed's sweeping remarks. But within a few lines of making this statement he contradicts himself most effectively. "While wheat is sold at 6 seers a rupee in Muttra it is sold at 12 seers a rupee at Bharatpur so near Muttra. Ghee cannot be had at more than 6 chittaks a rupee at Agra while it is sold at 10 chittaks and even more a rupee in Dholpur. You cannot have a labourer at less than 12 annas a day in British India; he may be had at 6 annas or 5 annas in Indian States." Of course he makes this statement to prove that those in the States are infinitely happier than those in British India. But why is it that a Bharatpur ryot sells his wheat at 12 seers a rupee at Bharatpur, while by going a short distance to Muttra he can sell it at 6 seers per rupee? Is it because he has a profound contempt for money? Is it because of ignorance? Or is it due to the restrictions imposed by Bharatpur State against the export of wheat? 12 seers of wheat per rupee and 5 annas or 6 annas a day for a labourer may be quite satisfactory from the point of view of the consumer and the employer, but not at all from the point of view of the producer and of the labourer. And it is the interest of the latter who are weak and numerous that deserves to be looked after and not the interest of the former. Therefore, what Mr. Ahmed has adduced proves not only the existence of galling restrictions in Indian States

but also the neglect of the interests of the majority.

He also gives one the impression that taxation is much higher in British India than in Indian States. In the latter, he says, "there is no house-tax, no income-tax, no dog-tax, so on and so forth." Let us just compare the incidence of taxation in British India with that in some typical Indian States.

In the concluding paragraph of his article Mr. Ahmed advises the critics of Indian States—those misguided and ignorant folk—to seek interviews with such rulers "as the rulers of Baroda, Bikanir, Rampur, Alwar, Dholpur, Dhar and others." Apparently in his opinion these are good States. Let us compare the incidence of taxation between British India and these States and also the State of Datia of which Mr. Ahmed is Dewan.

State	Population Approximate (in 1921)	Revenue Rs.	Incidence of taxation roughly Rs.
Baroda	21.2 lakhs.	244 lakhs.	11-8-0
Bikanir	6.6	76	11-8-0
Rampur	4.5	52	11-8-0
Alwar	7.1	33	4-8-0
Dholpur	2.3	14	6-0-0
Dhar	2.3	13.6	6-0-0
Datia	1.5	10	6-8-0
For the whole of Br. India			5-1-1

In the above table the incidence of taxation for British India is taken from the *Statistical Abstract for British India* for 1921-22 (statement No. 108) and is inclusive of land revenue. The figures for the States are calculated by dividing the income of the respective States by their respective populations as given in the *India Office List* for 1923, which may therefore be taken as true of 1921-22. It will be seen that of the States mentioned above only Alwar shows a lower incidence than British India. It is undoubtedly true of the States as a class that the burden of taxation is much heavier in them than in British India. If, however, there is an impression abroad to the contrary, it is due to its being very much ill-adjusted: to its falling almost entirely on the

shoulders of the ignorant and inarticulate cultivators, while the educated towns-people get off almost without payment. This impression is only strengthened by the fact that the town-dweller in the Indian States gets education, water supply and other amenities of life much cheaper than his cousin in British India. That is because the latter pays for these amenities in the shape of municipal taxes, while the former has them provided for him by the State at the expense of the general tax-payer.

There are many other statements of Mr. Ahmed's which could similarly be shown incapable of standing an examination, but to deal with them would only weary the reader. What all of us, whether critics or panegyrists, are really concerned with is the well-being of the Indian States and their place in the self-governing India of the future. Our Princes and their agents will not be able even to visualise the problem until they shed their profound complacency. The States as a rule are not—and most of them on account of the smallness of their size cannot be—as efficiently administered as the British Indian Provinces are. It is of the utmost importance that the standard of administration in the States should rise so as to approach that of British India. An even more important fact which our Princes should grasp is that the tide of democracy is rising all over the world, and that it will not hold back at their bidding whatever their flatterers might say. The world has seen the most profound political changes within the last century and a half. Those splendid and dazzling autocracies, some of them established on both the secular and temporal allegiance of their subjects—where are they now? And who can say through what vicissitudes our States would have passed but for the protection extended to them by the Government of India? Our Princes will therefore do well to accept democracy with good grace and be content with the position and dignity of constitutional rulers.

It is a common mistake with our Princes to suppose that *they* are the States, that the treaty obligations are operative only between them and the British Government and that the people of the States are no parties to the treaties. As a matter of fact it is the people who are the essential constituents of the States and not the Princes. The obligations of the British Government are due therefore at least as much to the people of the States as to the Princes. It is only an accident of minor importance which is responsible for a section of the Indian people being included in Indian States and for the rest being in the British provinces. That accident cannot very materially affect the responsibility vested in Britain for the progress and prosperity of the people of the States. It does not absolve the authority that has established a certain standard of administration for British India and conferred responsible Government on its people, from the responsibility of seeing that a similar standard and form of administration also prevails in the States.

When India was being administered more in the interests of Britain than in its own, it was only natural that Indian public opinion should be jealous of the interference of the Government of India in the administration of Indian States. But that attitude has rapidly changed since the famous declaration was made that India would be administered in the interests of India. Already Indian opinion demands that the States be brought into line with British India. Hereafter this demand will become more and more insistent, and it will not be in the power either of the Government of India or the Princes to resist it. It will be wisdom on the part of the latter, therefore, to anticipate public opinion and introduce reforms, so that the feeling which would later become resentment at dues being withheld too long may take the form of lively gratitude.

After all, how elementary are the reforms which Indian opinion at present desires to see intro-

duced in every State! The first of them is that the civil list of the Prince should be fixed at a moderate and reasonable figure and separated from the rest of the State accounts. In too many of our States no such separation has ever been made. The Prince usually looks upon State territory as his own land, as a piece of property, as an *estate* rather than a State. There is usually no correlation between expenditure and income. The State is run as if it were the *estate* of the Ruler. It may here be mentioned that even where the civil list of the Ruler has been separated from the expenditure of the State, it is fixed so liberally that objects of public utility seriously suffer for want of funds. For example, the Viceroy with all his staff, touring allowances etc. costs the Government of India less than Rs. 14 lakhs a year. But there are quite a number of our Princes whose civil list is much larger. Their display of pomp in European countries has lowered us in the eyes of Europeans, who argue that if in spite of our proverbial poverty we are maintaining our Princes in such style, we do not deserve any sympathy. Then another elementary reform to be introduced is that the Dewan should be required to publish annually in English and in the Vernacular of the State a full report of his administration. At present a report on stereotyped lines is sent every year to the Viceroy. All that is required is that it should be somewhat amplified and made available to the public for a small price. Then a beginning has to be made in the creation of representative institutions, so that in course of time more and more administrative and legislative responsibility may be transferred to them, until within a reasonable period the people of the States enjoy Responsible Government like those of British India and Princes occupy the position of constitutional rulers. It is the responsibility of Britain to see that these reforms are introduced at an early date.

Voice of Nature

BY

PROF. T. L. VASWANI.

—: O:—

I asked the Sea:—

"Where is He?"

And the Sea answered:—

"I, too, am in quest;

Hence my deep unrest;"

I asked the Wind

Rushing past the plain:—

"O thou that sighest:

Tell me where is He?"

"I, too, wander after Him"; she said.

I asked the Rain

In pearl-drops descending;

And the Rain answered me:—

"For the Fairest One

I weep these showers of tears."

I asked the Flame;

"I flicker in His quest," she said;

I asked the Dawn,

She blushed and answered me:—

"Pale am I in quest of Him."

I asked the Nightingale

Singing his plaintive notes

In Rose garden of the King;

And the Nightingale said:—

"I sigh out my song for Love."

CHILD LABOUR IN FACTORIES

BY MR. P. S. LOKANATHAN, M.A.

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ALTHOUGH English Factory Legislation owed its origin not so much to a reasoned out theory of state intervention as rather to the existence of enormous evils that accompanied the employment of children in early English Factories, it must be admitted that even economists of the individualistic school were not slow to recognise that the question of child labour stood on a different plane from that of women and men labour and that children must be protected both from the cupidity and shortsightedness of the parents on the one hand and from the greediness of the employers for cheap labour on the other. A child was obviously unable to enjoy economic freedom in any sense. But the earlier arguments advanced against imposing restrictions on child labour were not concerned with the freedom or otherwise of children but with the loss of earnings and the consequent sufferings to their families. It took some time for people to convince themselves that the temporary loss of earnings was not so serious a matter as a permanent break down of their health leading ultimately to national inefficiency.

Legislation to set right the abuses of child employment had usually been marked by two lines of advance: (a) Limitation of the number of children who might be employed (b) Restriction on, and the improvement of, the conditions under which legally employed children might work. Among the methods of securing the first object were the establishment of certain minimum standards of age, physical fitness, and educational attainments. The restrictions on the conditions of work took some of the following forms: protection of leisure by restricting the hours of employment and the period within which children might be employed; the provision of holidays etc., provision of education, the protection of health by

imposing sanitary conditions and the prohibition of child employment in dangerous work.

The first restriction on child employment in all countries concerned itself almost always with the question of the minimum age of employment. Everywhere it was recognised that employment of children at too early an age affected seriously their health and hence that no child below a certain age must be employed in any factory. But the determination of the ages of children was by no means an easy task especially at a time when the system of registration of births and deaths had not been established. Hence in the English Factory Acts since 1833 it was stipulated that every child should be examined by a doctor who should testify to the child's age as nearly as he could determine it. The institution of certifying surgeon was the result of this difficulty: "But as it was necessary to set up a system of medical examination of children it was obviously an advantage that it should be used not merely in order to determine the children's ages but also in order to reject from employment those who were physically unfitted for it although above the statutory age".* Thus one step gradually led on to another till not merely was the certifying surgeon empowered to reject physically unfit children at the commencement of employment but at any time during the whole course of their employment until they had reached adulthood and every time they changed employment. With the establishment of an adequate system of registration of births in England, certifying surgeons became superfluous for the mere task of certifying to the ages of children but happily the importance of physical well-being of the children employed had by that time so well been recognised that attempts to do away with the

* Frederic Keeling: *Child Labour in the United Kingdom*. p. XI

system of certification met with no success in England or elsewhere.

In India the Factory Acts of 1881 and 1891 fixed merely the limits of ages between which children could be employed but left to the inspector the task of finding whether children of proper ages were employed. Certification of the age of children was purely permissive and until an inspector ordered to the contrary they could be employed without any certificate from a civil surgeon. Such a permissive regulation, as had been proved over and over again was as good as no provision. It was difficult for any inspector and more so, for district officials who were at first entrusted with the task of administering the Act to order a wholesale examination of all children employed in a factory for the purpose of determining their ages. Even if they did in a few cases, it was not impossible for employers to get certificates from civil surgeons for children whom they had never personally examined. In England it was this circumstance that moved the inspectors to require that certifying surgeons should be appointed at their instance and should be responsible to them.* In India inspectors had no such power and hence they practically abandoned this part of their duties with the result that the law relating to the minimum age of admission of children to industrial employment remained a dead letter until 1911.† There was again no insistence on physical fitness of the employed children. The Act of 1911 was the first effective Act to confer real protection on children. Certification of the age of children was made a condition of employment and was no longer left to the option of employers or inspectors. Along with age, physical fitness of children had also to be certified to. But if physical fitness and not merely age were to be the test for employment it was obvious that one brief

* Factory Inspection (Internal Labour Office) 1923. page 16.

† Indian Factory Commission Report 1908.

examination of a child before employment would not suffice; for the child's health might deteriorate after a few months' employment and hence it would be necessary to continue to make periodical examination of the fitness of children employed and to revoke if necessary the certificates previously granted. This involves periodical visits on the part of certifying surgeon and inspection of all the children employed during the time in the factory. These have been provided for in the amended Act of 1922. Section 7 (2) of the Act (1922) empowers a certifying surgeon to revoke any certificate granted to a child if in his opinion the child be no longer fit for employment in the factory, and the rules framed under the Act for Madras make it obligatory on the certifying surgeon to visit every factory within their local limits at least once in three months and to satisfy himself as to the fitness of the children employed therein. (Rules made by the Governor-in-Council August 28, 1923; Rule Nos. 13 & 14). In the same manner the powers of the inspector have been strengthened by the addition of new provision in the Act (1922) by which he is empowered to prohibit employment of any child until he is re-examined by the certifying surgeon and found fit (Section 8 A.) Thus starting from a pious wish that no child below a certain age should be allowed to be employed in a factory the Factory Acts have gradually extended their degree of protection till no child could be employed at all unless he or she was not merely of the prescribed age but was, throughout, physically fit for work until the child reached adulthood. But at this point there seems to be need for a further measure of reform. Before a child be allowed to do the work of an adult, and by the present Act the transition occurs at the age of 15, there should again be a medical examination to ascertain whether the boy of 15 could work the whole period prescribed for adults. This was one of the recommendations made by the Textile Labour Factories

Committee* and also by Dr. Nair in his minute of dissent, a suggestion which must soon be incorporated in the Act.†

The next question that must be considered is what shall be the minimum age of admission of children for industrial employment and the duration of their employment. The Factory Act of 1881 prohibited children of less than 7 years to be employed in a factory and prescribed a maximum period of 9 hours a day for those between 7 and 12. Even at the moment of passing the Act it was felt that it was unwise to have permitted children of such weak development as those of seven to work in the factories. Hence the Act of 1891 raised the lower and upper age limits to 9 and 14 respectively while at the same time their hours of work were reduced from 9 to 7 a day. In 1911 when the Factories Act was again amended, the age limits were not altered; but the hours of work were reduced from 7 to 6 in textile factories. Now the question of the minimum age of employment of children is one intimately connected with the problem of juvenile education. In England factory legislation was used as a lever to introduce compulsory education in a restricted field. For instance the Factory Acts of 1833 and 1867 made the employment of children conditional upon their part-time attendance at school and thus education became both the motive and the result of restricting the employment of children.‡ But as long as there were no schools for children to go to, it was impossible to raise the minimum age to a reasonable standard because there was no guarantee that the children thus thrown out would be properly educated and taken care of. The lack of a compulsory education act in a country would render progress in

* Report of the Textile Labour Factories Committee cd. 3617 p. 12.

† Report of the Indian Factory Labour Commission 1908. p. 110.

‡ History of Factory Legislation: Hutchins and Harrison. p. 79.

regard to child labour legislation slow and difficult.

But whilst all this was true of England, it was not the case with India. Until recently at any rate the dominant motive of Indian legislators in gradually raising the minimum age of child labour was one of health. Indeed when the Bombay Factory Commission of 1884, suggested that while the general minimum limit should be increased to 9, children producing an educational certificate might be employed at 8 the Bombay Government rightly replied "that the objection in India to the employment of very young children is based mainly on physical and not on educational grounds and that constant and protracted work in warm and often imperfectly ventilated buildings must exercise a prejudicial effect on immature children by overtaxing their strength, stunting their growth and checking the development of their physical powers. It would seem to follow that work in a mill must be as injurious to a child of 8 years who can read and write as to one of the same age who has received no education. What is bad from a physical point of view for the uneducated must be bad for the comparatively educated child."* Hence in India no attempt was made to use factory legislation as a lever to promote elementary education. The part-time system adopted and worked with so much success for over half a century in England had no counter-part in India. The so-called part time system in vogue here has not the same significance as in England where a certain amount of schooling is insisted upon along with employment. In India when the Factory Act of 1911 shortened the hours to 7 for children and in textile factories to 6, children were employed obviously only for part of the day. But the natural corollary to it i.e., education during the remaining time was not observed. The late Mr. Gokhale sought to intro-

* Report of the Bombay Factory Commission 1885, page, 20.

duce a genuine part-time system by moving an amendment making it obligatory on the employers to give certain hours of schooling. But he failed, because it was felt that education was a national concern and that it would be unfair to ask the employers to shoulder a burden which was rightly regarded as the country's. The Act of 1922 had raised the age limits to 12 and 15; as a result the number of children employed in cotton spinning and weaving mills has fallen by nearly 25 per cent.*; but compulsory education has not yet been made quite general; so that there is just a fear that children who have now been thrown out of factory work receive neither wages nor schooling. Numerous mill schools have been closed as a result of the diminution of child labour all over India. But one need not regret this development. Even in England the half time system of employment though regarded at its initiation as a great achievement soon became the anathema both of educational and factory reformers. Education of the proper type and the requisite standard could not be imparted under conditions that involved work in the factories in early ages. In India although a few mill schools of the very best kind were voluntarily provided for, in many others factory schools were established merely "for the purpose of retaining children at the mill during the whole working day in order that this additional supply of labour might be utilised either as a regular measure or temporarily when occasion demanded"† Some of these schools became a useful instrument in the hands of unscrupulous jobbers and employers to dodge the inspectors. It is thus clear that if the education of the children is to be a reality, that task must be shouldered by local authorities and the state. The urgent need for the introduction throughout India of compulsory education is thus apparent.

* Statistics of factories subject to the Indian Factories Act together with a note on the working of the Act for the year 1923 p. 2.

† Report of the Factory Commission 1908 p. 15.

and local authorities must set themselves to this task with genuine anxiety. It is not without significance that in England "the biggest step of all (in regard to Child labour legislation) has been made by the Education Act of 1918 and not by an Employment of Children Act or a Factory Act."* The provisions of this Act which applies not merely to factory children but to all children reveal the rapid strides which England has taken in regard to child welfare. Under it no child can leave school till the end of the term in which he or she attained the age of 14 years and local authorities are permitted to increase the school going age to 15. No child who is bound to attend school may be employed in factories or workshops or in mines but in other occupations may be employed if over 12 years for 2 hours after the close of school hours so that none of his employment falls within the hours between 8 p.m. and 6 a.m. Thus the point of view regarding child employment has undergone a radical alteration. The educational needs of the children must be the sole determinant of industrial employment and their permanent interests should not be sacrificed for any shortsighted temporary advantages either to employers or to parents.

RESTRICTIONS ON THE CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT

As already stated children between the ages of 12 and 15 are allowed to work for a maximum period of 6 hours and must be employed within the period between 5-30 a.m. and 7 p.m. In a few factories children are employed in morning and afternoon sets for the full period of 6 hours but in most others they are employed on what is called the split set system i.e., they work for about half the total time in the morning and then after a long interval of about three hours complete the remaining portion of the time. In the Calcutta jute factories a complicated system of shifts prevails and children are employed in a number of

* Tillyard: Worker and the State p. 114.

shifts, some working continuously, some in split set system and others with shorter intervals. These shifts render the task of inspection extremely difficult and there is no doubt that they have given rise to serious abuses which are not easily set right. A number of children work in two factories and factory inspection in Bengal leaves much to be desired. In Ahmedabad too and to a less extent in Bombay, a number of children are employed in two factories and double certification is quite common. The percentage of children who endeavoured to get a second certificate was 47.4 in 1921* and in Ahmedabad must have been far larger. But with the employment of whole time certifying surgeons for Bombay and Ahmedabad illegal employment of children has suffered a check as is obvious from the fact that in the first five months in 1923, 36 per cent. of the children appearing before the certifying surgeon were detected to hold certificates already.† Another kind of abuse not yet wholly remedied is the illegal working of part timers for longer hours than six in the same factory. The profits of illegal working of children are so large compared with any possible fine that may be inflicted, that cases are not wanting where occupiers and employers deliberately take the risk of prosecution rather than conform to law and work prescribed hours.‡ The temptation to overwork children in textile factories arises partly from the fact that children possess "that nimbleness of fingers which is essential for piecing and are also of a height which enables them to work at the spinning frames without undue fatigue."|| The only way of putting an end to this abuse is by awarding exemplary damages at least in a few cases as a first step.

PROHIBITION OF DANGEROUS WORK

By the first Factory Act of 1881 children were not allowed to clean machinery in motion nor to

* Annual Factory Report Bombay 1921.

† Ibid 1923

‡ Factory Administration Report the Punjab 1918 p.3.

|| Factory Commission Report 1908 p. 17

work between the fixed and traversing parts of a self-acting machine. The law of 1911 prohibited employment of children (and of women) in pressing factories where a cotton opener was at work and the Amended Act of 1922 has still further extended protection for children by prohibiting them from working in a number of dangerous places at the factory.

NIGHT WORK

Children were prohibited from doing work at night before 5 a.m. or after 8 p.m. by the Factory Act of 1891 and in 1911 the limits of hours between which they might be employed were further shortened to between 5-30 a.m. and 7 p.m. The importance of sleep for children and the dangers of permitting them to work in the night have induced the state in all countries to absolutely prohibit night work for children.

HOLIDAYS AND REST INTERVALS

The Act of 1881 granted 4 monthly holidays for children and an interval of rest for one hour in their working day of 9 hours. In 1891 Sunday holidays were extended to all operatives and an interval of half an hour was allowed for every child who was employed in a factory for 6 hours in any one day. The shortened interval was apparently due to the shorter hours of work, which had then been reduced to 7 a day. The present position is that a child working for more than 5½ hours in any day must be granted half an hour rest and "the period of rest should be so fixed that no such child should be required to work continuously for more than four hours."*

Two questions relating to the welfare of children in factories have now to be considered. One refers to the dangers arising from allowing very young children to go with their parents inside the factory and play about near dangerous machinery. Children become thereby liable to accidents and to diseases due to the dust and foul air of the factories. In Bombay the habit of giving opium

* Indian Factory Act 1911 as amended in 1922.

to infants to force them to sleep still prevails and is bound to have serious reactions on the future progress of the nation. The object of establishing creches in factories is to ensure against these evils. In many countries the law compels employers to provide sufficient and sanitary creches, where children are nursed by the mother and taken care of at other times by trained nurses. In India some employers notably in Sholapur and Ahmedabad and to a lesser extent in Bombay have provided creches for the children. Some of them give the impression of being congested and insanitary but as a rule they are well kept. The Indian Factory Act does not however make it obligatory on employers to provide for these institutions where women are employed. The delay in carrying out this reform is partly due to a feeling on the part of the public that women in India do not readily consent to removing the children from under their nose and they would rather keep the children near by. But conditions are improving and in any case the risks of permitting little children to be moving near dangerous machinery have been so well recognised that in the latest Factory Act (Section 19A) power has been given to the inspector to prohibit the presence of little children in factories if in his opinion such presence would involve danger to them. The establishment of creches is thus indirectly secured and inspectors have already made use of the powers conferred by this section to the great advantage of children.*

The other question relates to the presence of children too young to be legally employed in factories but old enough to be exploited by unscrupulous jobbers and employers in time of pressing necessity. To check this abuse the Act of 1911 on the recommendation of the Factory

* Statistics of Factories subject to the Indian Factories Act together with a note on the working of the Act for the year 1923.

Also Annual Factory Report of the Presidency of Bombay for 1922 p. 15.

Commission of 1908 (p. 61) made it a presumption that a child over the age of 6 if found inside any room or part of a factory in which any manufacturing process or work incidental to it was carried on was unlawfully employed in the factory. The working of this provision showed clearly that the abuses which the legislation sought to remove by the clause still continued to exist. It was the experience of factory inspectors that employers invariably received information regarding even surprise inspection and were able to remove these children out of the work rooms, to schools or play-grounds or yards and escape prosecution.* Government therefore desired to insert, instead of the existing clause, a more stringent provision whereby the presence of children over 6 years of age within the "precincts" of the factory would be construed as employment in the factory unless the contrary be proved. This very desirable reform was however not accepted by the legislature on the ground, first, that it was a reversal of the ordinary law relating to burden of proof, secondly, that many factory schools and play-grounds being within the mill premises it would be hard to take them out and thirdly that it was the custom for boys and girls to be in charge of infants in arms whilst their parents were at work. The difficulties suggested above were by no means insuperable; schools if they were to do any real good must be no part of the factory and creches might be established to take charge of infants. One cannot but regret that the legislature influenced by ordinary legal considerations failed to protect the special interests of infants.

The various methods of welfare for children outlined above apply only to those employed in large industrial establishments. The Factory Act of 1911 applied only to industrial establishments using power and employing 50 persons and although the new Factory Act has considerably

* Annual Report on the working of the Indian Factories Act in the Punjab for the year 1922, page 4.

extended the scope, there still remain a large number of small establishments that employ less than 20 and others that do not use power although employing more than 20. It is in small factories that the worst abuses of child exploitation prevail and these invariably show a higher ratio of children to adults.* The children who work outside the factory and mines act are employed in scattered units and the protection of these children is equally important in itself and presents a far more difficult task. Large numbers of children are employed in hand match factories and cigarette factories and they do the work quite as fast as men do. The work is of an

* Statistics of Factories subject to the Indian Factories Act together with a note on the working of the Act for 1923. page 2.

unhealthy character. In the same manner in parts of Northern India in Rajputana carpets are woven by boys very dexterously.* Again children are employed in small metal factories often in dangerous processes. The numerous aluminium workshops in Rajamundry in Northern Madras employ large numbers of children. The case of such children calls for immediate attention and legislation must be undertaken with a view to extend the benefits of the Factory Act to them. But probably as in England no longer could industrial legislation afford the means for regulating the conditions of child employment. If so we must look forward to an effective educational Act in the hands of enterprising local authorities to bring about this useful and urgent reform.

* Kelman: Labour in India.

Representation of Labour in the Legislatures

BY MR. M. A. GHANI

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IN view of the recent announcement made by the Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons on the subject of representation of labour in the central and provincial legislatures of India, it will not be out of place to examine its present position, its inadequacy and the demands of labour in this respect. Prior to the Reforms labour was never represented in either the Imperial or local Legislatures. The representation of labour in the Legislatures is co-eval with the Reforms promulgated with the Government of India Act 1919. Even under this Act, representation is made by nomination and not by election, for, the Act does not create labour constituencies in the country. It is only in the Legislative Councils of Bombay, Bengal, Assam and Bihar and Orissa and now in Burma as well, that labour is represented by nomination under the rules made under the Government of India Act. It is absolutely discretionary with the Govern-

ment of India to nominate or not a labour member for the Legislative Assembly, although it has been so kindly nominating one ever since the Assembly has been brought into existence. The present position of labour representation in the Indian Legislatures therefore is that there is one labour member in the Legislative Assembly, two labour members in the Bengal Legislative Council and one in each of the Legislative Councils of Bombay, Assam, and Bihar and Orissa and now also in that of Burma.

In comparison with the above, capitalists have their statutory representation by election in both the Central and Provincial Legislatures to its full extent. They have as many as 20 seats in the Legislative Assembly and as many as 85 in the different Legislative Councils. The 20 seats in the Legislative Assembly are distributed thus in the Assembly, Bengal has 4 seats, Bombay and Madras have each 3, United Provinces 2 and there

is one seat for each of the provinces of the Punjab, Bihar and Orissa, Central Provinces, Assam and Burma. Apart from this landholders in Sind and Bombay, Mill-owners of Bombay and Ahmedabad and the 3 big commercial concerns of Bengal have one seat each in the Assembly by rotation. In the Legislative Councils, the capitalists have the following special seats—23 for Bengal, 13 for Madras, 12 for Bombay, 10 for U. P. 9 each for Bihar, Orissa and Assam; and 6 for Punjab, and 4 C. P.

From the above summary, it is absolutely clear that capitalists have their full special representation in the Legislatures while labour is most hopelessly inadequately represented in them. It is therefore that I always call these Legislatures as Bourgeois bodies established by law to exploit the poor labourer and keep him under an eternal bondage of the spell of capitalism. It is certainly anomalous that 98 per cent. of the population of India which is too illiterate and backward to look after itself, should have one single solitary representative in the Legislative Assembly by sufferance and only 5 in favour out of 8 Legislative Councils by nomination, while the remaining 2 per cent. population of the country should have 20 special representatives in the Assembly and 85 in the Legislative Councils, by proper election. It is really the height of the subversion of justice that the capitalists who can very well look after themselves have full special representation while labour which cannot admittedly look after itself has been given most hopelessly inadequate special representation. There is no other interest in the country which deserves special representation more than the labour interest. This ought to be so more particularly in those provinces where there is no labour representation at all but where capitalists have been given full representation in the Legislatures. In such provinces, the position of labour is worse at present than it was before the Reforms. Because before the Reforms, neither the employers had any

special representation nor had labour. But now the former have while the latter have not. It is really a happy sign of the times, however, that labour has received a statutory recognition as a distinct interest worth representation in the Legislatures. Both the majority and minority sections of the Indian Reforms Enquiry Committee unanimously favour the increased labour representation in all the Legislatures. They differ only in this that the minority would have representation by election at once whereas the majority would have labour represented by nomination for the present—deferring election to 1929 when the Government of India Act would be revised and when labour would be better organised by that time. The majority say in this respect: "In existing circumstances, local Governments may be compelled to provide for the representation by nomination." It is therefore clear that labour is going to have some sort of representation in the Legislatures. Justice demands that only such labourites should be nominated who have actually organised some labour Unions in the country, and who have been actually working for the cause of labour for some years past. The Government ought to nominate one who is recommended by the various Trade Unions in existence. It is then and then only that labour will be said to have true representation in the Legislatures, otherwise it will be "misrepresentation" which is worse than no representation at all. I as an humble organiser of labour would respectfully ask the provincial Governments to treat with contempt the overtures made by certain most interested and selfish people for their nomination for labour in the Provincial Legislative Councils. These new sympathisers of labour are really its enemies, as they want to go to the councils for their self-glorification and not for advocating the cause of labour there.

THE MOVEMENT OF MAN

BY PRINCIPAL K. P. MITRA, M. A.,

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THERE has been much speculation regarding the origin of man and its location. Did man originate in several places or in one place? Are all the nations of the earth separate and distinct or are they of 'one blood,' traceable to a single ancestor? James (in his Introduction to Anthropology) thinks it

improbable that all the necessary conditions (to bring into being *Homo primigenius*) would be fulfilled at a given moment in more than one spot, since a steady growth and specialization of brain development is implied in the evolution of the human organism which could hardly have coincided simultaneously in several ancestors.

So he inclines to the theory of a common ancestry for several nations of the earth, yet with the multiplication of the first man's progeny different forms or types of man grew up. This variation was due to environment. Dr. Marett (*Anthropology*, p. 117) says:

It is not even certain, though highly probable, that man originated in one spot. If he did, he must have been hereditarily endowed, almost from the outset, with an adaptability to different climates quite unique in its way.....man is the cosmopolitan animal beyond all others. Somehow, on this theory of a single origin, he made his way to every quarter of the globe; and when he got there, though needing time, perhaps to acquire the local colour, managed in the end to be at home.

Others however suppose that man might originate in the different continents. For example America has been supposed to be the birth-place of the *Homo Americanos*. But Dr. Haddon has disposed of this theory in one word. (*The Wanderings of Peoples*, p. 73.)

The absence of anthropoid apes from America, at any period of the world's history, clearly precludes the possibility of man's having originated independently in the New World...The population of America must therefore have come from the Old World.

There was land connection between the New World and Europe and Asia. The "Miocene Bridge" joined America to Asia.

Did then man originate in Africa? Haddon is opposed to this view also. He says:—

There is reason to believe that mankind did not originate in Africa; but that all the main races in that continent reached it from Southern Asia.

There were in palæolithic times at least three land bridges connecting Europe and Africa. There was also a continuous land between the Deccan, Madagascar and South Africa. "The inland seas had not yet separated Borneo, Java, and Sumatra from the mainland." Man therefore came to Africa from Europe or Asia.

Did man originate in Europe? Many are inclined to think so. Did he then come to Asia or did he reach Europe from Asia? It is difficult to tell. But perhaps he went to Europe from Asia. Dr. Marett says: (*Anthropology* p. 115)

In Indonesia, the home of the orang-outan and gibbon, not to speak of *Pithecanthropus*, many authorities would place the original home of the human race. As yet however this is not accepted as final, since the Trinal remains have yet to be proved to be those of a human precursor.

There is a theory that Mongolia was the original home of man. (James).

If the theory of a single ancestry of man be accepted, whatever the location of its origin, man must have to move a great deal, at least for peopling the continents. Why, then does man move? In many cases, because, nature kicks him behind? Geographical causes operate. Man has to follow the rein-deer when owing to climatic changes they recede northwards. James has given a summary of the causes.

The food quest, the craving for riches, freedom from social, political, or religious bondages act as the driving force to the movements of peoples, while geographical conditions such as rivers, mountains, deserts, tend to control the migrations. Thus man, unlike any other animal, spread to every corner of the habitable globe, replenishing the earth and subduing it, having dominion over the fish of the sea and over the fowl of the air and over every thing that moveth on the earth.

Suppose some people live in a limited area for a long time. It would happen that they would gradually grow in population, and if they are an agricultural people, the growing capacity of the land might be exhausted ere long and the land would not support them. There is a particular ratio between the food-increase, and the growth

of the population. When the latter exceeds the former, the nation has to move on in quest of food, that is to say they have to migrate. Movements are more frequent in a pastoral stage of life, rather than in agricultural. When the game becomes reduced by consumption or disease the hunters have to move forward for fresh games.

We read in geology that during the last cold stage of the glacial period the middle of Europe appears to have been roamed over by great herds of rein-deer, and in the south of France they were hunted by palæolithic man. But in the Pleistocene period the great climatic oscillations were accompanied by emigrations of plants and animals and necessarily therefore of man. The influence of the desiccation of the numerous lakes, large and small, with which Asia was covered during the Lacustrine period, was felt even during historic times.

And the migrations of Ural-Altaians, Turks, and Mongols will probably be best explained if this change in the condition of Central Asia be taken into account, while the same circumstance explains the nearly desert state of those regions which were the cradle of European civilization (Chambers's Cyclopædia.)

Thus overgrowth of population and consequent insufficiency of food supply, and climatic changes influence nation-movements. Savage peoples are often tempted by the weakness and richness of their neighbours. Agricultural people living in the plains with sufficient livelihood and in peace gradually grow in prosperity and civilization and become in course of time weak and enervated. They are then liable to be attacked. Take the case of Italy. In later times her beauty, richness and abundance, roused the best of the savages, viz., the Goths, the Visigoths, the Vandals and the Huns who overran her, and the poet, Byron, reflecting on her state heaved a sigh and exclaimed, "How unfortunate art thou Italy!" It sometimes happened that the savages settled amongst the conquered people and allowed themselves to be conquered by their superior in civilization. It

had a two-fold effect. The savages were civilized and the enervated became more strong by infusion of fresh blood in their veins.

Restless prurience for getting more and more land or earth-hunger was another motive force.

Race or nation-dispersals are also caused by conflicts between a nation and a nation and consequent shocks of defeat. Take the more recent migrations of the nomad nations of the steppes of Central Asia. The Hiung-nu Nomads inflicted a decisive defeat on the Yueh-chis, a rival horde of the same stock in about the third quarter of the second Century, B. C., and caused them to quit the north-west of China and push westwards and we learn that the whole multitude consisting of at least from half a million to million persons of all ages and both sexes streamed on over the north of the desert of Taklamakan and collided against the Wu-Suns and then against the Sakas who had to leave their pasture grounds to their victorious enemies and to move forward and knock against the gates of India. Students of history know how these movements profoundly affected the political fortunes of India and gave her a succession of Saka and Yueh-chi Kings and how the Indo-Scythian dynasty was established. Speaking of the Wu-Suns and their kindred the Sakae, the Western Scythians and the Nordics of North Europe Haddon says that "these were mobile peoples who preferred a pastoral to an agricultural life and therefore were a source of unrest to their neighbours." We read of the evolution of civilization in the Mesopotamian Valley and the neighbourhood, how the Assyrians were semitized by a Canaanitic migration, how the Babylonians were overthrown by the Hittites, how the Kassites followed them and overran Medda and Elam and Babylonia and how the Misanuds possessing a culture akin to that indicated in the Rig-Veda came upon the stage. In Maspero's "Passing of the Empire," we read of many such movements of the peoples.

In Europe many branches of the Mediterranean race first spread over Southern and Western Europe and the British islands as Neolithic man. Rice Holmes says that bronze was brought into Britain by the members of the Alpine race about 1800 B. C. and the Keltic-speaking peoples first invaded the islands about 800 B. C. It is interesting to note that the Teutonic peoples called the Kelts of West Germany *Volcae* meaning foreigners as the Anglo-Saxons called the defeated Britons *Walas* (*Walta*=a stranger), Welsh. Then began the movement of the Teutonic peoples. At about 4th or 3rd century B. C. they seem to have been pressing the Keltic peoples across the Rhine. In the latter half of the second century A. D. "Teutonic pressure became formidable on the Danube frontier" and was relieved temporarily by Marcus Aurelius. Then the Goths moved in south-easterly direction and fought with the Romans near the Black Sea. It is needless to trouble the reader with the account of the migrations of the Alemanni, Bavarians, Franks, Visigoths, Ostrogoths, Huns, Hungars, Avars, Slavs, Bulgars and other nations.

When society is comparatively settled we come upon colonisation. It is a migration of a sort, but is an incident of more modern times and the exodus that takes place is far less in number, than in the primitive migrations. The stimulating causes of such emigration were many.

From Greek history we learn that whenever excess of population or misgovernment interfered with the free development of citizens or when civil strife ensued, they emigrated and founded colonies in districts which offered them better trading opportunities. Turbulent youths banished from a city went out and settled elsewhere. Politically a Greek colony was independent of the mother country. The tie that bound the two together was filial affection and common religious rites. The same deities were worshipped, the same sacred fire maintained. Deputations from daughter

states were sent to the principal festivals of mother states. It was considered unnatural and a violation of sacred ties that the colony and the mother-country should make war upon one another. But still we find Corinth and Corcyra falling out even as in later times America fell away from the parent country. In the new home no time was lost in founding a city and erecting buildings essential to the religious and social life of a Greek. The institutions of the mother-country were repeated and we find ere long the city beautified by temples, agora or place of public meeting of the citizens, gymnasium and theatre. Colonies developed a democratic form of government, sometimes even earlier than the mother country. Aristocracy rarely flourished, the reason being that in a foreign land all were equally to bear hardships incidental to a first settlement and consequently were placed on an equality. The South of Italy was settled by them and was called *Megalo Hellas* or *Magna Graecia* that is Great Hellas or Greece. We find that sometimes an old name was transferred to a new city founded, e. g., Camæ in Italy was named after Æolic Cyne in Asia. The Roman colonies consisted of Roman citizens who in exchange for valuable grants of land consented to quit their homes and to found new settlements at a distance. They never lost the rights and privileges of Roman citizens and were free to sit in the Assemblies at Rome as if they had never left it. Their own communities were organised politically on the model of the parent state: in short they were miniature Romes with Roman polity.

After the Aryans were fairly settled in the Indus Valley since their conquest of it, they began to spread, and then colonize the South of India, then Ceylon and then the outlying islands in the Indian Archipelago. Prince Bhima and fifty sons of Viswamitra are reputed to have crossed the Vindhya into South India, and the latter are regarded to have intermarried with the

aborigines and become proprietors of the Andhras, Pulindas, Savaras etc. A Brahman Guru named Bavarin came from the north and settled in the Assaka territory. The Pandyas of the South came from the North. Their capital was Madura, connected with the Mathura of North. Professor Bhandarkar says :

This is quite in accordance with the practice of the colonists naming the younger towns or provinces after the older. (Carmichael Lectures.)

There was a third Madura in Ceylon and a fourth Madura in the Eastern Archipelago. The ancient name of Ceylon was Tamraparni; this indicates that the people on the river Tamraparni in the Tinnevely District colonised it, just as Sindh indicates that the country derived its name from the Sindhu or Indus. Paithan in Nizam's Dominions was probably connected with Pratisthana on the confluences of the Ganges and the Jumna. There is no doubt that the Aryans conquered the south and their languages prevailed, though they could not uproot the Dravidian language.

The practice of naming a new town by an older one is universal in both ancient and modern times. The town of Champa near Bhagalpur was famous for Champaka trees noted for the flower of sweet and oppressive smell. When the Indian colonists went out to Cochin-China they named one of their settlements after this famous town. The people of Champa were Buddhists. I may say in passing that the wood of Champa tree was held very sacred in as much as the images of the Buddha were made out of it. In Siam we notice the town of Ayothya standing on the river Hsiya and a resemblance is pointed out between it and the earlier Ayothya on the Sarayu, Cambodia or Camboj was colonised by Indians coming from Kambhoj (a country near Taxila.) There is a reference to Indian migration in 65 B. C. and Haddon says that the Javanese ballads tell of an Indian prince who came to Java about 78 or 120 A. D. Sir Richard Temple informs us in the *Indian*

Antiquary (January 1920, p. 13) that between 78-417 A. D. Saiva Hinduism spread in Java, Sumatra and Borneo and there was a Hindu Kingdom at Taval Ditor in Sumatra. Mahayana Buddhism was introduced into Java and Sumatra from India in 250 A. D. and that Hindu dynasties reigned between 384 and 1474 A. D. at Java. In the Mahavamsa or Great Chronicle of Ceylon we come upon Uruvela and Jetavanaram in Ceylon. At Uruvela be it remembered that the great sage Sakyamuni reached the Sambuddha or supreme enlightenment sitting at the foot of the Bodhirakkha. Jetavana in India was sacred to the Buddhists being the place where Buddha on many occasions preached his gospel.

Coming to comparatively modern times we see that Spain, Portugal, and Holland led the way in the matter of colonization and were followed by England and France, Santiago in Chile was founded by Pedro de Valdivia in 1541. There is one Cordova in Argentine Republic. Possibly it was named after the famous Cordova in Spain.

In England we find an adventurous zeal and colonizing enterprise in the 16th Century. When she struck a blow at the maritime supremacy of Spain and snatched it from her, colonial expansion of England naturally followed. The name of Sir Humphrey Gilbert must be mentioned first though his attempt to settle on the bleak shore of Newfoundland was a failure. Sir Walter Raleigh explored the coast north of Florida and chose it for settlement. It was named Virginia after the "Virgin-Queen," which name was favourite to Elizabeth. Besides mere love of adventure there were other forces at work. Archbishop Whitgift in the reign of Elizabeth persecuted the Puritans and several Archbishops followed him in enforcing uniformity on the separatists. In consequence a congregation of Independents left England for Holland in 1606. Another congregation numbering one hundred men, women and children, sailed out from Plymouth in a vessel called the

May Flower on September 6, 1620, landed on the shores of Cape Cod and called their settlement New Plymouth. Emancipation from political bondage and dislike of the policy of prevailing government are other factors. In the 16th century the Boers, i.e., the Dutch agriculturists settled at the Cape of Good Hope. But when in 1814 the Cape was ceded to England they disliked the new Government for its friendly policy towards the natives, 'trekked' northwards and occupied Natal, Orange Free State and the Transvaal.

The English had been making a steady progress in colonization under James I, Cromwell and Charles. In 1663 Charles II. granted to some of his favourites a portion of Florida which they named Carolina after him. We all know of the New England Colonies. In 1664 New Amsterdam (in America) which had been named so because the Dutch had settlements there was captured by the English and was re-christened New York after the Duke of York, Admiral of the English and the future James II. In 1681 William Penn the

Quaker colonised with the Society of Friends and called the settlement, Pennsylvania after his name. James Oglethorpe founded the colony of Georgia in 1733 as a refuge for poor debtors and persecuted Protestants of Germany and named it Georgia in honour of the reigning King of England, George II. Victoria in Australia was named after the famous Queen, and its metropolis Melbourne after her Minister. This was how towns and colonies were named.

The story of colonization of Australia has nothing of Romance in it. Botany Bay was a penal settlement to which convicts were sent. At one time New South Wales was swamped by convicts. The number of convicts came to be gradually reduced with the Criminal Law reform of Sir Robert Peel. The fertility of the soil attracted immigrants; population consequently increased. On protest being made the gang of convicts began to be diverted to Tasmania.

Thus moved man in pre-historic and historic times.

THE NAYAKS OF MADURA*

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W E welcome with genuine pleasure the second volume in the Madras University Historical Series edited by the University Professor of Indian History and Archaeology. It is well known that a great part of the Professor's learning and research has been spent on the story of Vijayanagar and that he has made striking contributions to our knowledge of Vijayanagar History since the publication in 1900 of Mr. Sewell's "Forgotten Empire." Naturally, the research scholars who work under the Professor turn their attention to the several aspects of the mediaeval history of South India in which the Professor is so much at home. The first volume

* *The History of the Nayaks of Madura.* By Dr. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar. Oxford University Press.

in the series before us was a general source book for the history of Vijayanagar which dealt with the Indian literary evidence on the subject pretty exhaustively. The present volume constitutes a study of the most conspicuous Viceroyalty of South India under the later Vijayanagar Empire whose policy did so much to weaken the Empire in its final struggle against the Muhammadan states of the Deccan. The outline of the story is much as it was left by the earlier writers on the subject—Nelson, Sewell and Rangacharya. The details still remain uncertain at many points after the excellent work done by Mr. R. Sathynatha Iyer. Four appendices furnish original translations of the bulk of the evidence from contemporary European travellers and missionaries, and a

comparatively late and anonymous religious chronicle, the "Madumattalavaralaru" first published by the late Pandithurai for the Tamil Sangam, Madura. The epigraphical evidence bearing on the subject is arranged in a handy form in another appendix. The introduction and a number of critical foot-notes are supplied by the editor.

Little less than a century ago, Wilson summed up briefly, perhaps all that is of interest to the general reader in the history of the Nayaks of Madura.

In the middle of the 16th century, the sovereignty (of the Pandya country) devolved on the series of Princes known as the Nayaks of Madura. The first of these, Nagama Nayak was an officer of Krishnaraya, King of Vijayanagar, who was sent to assist the Pandian Prince against the Chola Raja. Nagama deposed his ally and declared himself independent. His son Visvanatha was despatched against him by the Vijayanagar Raja, and defeated and sent his father prisoner to the court. His loyalty was rewarded with the government of Madura, which descended to his posterity. Sixteen princes (in fact, eleven princes and two ladies) of this race held the Government of Madura, and Trichinopoly to the middle of the 18th century. Some of them left curious and splendid monuments of their reigns, and several were patrons or persecutors of the Catholic Missions in that part of the Peninsula. Their final downfall may be considered as one of the indirect causes of the British ascendancy in India as the success of Chanda Sahib in obtaining possession of Trichinopoly from Minakshi Ammal, the Madura Princess and regent, encouraged him to embark in those ambitious schemes against the Subadhar of the Dakhin, which involved the French and British settlements in the political revolutions of the Peninsula.

There were Nayak rulers in Madura before Visvanatha from about the beginning of the 15th century; there were also Nayak rulers elsewhere, Tanjore, Gingee and Ikkeri for example, both before and after Visvanatha and his successors; strictly speaking Mr. Sathyanatha's work is the story of Madura under the dynasty of Visvanatha. The circumstances of the elevation of Visvanatha are obscure to a degree. Why did Nagama, the father of Visvanatha rebel? The straight answer is we do not know. Mr. Sathyanatha Iyer suggests that Nagama wanted to strengthen the hold of the Empire on the South and was badly misunderstood by his suzerain, Krishna Deva

Raja. This is a guess and it rests on no evidence. The Telugu chronicle on which the author seems to rely in part is not of much value to the historian. Ostensibly, the history of the Nayaks of Tanjore, it is in reality a popular account of the intrigues of Rayasam Venkama and the revolution by which Tanjore passed to the Marathas, to which is prefixed the story of Nagama's rising and Visvanatha's expedition against him. This story "has a very romantic colouring" says Mr. Sathyanatha Iyer. Anyone that reads the original will readily conclude that we have a fable in which history is lost beyond recovery.

The date hitherto accepted for the commencement of Visvanatha's rule in Madura is 1559. Mr. Sathyanatha Iyer argues strongly for an earlier date, 1529. But, as Dr. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar has suggested, the old date may well be defended on the ground that before 1559 the position of the Madura Nayak may have been subordinate to that of the Imperial Viceroy, Rama Raya Vitthala. It must, however, be noted that this suggestion has been questioned recently by the Rev. H. Heras of Bombay in his paper on "Rama Raya Vitthala" (*Mythic Society Journal*, January, 1925).

The best known among all these rulers of Madura, those who are enshrined in popular memory more than all others by their public works, endowments and charities, are surely Tirumala Nayaka (1623-59) and Mangammal (1689-1706). Tirumala is said to have stabbed one of his wives, a Tanjore princess, in a fit of anger and Mangammal is believed to have been starved to death for an unnatural liaison when she was over fifty. In the absence of confirming evidence, Mr. Sathyanatha Iyer rightly rejects such tales as apocryphal, but that such tales could be told of even the most popular rulers of this line is not without significance. It is certain that Tirumala Nayaka was short-sighted and un-

scrupulous. His appeal to Golkonda against his Suzerain, Sri Ranga, is hard to defend. Mr. Sathyanatha Iyer says: "To understand Tirumala's policy aright, it is necessary to have a grasp of the trend of South Indian politics in those times." We agree. But this trend is explained better in the Editor's foot-note than in the text. The position was this. The Empire of Vijayanagar, much weakened by its conflicts with the Muslim states of the Deccan and the turbulence of Viceroys like Tirumala, made under Sri Ranga one last effort to save itself and its work by drawing together the whole of South India to the common support of the Empire. Tirumala frustrated this effort by appealing to the very power against which defence was sought to be organised by Sri Ranga. To oppose the independence of Madura to that of the Vijayanagar Empire was at once unpatriotic and disloyal; the appeal to Golkonda was disastrous. Mr. Sathyanatha Iyer's explanation of the situation is that self-interest had become the governing motive in political transactions and that even religion hardly entered into the calculation. This is admirable as a study of Tirumala's personal character but does not in our opinion constitute an adequate account of the state of South Indian politics. Tanjore and even Mysore served the empire on the whole better, although, they should have done more, and perhaps would have done so if the evil example of Madura had not been before them. Surely, the dynasty of the son of Nagama had started on an evil track and the policy of Tirumala Nayaka forced the pace. And Tirumala himself gained very little by his treachery. Golkonda deserted him and he had to appeal to Bijapur against Golkonda; but soon Bijapur and Golkonda came to an understanding and Gingee was lost to Bijapur and the Tanjore and Madura territories were ravaged by the Bijapur armies against which Tirumala himself had to fight, with what success we really do not know. It can

hardly be held that religion did not play a part in directing political action at the time.

Tirumala Nayaka himself could hardly have held his own against his enemies, if his vassals had not behaved better to him than he did to his Suzerain. In 1656, when the army of the vigorous warrior King of Mysore, Kanthiravi Narasa, invaded the Madura territory, when Tirumala was ill, the timely and effective help of Raghunatha Sethupathi saved Madura from danger. But Tirumala Nayaka's successors were the victims of the same methods at the hands of others as Tirumala had practised against the Vijayanagar King in his day; and if we remember the defence set up by the author of the Nayaks of Madura for the conduct of Tirumala Nayaka, it becomes difficult for us to follow the strictures on Santaji (p. 180) for 'unscrupulously duping' Chokkanatha, on Raja Surya of Ramnad (p. 184) for his intrigue and disloyalty, against the same ruler and on the character and ulterior motives of Chanda Sahib (p. 234) who "did not scruple to break his solemn vow and imprison Minakshi in her palace" and thus drive her to suicide.

Madura under the Nayaks was more or less a rebel state. For purposes of local administration the old organization brought into existence by early Vijayanagar Viceroys must have been continued while the central executive was probably a hastily improvised one. The Palaiyam system and the local divisions were inherited from the old order and no doubt improved in the beginning. The chief officers at the centre were the Dalaway, often a Brahmin, the Pradhari, (an officer often not different from the Dalaway), and the Rayasam. In dealing with such a Government and its character, there is no room for any comparison with the forms of constitutional government. The government was frankly an autocracy; and as in all autocracies, the nature of the rule depended on the nature of the rulers. The attempts to estimate the revenue resources of the kingdom in

terms of money have led to several estimates widely differing from one another. Contemporary Jesuit evidence is strongly condemnatory of the system, which, according to the Missionaries, was characterised by oppression and reduced the people to indigence. There seems to have been nothing in the general character of the rulers to ensure firm and just rule and freedom from local tyranny. With some exceptions, says Mr. Sathyanatha Iyer "most of the Nayaks and their advisers were mediocrities and imbeciles. Some of them gloried in their love of pomp and extravagance. The resources of the kingdom were at times drained to afford pleasures to their fancies. The Nayaks in general, lacked original ideas of administration. They were wanting in intelligence of a high order and adaptability" (p. 259). It is perhaps no wonder that Nelson considered the extinction of the Nayak dynasty undoubtedly a great blessing for Madura' and Bishop Caldwell said that Nayak rule was only misrule hidden by shows. A. J. Stuart on the other hand is impressed by the temples and statues and the irrigation works left behind and these, according to him imply 'a contented and prosperous people'—an inference by no means always correct. Mr. Sathyanatha Iyer speaks of the Nayaks reviving some of the essential features of Hindu culture; but it seems to us that the Nayaks here did no more than feebly continue the original impulse of the Empire of Vijayanagar. Again, he complains that the services rendered by the Nayaks in weathering the storm of Christian Missionary propaganda, without resorting to an organised policy of persecution, and in saving the country from the deluge of a foreign religious conquest and from the dangers, social and political, attending it, are not sufficiently appreciated. We read the story of the Christian Missions even as narrated by Mr. Iyer differently. That there was no persecution is more than we can say and indeed is not said by Mr. Iyer himself; that there was no

organisation or principle underlying this policy of the Nayaks to the Christians is clear. But, we know organization was not the chief merit of Nayak rule. And we do not believe that there was either a storm of propaganda or any great danger to Indian society at the time. It is true that the Missionaries often made a mistake: some of them felt that Indians were already Catholics, others saw no difference between the West Indians and the inhabitants of Hindustan and applied the same methods in two hemispheres; but society in India had vitality enough to stand the attack and the specific contribution of the Nayaks to the defence appears to have been little indeed. Even Tirumala Nayaka seems to have been suspected of being too friendly to the Christians.

It is to be hoped that nothing that has been said above will be taken to detract from the acknowledged merits of the work before us. In the thoroughness with which all the available evidence has been surveyed and in the clarity and terseness of the narration of facts, the work leaves nothing to be desired. And in matters of opinion, judgments must differ according to the standpoints of the writers. One rather unpleasant feature of the work is that it seeks to be a sort of a running critique on the shortcomings of Mr. V. Rangacharya's contributions on the subject to the *Indian Antiquary*; Mr. Rangacharya, like Mr. Sathyanatha Iyer, has his own merits. The strictures in pages 30-2 almost touch the bounds of legitimate criticism and the strange defence for it set up by the Editor has unfortunately not even the merit of being true. To quote, we had said misquote, Langlois and Seignobos and Acton against Rangachari will not convince anybody who knows these historians well. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar's attempted reconstruction of the battle of Vallamprakara is very tempting; but there are difficulties and perhaps Mr. Sathyanatha Iyer does well in drawing attention to these and leaving the whole question open. It may also be mentioned that more evidence must be forthcoming before the Editor's conjecture that Sivaji's coronation had anything to do with the cessation of the Empire of Vijayanagar.

THE PEACE OFFERING

(A PLAY IN THREE ACTS)

BY SRIMATI SVARNA KUMARI DEVI.

CHARACTERS :

THE KING OF DEVAGIRI	RENU	} Queen's maids
THE QUEEN	ALO	
THE GENERAL (Her brother)	CHHAYA	
THE PRINCESS KALYANI	NILA	
THE JESTER	ANILA	} Flower-girls
MATANGINI (The Queen's favourite lady-in-waiting)	SUGANDHA	
HASHI (The Princess's maid-of-honor)	MADHUGANDHA	
LATA	DHRUVAKUMAR (A soldier)	
PATA	TARU—A poor girl	} Afterwards Maids of the Princess
PHUL	TARA—A gentlewoman	

(Continued from the last issue.)

ACT II.

N. B. This could be the same scene as Act I, Scene 1. to save expense.

(A great hall in the palace. On the floor is spread a gold-embroidered crimson velvet carpet on which stands a divan. A large mirror hangs against one wall. Attendants about. Lata, Phul, Nila, Anila and Renu come in from the Queen's dressing-room, which is up L.)

LATA—(running in first.) There is no pleasing her! Where is Matangini?

PHUL—(following). Lata, I have no mind to stay here and be the scapegoat for her humours, Queen though she be.

RENU—(running in, hand to cheek.) Oh, she has shaken my teeth loose by throwing the ivory comb at my face with such force that it broke in two—and just because I caught one tiny hair in the teeth of the comb.

NILA AND ANILA—(entering slowly.)

NILA—Let us go to the Princess! Anila.

ANILA—Yes, let's; there we shall find love and affection, and fair play! Our whole life here is a lie.

RENU—(ruefully, rubbing her cheek.) If we stay here much longer, there will be little enough of me left to lie with!

PHUL—All this wealth and grandeur... (with a wide gesture embracing the beautiful hall) and yet... nothing but misery and sorrow.

ALO—(running in.) You are all going crazy! To run off like this and leave us to finish tiring her Majesty!

PHUL—It is we who are tired to her evil temper!

ALO—Oh, hush! If Matangini should hear you? Why is she so stale?

RENU—(who is looking off R.) Here comes a man!

LATA—(same bus) 'Tis the Jester, Pata's husband!

PHUL—We are having jest enough with the tiring of the Queen! That's a huge joke!

RENU—At which we laugh on the wrong side of our face!

CHHAYA—(running in anxious and scared). Girls! Girls! The Queen waits! (all the girls turn and run into the dressing room again.)

(THE JESTER SAUNTERS IN FROM R.)

(Dressed in white Jodhpur breeches (pyjamas) and long Indian shirt without collar and cuffs (green or red); a gold-bordered long yellow scarf (chudder) thrown over one shoulder and tied round the waist with the two ends hanging in front like a kilt; shod in a pair of red Indian shoes, curled upward at the toes. Bare head, with a bald patch on the crown, and scanty curly longish hair.)

JESTER—(calling to them). Girls, sweet doves, is my little woman there?

CHHAYA—(stopping at exit to answer). Pata is busy with the Queen. What are you doing here at this hour?

JESTER—I was sent for.

CHHAYA—What for?

JESTER—How should I know till I am told? (with a grand gesture) Affairs of state! or perchance some rosy lily has taken a fancy to the cut of my features. (posing before the mirror.)

CHHAYA—(laughing and pointing) Girls, do you hear? He thinks one of us has fallen in love with his bald head! (all the girls go out laughing.)

JESTER—(angrily). Bald? Bald? Am I bald? (looking in the glass). This little patch? This is soon remedied. (arranges hair to cover it)

carefully, when seeing reflection of Pata in the mirror turns round and begins to twirl his moustache.)

PATA—Oh, you are busy with your moustache. But things are happening inside. Why have I been sent for?

JESTER—Come, come my love, you flood of my heart, you ripe corn in the field of my life! (aside) This style perhaps would be more suitable when I address the other one, the smiling beauty.

PATA—(not taken in) You are not thinking of me. You are thinking of your toilet. What have you done to your hair? (ruffles it, disclosing the bald patch again).

JESTER—(trying to stop her) What are you doing? Exposing my shame to the world!

PATA—You need not be so anxious about your beauty. Your charms are already killing enough.

JESTER—Why? don't you spend hours over your toilet? And when we poor men snatch a tiny moment to put a bit of an edge on to our charms, you must needs come interfering!

PATA—You had better put an edge on to your sword just now! The times are bad.

JESTER—Heavens! Were I to bear arms, the kingdom would be prostrate at my feet! How can you suggest anything so disloyal?

PATA—Well, if you must be loyal, can't you make your King open his eyes a little?

JESTER—Your diplomatic life in the palace ought to have made you a little bit wiser, Pata, my dear; learn then that you must say the sun rises in the west, when your King or Queen says so.

PATA—Oh, I am tired of your silly talk; let us both go away to the Princess. There is no other alternative for us.

JESTER—Report however says, that place is the reverse of exciting. Empty floors for comfort, and boiled rice with green bananas for food.

PATA—Still it is far better than to smoulder on the burning pile of court jewels.

JESTER—(caressing her) Yes, this little woman will be by my side for better or for worse. And what meals she would prepare for me,—roast bananas, fricasses of rice. Hurrah! Here goes; my right eye dances—a good omen—and—and—(He twirls his moustaches) let us go at once, dearest.

PATA—(coquettishly) Oh I know whom you are thinking about.

JESTER—How can you be so unjust! It was you—only you that I was thinking of, sweet, Oh, how can you be so unkind?

(HE SINGS.)

Why dost thou turn thy face away,
O proud and bonnie lassie mine!
How cans't thou spurn from thee, I pray
The heart that doth thy feet entwine?
O, proud and bonnie lassie mine!

PATA.

Oh, see this lyre that lieth mute,
This dumb yet sweet voiced silver flute,
This harp gold-stringed and music winged,
Attuned to sing thy dame divine.

JESTER.

O proud and bonnie lassie mine!
Thou crown'st me King, my diadem;
Of all my wealth most priceless gem;

PATA

Thou art my one desire and dream,
For which I hourly yearn and pine.

JESTER

O proud and bonnie lassie mine!
(They both sing and dance hand in hand. Then Pata slips off and runs out)

JESTER—(in a loud voice.) Wait a minute, dearest. Inform the Queen that the King is coming early.

PATA—(stopping at exit) Very well.

(runs off)

JESTER—(again approaches the glass, arranges his hair, and smiles with appropriate comic gestures.) Do I not look as fascinating as sweet seventeen now, or still better—as irresistible as formidable forty, ha! ha! but for this precious moustache. Isn't it a veritable cupid's arrow for the fair sex? (Faces the audience and twirls into different positions) Yes, yes I must go with Pata to the Princess. That wonderful girl, that Hashi, that sweet little bit of dancing laughter! To see her is to forget hunger and thirst, I tell you. And you, my little woman, beware, I give you fair warning! (peeps to right, and left in imitation of a frightened cat, and seeing nobody, places his hand on his heart and heaves a sigh of relief) One gets tired of woman's foolishness. Heigho! Is it my fault if she goes and does her best to throw Hashi in my path? Whimpering and whining would be in bad taste after that, and to imagine that she, that enchantress, will take no notice of me, would be downright nonsense, wouldn't it? (returning to the glass he twirls the ends of his moustache energetically with intense absorption and doesn't notice Matangini who has come with her Page in from up R and stands watching him disdainfully.)

MATANGINI—The Jester. Wasting the King's time over his toilet!

JESTER—(turning quickly) My Lady Matangini! (does elaborately comic bows) Long may the sun bask in the black night of your presence!

MATANGINI—Oh, don't waste further time! I want no compliments!

JESTER—Compliments? It is no compliments to say that the Lady Matangini is as fair as the heart of a lotus, just before sundown.

MATANGINI—(sharply) When it is closed in sleep? Is that a compliment?

JESTER—(rather frightened at his own audacity) A Jester's privilege.

MATANGINI—I am not in the mood for jesting, Listen! there is work to be done.

JESTER—(with a pose) Work! work!

MATANGINI—Yes, a lucky job. Here it is (jingles purse full of gold.) If you succeed, you are a made man. If you fail, you will pay with your blood.

JESTER—(shivers and cringes). You have but to speak, fair lady.

MATANGINI—Then do YOU cease speaking and listen! You have an eye for Hashi, the Princess's favourite maid. Now, don't deny it! I have watched you ogle her!

JESTER—(frightened, looking round.) If my wife Pata heard you say so.

MATANGINI—(with grim humour.) You'd sooner be beheaded, eh? (Jester nods) Well, you may avoid both fates, if you do as I bid you.

JESTER—(briskly.) You have but to command me, Madam. You bid me seek the fair Hashi?

MATANGINI—(sharply.) Nothing of the kind! She is with the Princess. I bid YOU go to her home.

JESTER—(surprised.) In the town?

MATANGINI—In the town.

JESTER—And what am I to do there?

MATANGINI—(whispers.) Set fire to it.

JESTER—(horrified.) Set fire! but....

MATANGINI—She will not be there, the more's the pity.

JESTER—But her little sister's there—and her bed-ridden old mother.

MATANGINI—(impatiently.) You imagine difficulties? But remember it is the Queen who commands it, and you will pay the penalty for your disobedience.

JESTER—(frightened.) No, no—I—

MATANGINI—Consider the reward, if you please the Queen;—gold and your golden beauty Hashi in marriage.

JESTER—(choking.) Y-e-s.

MATANGINI—Ah, you find second thoughts are best. Good, I thought you would. I shall be back shortly and shall expect to find you gone upon my errand.

(Exit up R.)

JESTER—(excitedly.) Oh! it seems I too shall go out of my mind like my royal master the King. Plans are being hatched to burn his subjects alive, and he is wrapped in dalliance in the inner apartments. Heavens! there is nothing left for me but to turn a Sadhu. To set fire to Hashi's house? The audacity of her proposal! I would rather be burnt alive myself than do that. Well, it is good that the Saitani confided her secret to me rather than to anyone else. She thinks me a fool! Fool am I indeed. Yet not enough to be a tool in her hands.... indeed not! I must try to baffle her machinations.

(Exit up R.)

(Enter Matangini with her Page from L.)
MATANGINI—He is not here. It seems that he is gone to serve my ends.

PAGE—No madam, he won't do so.

MATANGINI—Won't he really? How do you know?

PAGE—I have overheard him.

MATANGINI—(quite upset.) The devil! Then what's to be done!

PAGE—I will do what you want, madam.

MATANGINI—You! go through such a risk.

PAGE—Yes, I shall gladly do it. I have a score to settle with her.

MATANGINI—With whom?

PAGE—I will have my revenge on Hashi: she always mocks and laughs at me.

MATANGINI—But there is great danger in the work.

PAGE—I don't care. Revenge is sweeter than life. I shall be grateful if you will allow me to do it.

MATANGINI—Very well, go then, but be careful.

PAGE—Yes, Madam.

(They both go off R.)

(The Queen, attended by all her maidens enters from L. She is dressed in gold-embroidered blue silk with golden slippers.)

QUEEN—What brings your husband here, Pata?
PATA—Madam, he came to announce that His Majesty will be here early.

QUEEN—(sits on the divan.) He brings good tidings, Girls! (Calling to the girls who have followed her) fetch me the ornaments of the seventh treasure-chest; you shall deck me in them to-night.

ALO AND RENU—(salute and run out L)

PATA—(with stimulated ecstasy.) How wonderful your Majesty will look in those lovely jewels!

QUEEN—And Matangini is not here to see that they are put on me properly; Why is she so late to-day? Where are my flowers?

PATA—(Uneasily.) The flower-season is poor, and she may have difficulty in finding blooms.

QUEEN—(impatiently) Non-sense! There are plenty of flowers in the royal garden.

PATA—(flattering.) But no flowers anywhere beautiful enough to be worthy of your perfection of loveliness, my Queen! Lata can you ever imagine any one in more radiant beauty?

LATA—(with a respectful courtesy.) No never!

PATA—(as the other girls come back laden with the jewels, sandal-wood-paste, etc., and place the trays before the Queen.) Even these magnificent jewels will pale before such glory!

QUEEN—(smiling and fingering the jewels.) Yet these jewels are among the most valuable of the Royal Treasure House. (Reclining on the divan) Come... dress me... deck me to perfection. Did you not hear? The King comes early this evening.)

ALO—(taking the diadem.) This diadem, my Queen, belonged to the mother of the elder Queen. When her daughter was married, Her Majesty took it from her own head and placed it on her daughter's.

RENU—This diamond necklace, my Queen, was sent as a wedding-present by the King of Arrakan to Her Late Majesty.

CHHAYA—And this pearl bracelet and jewelled waistband were presented by the Queen of Nepal to the Princess on her birth-day.

PHUL—And these sparkling sapphire armlets were.....

QUEEN—You need say no more. All these are mine now, mine alone!

NILA—(with slight bitterness.) Yes they are indeed!

ANILA—(flatteringly.) And on no other person have they ever looked so lovely!

PATA—Sing, girls sing, while decking Her Majesty!

ALL THE GIRLS.

Our Queen we'll deck with love and care,

With raiment fair

Beyond compare.

ALO—(taking the sandal-paste from the silver tray).

With sandal-paste and crimson dust

And rose-red tinge

On feet paint fringe. (Does so.)

CHHAYA

With fine attire and perfumes rare,

With starlike gem

On diadem,

And jewel's flare upon thy hair!

LATA

With pearls and diamonds round the neck

Our Queen with loving care we deck.

PHUL

With sapphire armlets and glittering wristlets

Pair by pair!

This emerald waistband debonair

NILA AND ANILA

And on thy feet

Will anklets greet

With tuneful murmur the soft air.

ALL THE GIRLS.

Golden lotus, flowers rare,

Thy loveliness

With smiling bless

The light of day and heaven fair.

(The Queen rises and Pata adorns her with a long silvery veil which falls from under the crown and sweeps the ground like a royal train.)

PATA—(clasping her hands in ecstasy.) How lovely you look, my Queen!

LATA AND PHUL—Superb!

NILA AND ANILA—Wonderful!

ALO AND CHHAYA—Could a fairy or a nymph of Heaven be half so beautiful!

RENU—Simply enchanting.

QUEEN—(standing in front of mirror and poses, admiring her own beauty). It is nothing without the soft grace of flowers to set off the jewels. Where is Matangini?

PATA—(looking off R.) Madam, here she comes. (enter Matangini)

QUEEN—(petulantly). How late you are! The King is coming early. Give me the floral ornaments, quick!

MATANGINI—I have none, Madam.

QUEEN—No flowers? (angrily) What does this mean? You have been away long enough!

MATANGINI—Trying in vain to get other flowers in place of those the Princess's maid took away.

QUEEN—(indignantly) The Princess's maid? She dared to take my flowers and ornaments? Matangini, are you mad?

MATANGINI—I speak the truth, Madam.

QUEEN—Insufferable! Why did the flower-girls let her have them?

MATANGINI—(Watching the Queen carefully). They said Hashi took them by main force. After all, she is the princess's favourite maid. What could they say?

QUEEN—Oh, this is beyond endurance! (paces angrily) See that they are arrested.

MATANGINI—(again watching stealthily) The flower-girls, Madam?

QUEEN—(furiously) The flower-girls... Hashi... her mistress... every one...

PHUL—(with suppressed excitement) Arrest the Princess?

PATA—(hushing her down in a whisper) Attend to the toilet, girl.

MATANGINI—(in subdued anger). Don't listen to your betters. Or you may hear amiss! (Phul turns away and begins gathering up the sandal-wood paste and other toilet things. Matangini touches the Queen's dress with expert fingers.) Your Majesty looks wonderful to-night.

QUEEN—(pouting). With no flowers!

LATA—Shall I bring the flowers that the gardener has left in the Pleasure-house?

MATANGINI—(as if indignant.) Think before you speak, Lata! Is the Queen to have the flowers left lying in the dust to be collected by the sweeper? I wonder you dare suggest such a thing.

QUEEN—(cuffing Lata) I will wear NO flowers. (Lata begins to cry and the other girls look at her with sympathy) What are you standing about for, idle hussies? Go, and make ready for the King's visit. (the girls and Pata all go off with silent salutes, looking frightened) My flowers! SHE to have my flowers! (paces angrily)

MATANGINI—My Queen, have patience. If you issue publicly such orders as you were about to give, we shall be worsted. After all, she is the Princess, and no guard or soldier would dare to carry them out.

QUEEN—You forget the General is my brother.

MATANGINI—And anxious to marry the Princess himself.

QUEEN—(becomes thoughtful and paces more slowly) She is to marry the Prince of Arungiri, I hear.

MATANGINI—But your Majesty will not have that.

QUEEN—It would take her away and she would infect my country no longer.

MATANGINI—She would have a country of her own, where she will be QUEEN, even as your Majesty is.

QUEEN—(stung to jealous fury). Matangini, you are right! I could not endure that. I would have her a slave at my feet, with meagre food and rags for clothing. If she marries at all, she shall marry my brother, so that she may remain our slave for ever. She to be a Queen?

And perchance the mother of a royal son that one day will succeed me?

MATANGINI—Had your Majesty but a son!

QUEEN—Oh, Mother Chamunda, what sin have I committed that you should withhold the gift of a son from me? All is useless to me without a child! O goddess, I will sacrifice a hundred goats, a thousand buffaloes. (gazing upward with folded hands) O mother Chamunda, be propitious. I offer you a human sacrifice! Verily, I will tint your feet red with the blood of a virgin princess.

MATANGINI (half afraid) Madam, hush! Even the winds carry tales.

QUEEN—You are my true friend, Matangini, I shall never forget your faithful service!

MATANGINI—(significantly). Madam, there is an old proverb, she who would be deceived by the promises of Kings is a fool!

QUEEN—(grasping her wrist, significantly.) But a greater fool is she who does not perceive that her interest lies in conforming to their will! (the two women gaze into each other's eyes, with a secret understanding. They break apart as Pata comes running in again with the other girls.)

PATA—Your Majesty, His Imperial Majesty is coming to the reception-hall.

QUEEN—Go, you girls, hasten to receive him. (Exit girls. The Queen stands before the mirror once more, and scrutinises her dress and ornaments.) Does not my beauty shine like a magic reflector? (then turning towards the audience she tosses her head and exits laughing triumphantly.)

(End of the first scene.)

ACT II. (SCENE II).

(N. B. This could be the same scene as the previous one, with a few changes in the props; such as, in place of the divan a throne to seat two should be placed with flowers and plants around to make it look like a reception-hall. The King and Queen are seated on the throne. To shorten the cast, instead of employing separate dancers, the Queen's attendants may be utilised here as performers, who are entertaining them with singing and dancing. Matangini is standing behind the throne and occasionally spraying the Royal couple with scent from a gold scent-bottle. The King is glancing at the Queen from time to time with eyes full of tenderness and love, and talking to her in whispers: at times he throws bouquets and showers flowers at the dancers.)

GIRLS—(some sing, others dance. The song may be divided into chorus and solo)
 With glory, glory the earth doth ring,
 In tribute to our Queen and King,
 Here flowers lose their thorny sting,
 And clouds no gloom within here bring.
 They smile, they swim the sky, they swing
 And light is like a sapphire ring.
 We're happy like a bird on wing,
 The golden moments dance and sing.
 To golden pleasure laughter sling.
 And joy and fragrance breezes fling.
 With glory, glory the earth doth ring.
 In tribute to our Queen and King.

(Then at a gesture from the King, the whole troop including Matangini go off, leaving the royal pair alone.)

QUEEN—Great is my good fortune to-day, O, King! While you are engrossed in high matters of state, I pass my days in thoughts of you, my lord, wearying for your coming!

KING—When I look at you, my Queen, I forget all my royal duties. My heart is overwhelmed by the flood of your matchless beauty.

QUEEN—Do not put me to shame by such extreme praise. Let me share your counsels O, my Lord, and lighten with my sympathy the burden of your responsibilities.

KING—I have glad tidings to give you to-day, my Queen.

QUEEN—Who so glad as I of glad tidings for my lord and master? Tell me these tidings, that I may rejoice in them?

KING—You will rejoice, even as I, my sweet. The Prince of Arungiri has sent a messenger to ask for the hand of our daughter Kalyani.

QUEEN—Glad tidings indeed. For the happiness you bring me in this news I have nothing to offer you in return, for my heart and soul and all I have are already yours. Yet, if I might venture...

KING—Venture? What?

QUEEN—I am so anxious for the honour of the King, my Lord... and I had heard.....

KING—(frowning) What had you heard? Nothing against my honour?

QUEEN—(feeling her way diplomatically.) Oh, if any said aught against that to me, he would die, that instant!..No!..I was thinking of an old tale that the Prince's father insulted your father by sending him a shoe.

KING—(annoyed.) An old tale indeed. I wonder you credit it!

QUEEN—(perceiving the shade of annoyance.) It was but over-zeal for my dear lord. I merely repeat what everyone says.

KING—It is the wrong version. It was my father who was to blame. While a guest at the Palace of Arungiri, he laughed at his uncle, who was a bit cracked, and took the insult to heart. The wise King deservedly rebuked my father, as I have often heard my father say, and there the matter ended.

KING—(his face clouding over again.) Has any one spoken to her of the proposed alliance with the Prince of Arungiri?

QUEEN—Alas, how should I know? Will she consent to see me? Has she not refused all these years to call me mother or let my ardent affection melt one iota of her pride?

KING—(angrily.) Her obstinacy, you should say. For what obstinacy so base as that which refuses to respond to virtue as inestimable as yours?

QUEEN—(If she knows I wish this marriage... and that you wish it is enough to make heartily desire it.)—she would refuse it out of sheer contumacy. Why even to-day, her maid Hashi snatched away all the flowers from my maid Matangini, leaving me thus unable to adorn myself fittingly for you, my dearest lord.

KING—(glancing at her, sees the absence of flowers.) No flowers when I visit you? And through the fault of that stiff-necked girl? This is indeed an insult!

QUEEN—Had she but insulted me! Let her scorn me as she pleases, I shall not resent it, for she is your child; but to insult her own father!—and to deprive me of the flowers you love, is to insult YOU.

KING—You speak rightly, my Queen, I believe this was planned to show contempt and scorn of me! For why should she insult you?

QUEEN—(with a hypocritical sigh) Why indeed?

KING—Except to hurt me? You are right! She aimed this at me, her father! She has gone too far! It is not to be borne! (rises in anger and paces. The Queen also rises and shows signs of triumph behind his back).

QUEEN—(coming near him.) I try to be patient, but I find it hard to sit by, when she insults my Lord (weeping.) I confess my heart bleeds. and for all my outward calm my soul is wrung within!

KING—(turning at once to console her) You need no longer suffer this thing! this viper! She must go! She shall marry the Prince of Arungiri without delay! (turns to pace again.)

QUEEN—Is it wise to send her away? Who knows what enemies she may stir up against this poor kingdom? Supposing she bears him a son?

KING—(looks up, struck.) Well? What then?

QUEEN—The Prince might think it gave HIM a claim to this kingdom. (watches the King to see the poison of her words sink in.)

KING—(lifting his hands to Heaven with a gesture of despair) Oh, that my son had lived and she been taken!

QUEEN—My dear, dear lord, it breaks my heart to see you grieve!

KING—(taking her hand sits again on the throne with the Queen.) Had you but borne me a son, my Queen.

QUEEN—(with a thrill of real grief) When your son... went... I thought, another heir would soon be born, but... (veils her face.)

KING—(patting her hand) It was born dead! and no other child has come! (drops her hand with a sigh; musingly.) The Princess is my heir. We must give her to a husband. (A slight noise is heard off R. The King raises his head) Who is that?

Enter Matangini.

MATANGINI—Your Majesty, the General craves audience.

QUEEN—(attentive). My brother?

KING (after a second's pause). Show him in.

(Enter the General and salutes the King & Queen)

GENERAL—Your Majesty! My noble sister.

KING—What would you with us, General?

GENERAL—The rumour that the Princess is to be given in marriage to the Prince of Arungiri has brought me here, Sire, to offer my congratulations or!

KING—There is no cause for congratulation. This marriage seems to the Queen and to myself to require further consideration.

GENERAL—Then it is not decided? Thank God for that!

KING—(glancing at him quickly). And why should you thank God?

GENERAL—(stammers).—Your Majesty, I..The Princess, as your daughter, is dear to me and... (stops and stammers)

QUEEN (Taking her cue).—My dear lord, my brother holds the Princess dear. That is his secret.

KING—(sharply.) What do you mean?

QUEEN—He is a faithful servant, and my brother. .. Might it not be a good policy to give your daughter to one who is bound by every tie of fidelity to our interests? Then if God grant us a child—

MATANGINI—(coming forward and affectionately gazing at the Queen.) Your Majesty, you must not tire yourself. If Chamunda grants our prayer—

KING—(Looks at them all three, then hastily breaks off the talk.) My daughter is of the blood royal of our House. Her marriage must not be lightly decided upon.

PATA—(Coming in from L.) Hail to your Majesties! We await your commands to begin our play. (a tumult is heard off and cries of Fire! Fire!)

QUEEN—Will you now see this little entertainment that my girls have been planning for your pleasure, Sire?

KING—(throwing off his cares, rises and is about to lead her out when the clamour outside increases and he lets go her hand and they stand aloof.) What is that noise? Do I hear a cry of 'Fire'?

GENERAL—(Quickly goes up back and returns almost at once.) Flames are rising from the city, Sire..

LATA—(Running in frightened with Alo) Madam, Madam, the town is in flames!

KING—Where are my guards (the girls run out R.)

MATANGINI—(To the King,) 'Tis probably but one small house, Sire. The panic stricken cowards exaggerate.

QUEEN—(with a questioning look, softly) Do you know aught of this, Matangini.

MATANGINI—(Equivocally.) What should I know? (The rest of the girls come in running and frightened.)

RENU—Madam, Madam, a crowd is gathered without, calling for the King.

QUEEN—Do they expect the King to extinguish the flames with his own hands?

KING—(anxiously.) Go, General, try to pacify them and see that the fire is extinguished. Assure the people that their losses shall be made good from the State Treasury, but they must stop this clamour.

GENERAL—I am afraid mere leniency, Sire, will not appease them, unless threatened with punishment.

KING—I leave it to you to deal with the situation as you think fit, but do not have recourse to hard measures except in extreme cases.

(Exit General, saluting.)

PORTRESS—(coming in) Your Majesty. Her Highness the Princess desires audience.

QUEEN—The Princess? She has come here!

KING—(grimly) I will not see her!

PORTRESS—(standing her ground) Her Royal Highness says it is important.

KING—(impatiently.) Bid her begone!

(Exit Portress.)

(Pacing greatly perturbed)

I will not see her. I will not—I must avoid her. (Turns to go and finds himself face to face with the Princess who is standing quietly with arms folded upon her breast, waiting for her chance). Kalyani!

PRINCESS—(saluting) Your Majesty, accept the obeisance of your unfortunate and loving daughter.

KING—(starting as in a dream.) Child! how like you are to your mother!

QUEEN—(With a hypocritical sigh in his ear, leaning over his shoulder)

So like...yet so unlike, Sir. It seems a profanation of such beauty that the soul behind it should be as a snake nestling in your generous breast.

KING—(hardening.) Why have you come here Kalyani?

(Cries from without grow louder.)

PRINCESS—O King! My Imperial father! I have come to lay the sorrows of the people at your feet. Listen, father! to their heart-rending cries. All that belongs to them lies there in flames!

KING—I see reason why you should concern yourself with such matters. My officers are doing all in their power to stop the conflagration.

PRINCESS—But who started it, Your Majesty?

KING—What do you mean? Do you dare to imply that anyone in my service is responsible for the fire?

PRINCESS—(standing her ground in spite of his angry tone) If Your Majesty will deign to enquire, you will find that there is evidence.

KING—(interrupting angrily) Evidence? Evidence that someone in my employ....

PRINCESS—Not yours, my Lord.....

QUEEN—(drawn to her full height, her eyes flashing) Your Majesty, this is but another stab at me!

KING—You dare insinuate that the Queen has had something to do with this fire?

PRINCESS—(meekly but bravely.) An emissary of...one of the Queen's entourage was taken dying from the flames and...confessed.....

KING—You are mad, girl! What was there to confess? You believe this absurd tale and come to bother me with it? Go back to your rooms and don't stir up the people against your father and your King by encouraging such lies! Bagone, I say.....

PRINCESS—Father, Alas, how can I open eyes that are so blinded? How can I relieve the misery of the poor people!

KING—Back to your palace! I myself will go and see what measures are being taken to put out the fire!

PRINCESS (her face lighting with hope and gratitude). Father! dear, dear father...(tries to take his hand, but he draws it away).

KING—Back! (she turns and goes slowly out. Pause, then as he turns to the other door, the Queen throws herself upon him).

QUEEN—My lord, would not risk your life!

KING—There is no risk—(tries to put her off, but she clings still)

QUEEN—I cannot let you go—I am afraid.

KING—Fear does not become a King. I must go; (puts her off and is about to go out, when Alo running in from R with Lata.)

ALO—Pata-Pata-Your husband is burnt.

PATA—(horrificed.) My husband?

LATA—Yes, while trying to put out the fire, the flames caught him.

PATA—(frantically) He won't die, he mustn't die! I will bring him back to life from Death's clutch, even as Savitri did.

(Exit running.)

KING—Who was that?

ALO—(doing reverence to the King.) The Jester, Your Majesty. He was in the flames,

KING—(thinking this out.) My Jester in the flames? My Jester? (a second's pause while he quickly scans the faces of all about him, then he turns on his heel shouting). Sentries, Guards, Sentinels! Run! run and lend a helping hand.

(rushes out frantically.)

QUEEN—(quickly and secretly to Matangini) Matangini, what does this mean?

MATANGINI—All is well, Queen. This, too, will we turn to our account—Come (she and the Queen go out quickly after the King.)

The stage is darkened.

(End of Second Scene.)

ACT II. SCENE III.

(After an Interval the Stage is lighted up again and the faded flowers scattered about indicate the scene of the previous evening.)

(Enter General.)

GENERAL—(looking exultantly at the empty throne). Ha! Ha! Empty lies the Royal Throne, as if inviting me to sit on it! The place looks like the enchanted hall in a fairy-tale. Quite deserted. Not even a guard on duty. People howling outside and no King to hear. (clapping his hands) Ho Sentry!

(Enter Sentry and salutes.)

GENERAL—Why do I find no one here?

SENTRY—On hearing the news of the death of the Jester, the King acted like a mad man and rushed out with the guards and sentinels, to put out the fire and search for the body of his favourite. The whole palace is in a state of chaos since last evening. His Majesty also inquired for you Sir, but you were not to be found.

GENERAL—I was engaged in preventing chaos in the kingdom, and taking measures to subdue the riotous people and restore peace and order. Go and send word that I crave His Majesty's audience.

(Exit sentry saluting.)

GENERAL—The moment has arrived for realising my ambitions at last. I need hardly do much more to incite the people to active rebellion. If they come out victorious, I am the crowned King. If not, the King will think it is I who have saved him. (paces thoughtfully, then stands still.)

(Enter sentry and salutes.)

SENTRY—Pardon General, the King is inaccessible now. He returned at a late hour and is now resting in the inner apartments, but Captain Dhruva Kumar waits outside and seeks an interview.

GENERAL—Send him in.

(Exit sentry saluting.)

GENERAL—Just the man I want. I must get him to help me. He is impatient of tyranny, but a brave man. If I can induce him to side with me, success is sure.

(Enter Dhruva Kumar.)

DHRUVA KUMAR—(saluting.) I have been seeking you General, to make an urgent request.

GENERAL—Tell me what it is, Captain. I shall be glad to do anything for you.

DHRUVA KUMAR—You hear the laments of the people, General?

GENERAL—It pierces my heart.

DHRUVA KUMAR—Their homesteads are burnt and they are reduced to penury. That they have dared to complain is looked upon as an unpardonable sin. Is there no remedy, General?

GENERAL—The matter is absorbing all my thoughts also and I am confident that with you to aid me, we shall be able to remedy all evils.

DHRUVA KUMAR—I am whole-heartedly ready to do all in my power, General, but to my mind, if only the policy of ruling by power is changed, and the iron hand of tyranny is replaced by the gentle touch of sympathy, all this conflagration will die out in a moment. The King's eyes

must be opened to this, and I pray you to undertake the task.

GENERAL—Do you think Kings are so easily led to change their policy? Unless a show of power is maintained, the people would soon have no respect for institutions. Power is the true foundation and bulwark of a kingdom, and upholds its prestige.

DHRUVA KUMAR—Then in your heart of hearts you approve of this tyranny?

GENERAL—Approve? No, at times my blood boils like a volcano. You don't know how hard I find it to obey orders. But I am helpless. How can I resist it? I am but a slave.

DHRUVA KUMAR—But the people look to you to intercede on their behalf. Does not His Majesty always follow your counsel? (passionately) O, General, do guide the King to the right path, and help to bring back peace and order and good government.

GENERAL—My friend, by whatever method the King desires his kingdom to be governed, you will be wise to call that good government. I am his General, only so long as I obey his orders.

DHRUVA KUMAR—I cannot believe that. I know this evil has grown because the King is unaware of the true state of things. If his eyes were but opened to the cruel injustice being done in his name, the kingdom might yet be saved!

GENERAL—Not till the people themselves rise up in revolt!

DHRUVA KUMAR—(starts back astonished.) You... You counsel revolt? The people were on the verge of breaking out, but I pacified them, and....

GENERAL—(drawing in) I counsel nothing....

DHRUVA KUMAR—I beg your pardon Sir, a thousand pardons. If, however, this persecution goes on much longer, they might be goaded to it as a last resource. I pray you again to go and try for once to explain the whole situation to the King, and let me assure his loyal subjects on your behalf that full justice shall be meted out to all.

GENERAL—How green you are! It will make matters still worse. Know then, my boy, that justice and equity which behove the upper classes are too fine a raiment to suit the common herd. If I plead for the people, it means censuring the King, and it would be downright disloyalty on my part to do so.

DHRUVA KUMAR—I think I shall go mad! If you do not dare, I shall stake my all to right the wrong and fight the injustice.

(Rushes out without asking General's permission.)

GENERAL—(with a gesture of rage.) Audacious wretch! This thorn must be removed from my path, and I must work without him to secure the crown. (He goes out R.)

(Two days have passed and to indicate the lapse of time the Stage is darkened for a few minutes and the Royal throne removed. Then it is lighted up again.)

(Enter Lata, Renu and Phul)

LATA—Two days have passed by, the fire has burnt down but still the wailing continues. It is heart-rending to hear their piteous cries.

RENU—To-day is the feast of Saraswati, but it will ever be memorable as a day of mourning by the people.

PHUL—Poor King! he has suddenly turned religious and is trying to drown his grief in prayers (Uproar outside.)

LATA—(startled.) This does not seem like wailing but rather like the shouting of a riotous mob.

(Enter Alo running.)

ALO—The people have broken out into open rebellion.

GIRLS—(alarmed.) Are they going to invade the palace? (Enter Jester disguised as a Sadhu, his face smeared with ashes and masked with a false heavy beard. Dressed in saffron coloured robe and turban.)

SADHU—Have no fear my children. The Captain of the Guards is resisting them.

ALO—Who are you, your reverence?

LATA—Protect us, O Sadhu. Give us shelter.

SADHU—Come you all to the Princess, where you will be quite safe. Pata is there already.

RENU—(recognising him; in surprise.) Is it you, the Jester! You are not burnt then?

SADHU—Jesters are not merely boasters, but can perform magic. I have turned the fire into a farce, and lo! here am I as full of life as ever.

RENU—(eagerly.) And Hashi's people, Sir?

SADHU—(fervently.) Thank God! I was able to remove them to safety before fire was set to their house.

PHUL—The King is mad with grief for you. Will you not show yourself to him?

SADHU—Do you wish to see me flayed alive by the Queen? I must wait till the proper moment comes.

(Uproar increases.)

ALO—O Jester, do please melt away the rebellion with your witch-craft.

SADHU—Don't be alarmed, my dears. Follow me, and you will live in the midst of peace and bliss.

LATA AND RENU—To the Princess! Let us go to the Princess.

ALL—To the Princess! To the Princess.

(Their cries mingle with the noise outside and the Scene ends in tumult as the curtain falls.)

End of Act Two.

(To be continued.)

The Story of My Experiments with Truth

BY MAHATMA GANDHI

[As usual we reproduce another instalment of Mr. Gandhi's Autobiography which we are regularly printing from the March number of the *Indian Review*. Mr. Gandhi gives in these pages an account of his contact with various religionists in South Africa and how in the end he was forced to settle in Natal and take up the question of the status of his countrymen there and fight it out to the last. Editor, *The Indian Review*.]

PART II. CHAPTER XV.

EXPERIENCES WITH CHRISTIAN FRIENDS

It is now time to turn again to my experiences with Christian friends.

Mr. Baker was getting anxious about my future. He took me to the Wellington Convention. The Protestant Christians organise such gatherings every few years for religious enlightenment or, in other words, self-purification. One may call this religious restoration or revival. The Wellington Convention was of this type. The Chairman was the famous divine of the place, the Rev. Andrew Murray. Mr. Baker had hoped that the atmosphere of religious exaltation at the Convention

and the enthusiasm and earnestness of the people attending it, would inevitably compel me to embrace Christianity.

But his final hope was the efficacy of prayer. He had an abiding faith in prayer. It was his firm conviction that God could not but listen to prayer fervently offered. He would cite the instances of men like George Muller of Bristol who depended entirely on prayer even for his temporal needs. I listened to his discourse on the efficacy of prayer with unbiassed attention, and assured him that nothing could prevent me from embracing Christianity should I feel the call. I had no hesitation in giving him this assurance, as I had long since taught myself to follow the inner voice. I

delighted in submitting myself to it. To act against it would be difficult and painful to me.

A COLOURED MAN

So we went to Wellington. Mr. Baker was hard put to it in having 'a coloured man' like me for his companion. He had to suffer inconveniences on many occasions entirely on account of me. We had to break the journey on the way, as one of the days happened to be a Sunday and Mr. Baker and his party would not travel on the Sabbath. Though the manager of the station hotel agreed to take me in after much altercation, he absolutely refused to admit me to the dining room. Mr. Baker was not the man to give way easily. He stood by the rights of the guests of a hotel. But I could see his difficulty. At Wellington also I stayed with Mr. Baker. In spite of his best efforts to conceal the little inconveniences that he was put to, I could see them all.

This Convention was an assemblage of devout Christians. I was delighted at their faith. I met the Rev. Murray. I saw that many were praying for me. I liked some of their hymns, they were very sweet.

The Convention lasted for three days. I could understand and appreciate the devoutness of those who attended it. But I saw no reason for changing my belief—my religion. It was impossible for me to believe that I could go to heaven or attain salvation only by becoming a Christian. When I frankly said so to some of the good Christian friends, they were shocked. But there was no help for it.

MENTAL CHURNING

My difficulties lay deeper. It was more than I could believe that Jesus was the only incarnate Son of God and that he who believed in Him would have everlasting life. If God could have sons, all of us were his sons. If Jesus was like God, or God Himself, then all men were like God and could be God Himself. My reason was not ready to believe literally that Jesus by his death and his blood redeemed the sins of the world. Metaphorically there might be some truth in it. Again, according to Christianity only human beings had souls, and not other living beings, for whom death meant complete extinction; while I held a contrary belief. I could accept Jesus as a martyr, an embodiment of sacrifice, and a divine teacher, but not as the most perfect man ever born. His death on the Cross was a great example to the world, but that there was anything like a mysterious or miraculous virtue in it my heart could not accept. The pious lives of Christians did not

give anything that the lives of men of other faiths had failed to give. I had seen in other lives just the same reformation that I had heard of among Christians. Philosophically there was nothing extraordinary in Christian principles. From the point of view of sacrifice, it seemed to me that the Hindus greatly surpassed the Christians. It was impossible for me to regard Christianity as a perfect religion or the greatest of all religions.

I shared this mental churning with my Christian friends whenever there was an opportunity, but their answers could not satisfy me.

Thus if I could not accept Christianity either as a perfect, or the greatest, religion, neither was I then convinced of Hinduism being such. Hindu defects were pressingly visible to me. If untouchability could be a part of Hinduism, it could but be a rotten part or an excrescence. I could not understand the *raison d'être* of a multitude of sects and castes. What was the meaning of saying that the Vedas were the inspired word of God? If they were inspired, why not also the Bible and the Koran?

As Christian friends were endeavouring to convert me, even so were Mussalman friends. Abdulla Seth had kept on inducing me to study Islam, and of course he had always something to say regarding its beauty.

I expressed my difficulties in a letter to Raychandbhai. I also corresponded with other religious authorities in India and received answers from them. Raychandbhai's letter somewhat pacified me. He asked me to be patient and to study Hinduism more deeply. One of his sentences was to this effect: 'On a dispassionate view of the question, I am convinced that no other religion has the subtle and profound thought of Hinduism, its vision of the soul, or its charity.'

TOLSTOY'S TEACHINGS

I purchased Sale's translation of the Koran and began reading it. I also obtained other books on Islam. I communicated with Christian friends in England. One of them introduced me to Edward Maitland with whom I opened correspondence. He sent me, *The Perfect Way*, a book he had written in collaboration with Anna Kingsford. The book was a repudiation of the current Christian belief. He also sent me another book—*The New Interpretation of the Bible*. I liked both. They seemed to support Hinduism. Tolstoy's *The Kingdom of God is within you* overwhelmed me. It left an abiding impression

on me. Before the independent thinking, profound morality, and the truthfulness of this book, all the books given me by Mr. Coates seemed to pale into insignificance.

My studies thus carried me in a direction unthought of by the Christian friends. My correspondence with Edward Maitland was fairly prolonged and that with Raychandbhai continued until his death. I read some of the books he sent me. These included *Panchikaran*, *Maniratnamala*, *Mumukshu Prakaran of Yoganasishtha*, *Haribhadra Suri's Shatlarshan Samuchchaya*, and others.

Though I took a path my Christian friends had not intended for me, I have remained for ever indebted to them for the religious quest that they awakened in me. I shall always cherish the memory of their contact. The years that followed had more, not less, of such sweet and sacred contacts in store for me.

PART II. CHAPTER XVI.

MAN PROPOSES, GOD DISPOSES

The case having been concluded, I had no reason for staying in Pretoria. So I went back to Durban, and began to make preparations for my return home. But Abdulla Seth was not the man to let me sail without a send-off. He gave a farewell party in my honour at Sydenham.

It was proposed to spend the whole day there. Whilst I was turning over the sheets of some of the newspapers I found there, I chanced to see a paragraph in a corner of one of them under the heading 'Indian Franchise.' It was with reference to the Bill then before the House of Legislature which sought to deprive the Indians of their right to elect members of the Natal Legislative Assembly. I was ignorant of the Bill, and so were the rest of the guests who had assembled there.

I inquired of Abdulla Seth about it. He said: "What can we understand in these matters? We can only understand things that affect our trade. As you know, all our trade in the Orange Free State has been swept away. We agitated about it but to no avail. We are after all lame men, being unlettered. We take in newspapers generally only to ascertain the daily market rates, etc. What can we know of legislation? Our eyes and ears are the European attorneys here."

"But," said I, "there are so many young Indians born and educated here. Do not they help you?"

"They!" exclaimed Abdulla Seth in despair, "they never care to come to us, and, to tell you the truth, we care less to recognise them. Being

Christians they are under the thumb of the white clergymen, who in their turn are subject to the Government."

This opened my eyes. I felt that this class should be claimed as our own. Was this the meaning of Christianity? Did they cease to be Indians because they were Christians?

THE INDIANS AND THE DISFRANCHISING BILL

But I was on the point of returning home and hesitated to express what was passing through my mind in this matter. I simply said to Abdulla Seth: "This Bill, if it passes into law, will make your lot extremely difficult. It is the first nail into our coffin. It strikes at the root of self-respect."

"It may," echoed Seth Abdulla, "But I will tell you the genesis of the Franchise question. We knew nothing about it. But Mr. Escombe, one of our best attorneys, whom you know, put the idea into our heads. It happened thus. He is a great fighter and there being no love lost between him and the Wharf Engineer, he feared that the Engineer might deprive him of his votes and defeat him at the election. So he acquainted us with our condition, and at his instance we all registered ourselves as voters, and voted for him at the election. You will now see how the franchise has not for us the value that you attach to it. But we understand what you say. Well, then what is your advice?"

The other guests were listening to this conversation with attention. One of them said: "Shall I tell you what should be done? You cancel your passage by this boat, stay here a month longer and we will fight as you direct us."

All the others chimed in; "Indeed, indeed, Abdulla Seth, you must detain Gandhibhai."

The Seth was a shrewd man. He said, "I may not detain him now. Or rather, you have as much right as I to do so. But what you say is quite true. Let us all persuade him to stay on. But you should remember that he is a barrister. What about his fees?"

PERSUADED TO STAY

The mention of fees pained me and I broke in: "Abdulla Seth, fees are out of the question. There can be no fees for public work. I can stay, if at all, as a servant. And as you know, I am not acquainted with all these friends. But if you believe that they will co-operate, I am prepared to stay a month longer. There is one thing, however. Though you need not pay me anything, work of the nature we contemplate cannot be done without some funds to start with. Thus we may have to

send telegrams; we may have to print some literature; some touring may have to be done; the local attorneys may have to be consulted; and as I am ignorant of your laws I may need some law books for reference. All this cannot be done without money. And it is clear that one man is not enough for this work. Many must come forward to help him."

And a chorus of voices was heard: "Allah is great and merciful. Money will come in. Men there are, as many as you may need. You please consent to stay, and all will be well."

The farewell party was thus turned into a working committee. I suggested finishing dinner etc., quickly and getting back home. I worked out in my own mind an outline of the campaign. I ascertained the names of those who were on the list of voters, and made up my mind to stay on for a month.

Thus God laid the foundations of my life in South Africa and sowed the seed of the fight for national self-respect.

PART II. CHAPTER XVII.

SETTLED IN NATAL

Seth Haji Mahomed Haji Dada was regarded as the foremost leader of the Indian community in Natal in 1893. Financially Seth Abdulla Haji Adam was the chief among them, but he and others always gave the first place to Seth Haji Mahomed in public affairs. A meeting was therefore held under his presidentship at the house of Abdulla Seth, at which it was resolved to offer opposition to the Franchise Bill.

Volunteers were enrolled. Natal-born Indians, that is mostly Christian Indian youths, had been invited to attend this meeting. Mr. Paul, the Durban Court Interpreter, and Mr. Subhan Godfrey, Headmaster of a Mission School, were present, and it was they who were responsible for bringing together at the meeting a good number of Christian youths. All these enrolled themselves as volunteers.

Many of the local merchants were of course enrolled, noteworthy among them being Seths Dawud Mahomed, Mahomed Cassim Kamruddin, Adamji Miankhan, A. Kolandavelu Pillai, C. Lachhiram, Rangaswami Padiachi, and Amod Jiva. Parsi Rustomji was certainly there. From among the clerks were Messrs. Manekji, Joshi, Narsiram, and others, employees of Dada Abdulla and Co., and other big firms. They were all agreeably surprised to find themselves taking a share in public work. To be invited thus to take part was a new experience in their lives. In face of the calamity

that had overtaken the community, all distinctions such as high and low, small and great, master and servant, Hindus, Mussalmans, Parsis, Christians, Gujaratis, Madrasis, Sindhis, etc., were forgotten. All were alike the children and servants of the motherland.

THE PETITION TO THE ASSEMBLY

The Bill had already passed, or was about to pass, its second reading. In the speeches on the occasion, the fact that Indians had expressed no opposition to the stringent Bill was urged as proof of their unfitness for the franchise.

I explained the situation to the meeting. The first thing we did was to despatch a telegram to the Speaker of the Assembly requesting him to postpone further discussion of the Bill. A similar telegram was sent to the Premier, Sir John Robinson, and another to Mr. Escombe, as a friend of Dada Abdulla's. The Speaker promptly replied that discussion of the Bill would be postponed for two days. This gladdened our hearts.

The petition to be presented to the Legislative Assembly was drawn up. Three copies had to be prepared and one extra was needed for the press. It was also proposed to obtain as many signatures to it as possible, and all this work had to be done in the course of a night. The volunteers with knowledge of English and several others sat up the whole night. Mr. Arthur, an old man, who was known for his calligraphy wrote the principal copy. The rest were written by others to some one's dictation. Five copies were thus got ready simultaneously. Merchant volunteers went out in their own carriages, or carriages whose hire they had paid, to obtain signatures to the Petition. This was accomplished in quick time and the Petition was dispatched. The newspapers published it with favourable comments. It likewise created an impression on the Assembly. It was discussed in the House. Partisans of the Bill offered a defence—an admittedly lame one—in reply to the arguments advanced in the Petition. The Bill, however, was passed.

We all knew that this was a foregone conclusion, but the agitation had infused new life into the members of the community, and had brought home to them the conviction that the community was one and indivisible and that it was as much their duty to fight for its political rights as for its trading rights.

APPEAL TO THE COLONIAL SECRETARY

Lord Ripon was at this time Secretary of State for the Colonies. It was decided to submit to him a monster petition. This was no small task and

could not be done in a day. Volunteers were enlisted and all did their due share of the work.

I took considerable pains over drawing up this petition. I read all the literature available on the subject. My argument centred round a principle and an expedience. I argued that we had a right to the franchise in Natal as we had a kind of franchise in India. I urged that it was expedient to retain it as the Indian population capable of using the franchise was very small.

Ten thousand signatures were obtained in the course of a fortnight. To secure this number of signatures from the whole of the province was no light task especially when we consider that the men were perfect strangers to the work. Specially competent volunteers had to be selected for the work as it had been decided not to take a single signature without the signatory fully understanding the Petition. The villages were scattered at long distances. The work could be done promptly only if a number of workers put their whole heart into it. And this they did. All carried out their allotted task with enthusiasm. But as I am writing these lines, the figures of Seth Dawud Mahomed, Rustomji, Adamji Miyakhan, and Amud Jiva rise clearly before my mind. They brought in the largest number of signatures. Dawud Seth kept going about in his carriage the whole day. And it was all a labour of love, not one of them asking for even his pocket expenses. Dada Abdulla's house became at once a caravanserai and a public office. The number of educated friends who helped me, and many others had their food there.

Altogether every helper was put to considerable expense.

The petition was at last submitted. A thousand copies had been printed for circulation and distribution. It acquainted the Indian public for the first time with conditions in Natal. I sent copies to all the newspapers and publicists I knew.

The Times of India in a leading article on the petition strongly supported the Indian demands. Copies were sent to journals and publicists in England representing different parties. The *London Times* supported our claims and we began to entertain hopes of the Bill being vetoed.

GANDHIJI SETS UP PRACTICE AS BARRISTER

It was now impossible for me to leave Natal. The Indian friends surrounded me on all sides and importuned me to remain there permanently. I expressed my difficulties. I had made up my

mind not to stay at public expense. I felt it necessary to set up an independent household. I thought that the house should be good and situated in a good locality. I also had the idea that I could not add to the credit of the community unless I lived in a style usual for barristers. And it seemed to me to be impossible to run such a household with anything less than £300 a year. I therefore decided that I could stay only if the members of the community guaranteed legal work to the extent of that minimum, and I communicated my decision to them.

"But," said they, we should like you to draw that amount for public work, and we can easily collect it. Of course this is apart from the fees you must charge for private legal work."

"No, I could not thus charge you for public work," said I. "The work would not involve the exercise on my part of much skill as barrister. My work would be mainly to make you all work. And how could I charge you for that? And then I should have to appeal to you frequently for funds for the work, and if I were to draw my maintenance from you, I should find myself at a disadvantage in making an appeal for large amounts, and we should ultimately find ourselves at a standstill. And then I want the community to find more than £300 annually for public work."

"But we have now known you for some time and are sure you would not draw anything you do not need. And if we wanted you to stay here, should we not find your expenses?"

"It is your love and present enthusiasm that make you talk like this. How can we be sure that this love and enthusiasm will endure for ever? And as your friend and servant, I should occasionally have to say hard things to you. Heaven only knows whether I should then retain your affection. But the fact is that I must not accept any salary for public work. It is enough for me that you should all agree to entrust me with your legal work. Even that may be hard for you. For one thing I am not a white barrister. How can I be sure that the Court will respond to me? Nor can I be sure how I shall fare as a lawyer. So even in giving me retainers you may be running some risk. I should regard even the fact of your giving me retainers as the reward of my public work."

The upshot of this discussion was that about 20 merchants gave me retainers for one year for their legal work. Besides this, Dada Abdulla purchased me the necessary furniture in lieu of a purse he had intended to give me on my departure.

Thus I settled in Natal.

PART II. CHAPTER XVIII

THE COLOUR BAR IN S. AFRICA

The symbol of a Court of Justice is a pair of scales held evenly by an impartial and blind but sagacious old woman. Fate has purposely made her blind, in order that she may not judge a person from his exterior but from his intrinsic worth. But the Law Society of Natal set out to persuade the Supreme Court to act in contradiction to this principle, and to belie its symbol.

I sought to be admitted as an Advocate of the Supreme Court. I held certificate of admission from the Bombay High Court. The English certificate I had to deposit with the Bombay High Court when I was enrolled there. It was necessary to attach two certificates of character to the application for admission, and thinking that these would carry more weight if given by Europeans, I secured them from two well-known European merchants whom I knew through Seth Abdulla. The application had to be presented through a member of the Bar and as a rule the Attorney-General presented such applications without fees. Mr. Escombe who, as we have seen, was legal adviser to Messrs. Dada Abdulla and Co., was the Attorney-General. I called on him and he willingly consented to present my application.

The Law Society now sprang a surprise on me by serving me with a notice opposing my application for admission. One of their objections was that the original English certificate was not attached to my application. But the main objection was that when the regulations regarding admission of advocates were made, the possibility of a coloured man applying could not have been contemplated. Natal owed its growth to European enterprise and therefore it was necessary that the European element should predominate in the Bar. If coloured people were admitted, they might gradually outnumber the Europeans, and the bulwark of their protection would break down.

The Law Society had engaged a distinguished lawyer to support their opposition. As he too was connected with Dada Abdulla and Co., he sent me word through Seth Abdulla to go and see him. He talked with me quite frankly and inquired about my antecedents which I gave. Then he said:

"I have nothing to say against you. I was only afraid lest you might be some Colonial-born adventurer. And the fact that your application was unaccompanied by the original certificate supported my suspicion. There have been men

who have made use of diplomas which did not belong to them. The certificates of character from European traders you have submitted have no value for me. What do they know about you? What can be the extent of their acquaintance with you?"

"But," said I, "every one here is a stranger to me. Even Seth Abdulla first came to know me here."

"But then you say he belongs to the same place as you? If your father was Prime Minister there, Seth Abdulla is bound to know your family. If you were to produce his affidavit, I should have absolutely no objection. I would then gladly communicate to the Law Society my inability to oppose your application."

This talk enraged me, but I restrained my feelings. "If I had attached Dada Abdulla's certificate," said I to myself, "it would have been rejected and they would have asked for Europeans' certificates. And what has my admission as advocate to do with my birth and my antecedents? How could my birth, whether humble or objectionable, be used against me?" But I contained myself and quietly replied:

"Though I do not admit that the Law Society has any authority to require all these details, I am quite prepared to present the affidavit you desire."

Seth Abdulla's affidavit was prepared and duly submitted to the counsel for the Law Society. He said he was satisfied. But not so the Law Society. It opposed my application before the Supreme Court which ruled out the opposition without even calling upon Mr. Escombe to reply. The Chief Justice said in effect:

"The objection that the applicant has not attached the original certificate has no substance. If he has made a false affidavit he can be prosecuted and his name can then be struck off the roll, if he is proved guilty. The law makes no distinction between white and black people. The Court has therefore no authority to prevent Mr. Gandhi from being enrolled as an advocate. We admit his application. Mr. Gandhi, you can now take the oath."

OBJECTION TO THE TURBAN

I stood up and took the oath before the Registrar. As soon as I was sworn in, the Chief Justice addressing me said:

"You must now take off your turban, Mr. Gandhi. You must submit to the rules of the Court with regard to the dress to be worn by practising barristers."

I saw my limitations. The turban that I had insisted on wearing in the District Magistrate's Court I took off in obedience to the order of the Supreme Court. Not that if I had resisted the order the resistance could not have been justified. But I wanted to reserve my strength for fighting bigger battles. I should not exhaust my skill as a fighter in insisting on retaining my turban. It was worthy of a better cause.

Seth Abdulla and other friends did not like my submission (or was it weakness?). They felt that I should have stood by my right to wear the turban while practising in the Court. I tried to reason with them. I tried to press home to them the truth of the maxim, "When at Rome do as the Romans do." It would be right, I said, 'to refuse to obey if, in India, an English Officer or a Judge ordered you to take off your turban; but as an officer of the Court, it would have ill become me to disregard a custom of the Court in the Province of Natal.'

I pacified the friends somewhat with these and similar arguments, but I do not think I convinced them completely, in this instance, of the applicability of the principle of looking at a thing from a different standpoint in different circumstances. But all my life through the very insistence on truth has taught me to appreciate the beauty of compromise. I saw in later life that this spirit was an essential part of Satyagraha. It has often meant endangering my life and incurring the displeasure of friends. But truth is hard as adamant and tender as a flower.

The opposition of the Law Society gave me another advertisement in South Africa. Most of the newspapers condemned the opposition and accused the Law Society of jealousy. The advertisement, to some extent, simplified my work.

PART II. CHAPTER XIX

THE NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS

Practice as a lawyer was and remained, for me, a subordinate occupation. It was necessary that I should concentrate on public work to justify my stay in Natal. The despatch of the Petition regarding the Disfranchising Bill was not sufficient in itself. Sustained agitation was essential for making an impression on the Secretary of State for the Colonies. For this purpose it was thought necessary to bring into being a permanent organisation. So I consulted with Seth Abdulla and other friends and we all decided to have a public organisation of a permanent character.

To arrive at the name to be given to the new organisation perplexed me sorely. It was not to

identify itself with any particular party. The name 'Congress' I knew, was in bad odour with Conservatives and yet the Congress was the very life of India. I wanted to popularise it in Natal. It savoured of cowardice to hesitate to adopt it. Therefore, with full explanation of my reasons, I recommended that the organisation should be called the Natal Indian Congress and on the 22nd May the Natal Indian Congress came into being.

Dada Abdulla's spacious room was packed to the full on that day. The Congress received the enthusiastic approval of all present. Its constitution was simple, the subscription was heavy. Only he who paid five shillings monthly could be a member. The wealthy classes were persuaded to pay as much as they could. Abdulla Seth headed the list with £2 per month. Two other friends also put down the same. I thought I should not stint my subscription and put down a pound per month. This was for me no small amount. But I thought that it would not be beyond my means, if at all I was to pay my way. And God helped me. We thus got a considerable number of members who subscribed £1 per month. The number of those who put down 10s. was even larger. Besides this, there were donations which were gratefully accepted.

COLLECTING SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR PUBLIC WORK

Experience showed that no one paid his subscription for the mere asking. It was impossible to call frequently on members outside Durban. The enthusiasm of one moment seemed to wear away the next. Even the members in Durban had to be considerably dunned before they would pay in their subscriptions.

The task of collecting subscriptions lay on me, being the Secretary. And we came to a stage when I had to keep my clerk engaged all day long in the work of collection. The man got tired of the job, and I felt that if the situation was to be improved the subscriptions should be made payable annually and not monthly, and that too strictly in advance. So I called a meeting of the Congress. Every one welcomed the proposal for making the subscription annual instead of monthly and for fixing the minimum at £3. Thus the work of collection was considerably facilitated.

I had learnt at the outset not to carry on public work with borrowed money. One could rely on people's promises in most matters except in respect of money. I had never found people quick to pay the amounts they had undertaken to subscribe and the Natal Indians were no exception to the rule. As therefore no work was done unless

there were funds on hand, the Natal Indian Congress has never been in debt.

My co-workers evinced extraordinary enthusiasm in canvassing members. It was work which interested them and was at the same time an invaluable experience. Large numbers of people gladly came forward with cash subscriptions. Work in the distant villages of the interior was rather difficult. People did not know the nature of public work. And yet we had invitations to visit far away places, leading merchants of every place extending their hospitality.

On one occasion during this tour the situation was rather difficult. We expected our host to contribute £6, but he refused to give anything more than £3. If we had accepted that amount from him, others would have followed suit and our collections would have been spoiled. It was a late hour of the night and we were all hungry. But how could we eat without having first obtained the amount we were bent on getting? All persuasions were useless. The host seemed to be adamant. Other merchants in the town reasoned with him, and we all sat up throughout the night, he and we both determined not to budge one inch. Most of my co-workers were burning with rage, but they contained themselves. At last when day was already breaking the host yielded, paid down £6 and feasted us. This happened at Tongaat, but the repercussion of the incident was felt as far as Stanger on the North Coast and Charlestown in the interior. It also hastened our work of collection.

But collecting funds was not the only thing to do. In fact I had long learnt the principle of never having more money at one's disposal than necessary.

Meetings used to be held once a month or even once a week, if required. Minutes of the proceedings of the preceding meeting would be read and all sorts of things would be discussed. People had no experience of taking part in public discussions or of speaking briefly and to the point. Every one hesitated to stand up to speak. I explained to them the rules of procedure at meetings and they respected them. They realised that it was an education for them and many who had never been accustomed to speaking before an audience soon acquired the habit of thinking and speaking publicly about matters of public interest.

Knowing that in public work minor expenses at times absorbed large amounts, I had decided not to have even the receipt books printed in the beginning. I had a cyclostyle machine in my office on which I took copies of receipts and

reports. Such things I began to get printed only when the Congress coffers were full and when the number of members and work had increased. Such economy is essential for every organisation, and yet I know that it is not always exercised. That is why I have thought it proper to enter into these little details of the beginnings of a small but growing organisation.

People never cared to have receipts for the amounts they paid, but we always insisted on the receipts being given. Every pie was thus clearly accounted for and I dare say the account books for the year 1894 can be found intact even to-day in the records of the Natal Indian Congress. Carefully kept accounts are a *sine qua non* for any organisation. Without them it falls into disrepute. Without properly kept accounts it is impossible to maintain truth in its pristine purity.

OTHER FEATURES OF THE CONGRESS

Another feature of the Congress was service of Colonial-born educated Indians. The Colonial-born Indian Educational Association was founded under the auspices of the Congress. The members consisted mostly of these educated youths. They had to pay a nominal subscription. The association served to ventilate their needs and grievances, to stimulate thought amongst them, to bring them into touch with Indian merchants and also to afford them scope for service of the community. It was a sort of debating society. The members met regularly, and spoke or read papers on different subjects. A small library was also opened in connection with the association.

The third feature of the Congress was propaganda. This consisted in acquainting the English in South Africa and England and people in India with the real state of things in Natal. With that end in view I wrote two pamphlets. The first was *An Appeal to every Briton in South Africa*. It contained a statement, supported by evidences of the general condition of Natal Indians. The other was entitled, *The Indian Franchise—An appeal*. It contained a brief history of the Indian franchise with facts and figures. I had devoted considerable labour and study to the preparation of these pamphlets and the result was quite commensurate with the trouble taken. They were widely circulated.

All this activity resulted in winning the Indians numerous friends in South Africa and in obtaining the active sympathy of all parties in India. It also opened out and placed before the South African Indians a definite line of action.

PART II. CHAPTER XX

BALASUNDARAM

Heart's earnest and pure desire is always fulfilled. In my own experience, I have often seen this rule being verified. Service of the poor has been my heart's desire and it has always thrown me amongst the poor and enabled me to identify myself with them.

Although the members of the Natal Indian Congress included the Colonial born Indians and the clerical class, the unskilled wage-earners, the indentured labourers were still outside its pale. The Congress was not yet theirs. They were not able to belong to it by paying its subscription and becoming its members. The Congress could win their attachment only by serving them. An opportunity offered itself, when neither the Congress nor I was really ready for it. I had put in scarcely three or four months' practice and the Congress also was still in its infancy, when a Tamil man in tattered clothes, head-gear in hand, two front teeth broken and his mouth bleeding, stood before me trembling and weeping. He had been heavily belaboured by his master. I learnt all about him from my clerk who was a Tamilian. Balasundaram—as that was the visitor's name—was serving his indenture under a well-known European resident of Durban. The master getting angry with him had lost self-control and had beaten Balasundaram severely, breaking two of his teeth.

I sent him to a Doctor. In those days only white doctors were available. I wanted a certificate from the doctor about the nature of the injury Balasundaram had sustained. I secured the certificate and straightaway took the injured man to the magistrate to whom I submitted his affidavit. The magistrate was indignant when he read it and issued a summons against the employer.

It was far from my desire to get the employer punished. I simply wanted Balasundaram to be released from him. I read the law about indentured labour. If an ordinary servant left service without giving notice, he was liable to be sued by his master in a civil court. With the indentured labourer the case was entirely different. He was liable, under similar circumstances, to be proceeded against in a criminal court and to be imprisoned on conviction. That is why Sir William Hunter called the indenture system almost as bad as slavery. Like the slave the indentured labourer was the property of his master.

There were only two ways of releasing Balasundaram: either to get the Protector of Indentured Labourers to cancel his inden-

ture or transfer him to some one else; or to get Balasundaram's employer to release him. I called on the latter and said to him: 'I do not want to proceed against you and get you punished. I think you realise that you have severely beaten the man. I shall be satisfied if you will transfer the indenture to some one else.' To this he readily agreed. I next saw the Protector. He also agreed, on condition that I found a new employer.

So I went off in search of an employer. He had to be an European, as no Indians could employ indentured labour. At that time I knew very few Europeans. I met one of them. He very kindly agreed to take on Balasundaram. I gratefully acknowledged his kindness. The magistrate convicted Balasundaram's employer and recorded that he had undertaken to transfer the indenture to some one else.

Balasundaram's case reached the ears of every indentured labourer and I came to be regarded as their friend. I hailed this connection with delight. A regular stream of indentured labourers began to pour into my office and I got the best opportunity of learning their joys and sorrows.

The echoes of Balasundaram's case were heard in far-off Madras. Labourers from different parts of the province who went to Natal on indenture came to know of this case through their indentured brethren.

There was nothing extra-ordinary in the case itself, but the fact that some one there was in Natal to espouse their cause and publicly work for them, gave the indentured labourers a joyful surprise and inspired them with hope.

I have said that Balasundaram entered my office, headgear in hand. There was a peculiar pathos about the circumstance, which also showed our humiliation. I have already narrated the incident when I was asked to take off my turban. A practice had been forced upon every indentured labourer and every Indian stranger to take off his headgear when visiting a European—whether the headgear was a cap, a turban or a scarf wrapped round the head. A salute even with both hands was not sufficient. Balasundaram thought that he should follow the practice even with me; this was the first case in my experience. I felt humiliated and asked him to tie up his scarf. He did so, not without a certain hesitation, but I could perceive the pleasure on his face.

It has always been a mystery to me how men can feel themselves honoured by the humiliation of their fellow-beings.

(To be continued.)

TOPICS FROM PERIODICALS

The Royal Indian Navy

In the course of an article in the September number of the *EMPIRE REVIEW*, Mr. Arnold-Forster says that since the Imperial Conference of 1921, South Africa, as a first step in national naval defence, agreed to take over the responsibility of mine sweeping and also to increase the Royal Naval Volunteer Companies from three to seven. In technical and strategical matters, naval defence is undoubtedly an important national consideration to India as it is to South Africa. The Indian Navy was in existence even from the days of the East India Company but in spite of its being an active fighting force, its ships were neither founded nor manned by Indians.

The most formidable of Indian pirates were controlled by the powerful Angria family. This gang operated on a stretch of the West Coast to the Southward of Bombay for over 100 years, and it was not till 1756 that their stronghold was destroyed by a combined land and sea operation. Their ships were manned by a mixed crowd of ruffians, including Arabs and Negroes, renegade Dutch and Portuguese, as well as Indians from the coast population.

History tells that the Indian Navy was in existence during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but under varied names. Tracing the origin and the progress of the Indian Navy Mr. Arnold-Forster, observes:—

In 1863, the Indian Navy, as it was then called, was converted into an unarmed Government transport service called the Indian Marine. In addition to various marine administrative duties, they took over the building yard established by the old Bombay Marine, whose Parsee shipwrights were famed for the seaworthiness of the wooden ships turned out from the yard in the old sailing days. The British officers were retained in the service, but the white crews were paid off, and replaced by Indians recruited from the Ratnigiri coast district, about 100 miles south of Bombay. Some of these seafaring Mohammedans were descendants of the old Indian pirate crews.

In 1892, the service was renamed the "Royal Indian Marine." Most of its officers were Conway or Worcester boys, and, though their ships were unarmed in peace time, the officers were encouraged to go through naval courses of instruction in England similar to that of Royal Naval Reserve Officers, and a good number served for periods of training in the Royal Naval ships on the station. During the war the ships with their Indian lascars crews were taken up by the Admiralty and did good and useful service, notably in the Persian Gulf and in the defence of the Suez Canal during the Turkish attack in 1915.

Between 1871 and 1903, there was in existence an Indian defence squadron. It started with two coast defence ironclads, a type which was in vogue at that time, and later on some torpedo boats and torpedo gun boats were added. There were both Royal Naval and "Indian Marine" officers, while the crews consisted of lascars as well as seamen from the Royal Navy. The ships became obsolete by 1903 and the force was abolished. Since that time India has possessed no fighting ships of her own, but has paid an annual contribution of £100,000 towards Imperial Naval purposes.

In fine the writer makes the following pertinent remarks touching the need for the development of an Indian Navy:

Here is a people that some day, it is hoped, is going to govern itself, and our settled policy is steadily working in that direction. One of the primary functions of a national Government is defence, and a people largely dependent on sea communications, with a long sea board and many great seaports, cannot with self-respect look to anyone but themselves to provide at least their own local naval defences on a scale commensurate with the circumstances of the time. This necessitates the existence of a national naval force that must eventually—if it is to be truly national—be administered and officered throughout by Indians.

Indians were not eligible for service as officers in the old Indian Defence Squadron, nor were they to be found in that capacity in the Indian Marine. Hitherto, the class from which officers have been drawn for the Indian Army has shown no disposition to go to sea, but they will be eligible for the new navy, and the intention is to encourage young Indians to come forward for it.

The Teachings of Buddhism

Har Dayal, writing in *THE YOUNG EAST*, a new magazine published at Tokyo, says that he was attracted by the fact that Buddhism did not teach the doctrine of theism and creation and that it contained the highest ideals of ethics without the admixture of theistic dogma. He thus explains how and why he embraced Buddhism.

The rationalistic aspects of Buddhism appealed to me very strongly. I did not accept Buddhist pessimism, cynicism, asceticism, quietism and mysticism. I did not care very much for the first of the four noble truths, as I also found much joy (and not merely sorrow) in life. I did not attach much importance to the *nidanas* etc. So I was never a very "orthodox" Buddhist in theory.

The ethical teaching of Buddhism appealed to me on account of its systematic character. It is a well-presented system. But the personality of Buddha was also a source of inspiration. Of course, the world has seen many great prophets, and all were great. But there is a peculiar radiance about the figure of Buddha on account of the historical grandeur of the movement initiated by him.

Adult Education for Illiterates

Mr. S. G. Daniel advocates in *THE YOUNG MEN OF INDIA* a campaign against adult illiteracy. Adult education which is now carried on mainly by night schools, have not been either highly successful or popular. There is a large difference between a town night school and a village night school; the latter could not be conducted so easily and successfully as the urban school. Nothing has been done for the education of women folk in this matter.

The adults do not require the same kind of teaching nor the same kind of knowledge as little children. The curriculum of studies and the methods of teaching should be different from those followed in ordinary schools intended for children. What the adults actually want is a tolerable ability to read and write an ordinary letter, a fair knowledge of indigenous arithmetic and a general idea of what is going on in the world around, especially in connection with their trade and occupation. In regard to methods of teaching, we have to bear in mind that the adults have some very great advantages over children. They have learned to think and are able to apply themselves much better than children. They have passed the stage of being interested in childish occupations and childish plays.

'When I was a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child: but when I became a man, I put away childish things.' So says St. Paul. We have therefore to devise such methods as will interest illiterate adults. By suitable methods and wise direction they can be easily led to acquire a good deal of knowledge during their leisure hours. In fact, adult education does not depend upon how many subjects are taught, or what syllabus is followed, as upon the spirit in which the teachers and the students conduct their work. If once the right spirit is established and the right ideal is arrived at, everything else will follow in due course. To carry out this object, a comprehensive scheme and a workable method should be chalked out at the outset. But this cannot be done without an examination of the existing methods of teaching primary reading. Various methods of teaching are followed in our elementary schools. From my observation, I find that for teaching Tamil reading to beginners, teachers follow nine different methods in the Madras Presidency. These nine methods may be grouped under three main heads, viz., (1) the Alphabetic Method; (2) the Word Method; and (3) the Sentence Method, etc.

English Culture in China

A well-informed Chinese writer considers in *THE ENGLISH REVIEW* what proportion if any, of English culture and English practices, whether individual or national, can be adopted by the Chinese people in their upward march towards progress.

"We have suffered enough for any nation by the constant interference in things political and things economic at the hands of all kinds of well—and perhaps evil—meaning folks. Not alone have the Russians under the Soviet hampered and plotted against us and our well-being.

Our people are not as yours. We have our own culture sufficient for our needs; but we could well do with earnest teachers and workers who would teach us forestry, cotton-growing, silk-growing and the improvement of the manufactured article, the economic operation of our railways, the improvement of our dikes, river training and flood protection works, the betterment of our medical and hospital services. But such teaching should take *actual, practical forms* and not be confined to teaching school children and the youth of the country in academies and colleges, and the teachers should not mix the teaching of your forms of knowledge in regard to governmental institutions with ours. * * *

* * * We are not enamoured of your forms of government, nor do we believe that guilds and trade unions should, in fact, govern a country, any more than our military faction should—both being minorities opposed to the general welfare of the country as a whole.

Certainly the Powers could help us, if they really wanted to, to set our house in order, to do away with the speculation, greed and power of the militarists, to break the power of those countries who look upon our territory as so much land to be grasped in their southward and western march from their own borders, and our populations as so many tax-paying units to enhance the returns of their own impoverished exchequers."

The New Education

THE TRAVANCORE TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION JOURNAL, a new monthly, describes the new Education Movement started by John Dewey about a quarter of a century ago and furthered by the discoveries of Freud and Jung and the revelations of the 'New Psychology.' The new movement gives adequate facilities for the creative energy of the child and protests against the dominant intellectualism of the conventional school. The new movement places the burden of work on the right shoulders, and has created a new orientation to problems of discipline.

Another progressive feature of the new school is the fostering of a strong community spirit, to make the child play his part as an efficient and capable member of the community. Modern education aims at socializing the pupil and sets its face sternly against the unhealthy spirit of competition that prevails in the ordinary school which affords little scope for group-work and co-operation. Dr. Montessori looks upon the school as providing 'communal life in embryo.' Ample opportunities the school provides for social service, and the formation of house-teams, the organization of Boy Scouts, the establishment of class-room republics, the appointment of games committees and the institution of debating clubs are all calculated to equip the child with the social training he needs to take his place in the community. In the 'active schools' of Europe a special step in this direction has been taken in the organization of voluntary workers' associations who work in hospitals, work-houses and orphanages and thus prepare themselves for service in after-life. The Dalton Laboratory Schools, the Winnetka schools in America, the Saxon Folk schools, l'ecole des Roches in France, and above all, the Fellowship schools of Hamburg are primarily and pre-eminently social institutions. Of the fellowship Schools Mr. Carleton W. Washburne, the superintendent of the Winnetka schools, who visited Hamburg in 1923 says: "The children in these Schools may go to any teacher they wish, associating themselves with children older or younger, as they see fit. The school-house is there, the children are there, and the teachers are there but this is all these schools have in common with other schools. There is misbehaviour at times, there is inefficiency frequently but out of it all emerges a spirit of self-reliance, spontaneity and individual development that is truly fine. Only in two schools in Czecho-Slovakia where much freedom was also permitted did we find anything like the same affectionateness, naturalness and general loveliness which characterized the children in the Hamburg schools."

Tri-Kalinga

Mr. G. Ramadas, writing in the newly started *THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY* explains a meaning of the term *Trikalinga* as follows:—

"Tri-Kalinga" means 'High Kalinga' and conveys the same idea as, mel-Kalinga or mel-kal or mekal; it was the name of this hilly region lying to the West of Kalinga. The agency tracts of Ganjam and Vizagapatam Districts are identified to have been the ancient Mahakantara mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription. (Kingdoms of the Deccan. Ind. His. Quarterly Dec. 1925). In an inscription found at Amaravati, (Slab No. 8 Amaravati Stupa by Burgess) a village 'Sagharu' is said to have been situated in Mahavana. I have shown in my paper on 'A brief survey of Nandapur History (Vizianagaram Maharajah's College Magazine Vol. iv Nos. 33 and 4) that Nandapur, the ancient capital of the present Jeypore family was as old as the Amaravati Stupa. The Mahakantara of the Allahabad prasasti, being a translation of Mahavana of the inscription, the Agency Division of the Vizagapatam District can, with no doubt, be said to have been the dominion of Vyaghra-rama. This region extends as far as the Mahendra-giri in the North. So the hills to the North-West of this mountain was the Tri-Kalinga for which the Kings of Chedi and Kalinga competed. Naturally this hill region forms a part of the Kosala kingdom which occupied the upper valley of the Mahanadi. So the dispute for Tri-Kalinga was chiefly between Kosala and Kalinga alone. But in the 10th century the Kings of Chedi conquered Kosala and set up a *mandalesvara* over it. The Governors of Kosala were brought face with the Gangas of Kalinga. By using the expression Mahendra-giri Kouthura' he author of the Prasasti, perhaps intended to hint at the difference in the topography of two varieties of physical nature of the kingdom of Kalinga.

Conflicting Loyalties

According to the Archbishop of Upsala, (whose address to the great Helsingfors Conference is published in *THE YOUNG MEN OF INDIA*) there are numerous conflicts between loyalties, existing in every age and country in Religion, Morals and Nature. Conflicts between Religion and Morals occur everywhere round us. Moral contempt for religion is a dangerous neglect of one of the essential and deep cravings in a man; while the contempt of pious people for a weak moral character is unchristian. While an ethical person who shuts his soul and life against religion and church is also an anomaly.

The writer thus examines the question whether religion is a loyalty in itself:—

Before the deluge—I mean the Great War—religion had as a rule to gain a right to existence in proving its usefulness for morals and civilization. To-day such apologetics are insipid and terribly useless, because the world tragedy has shown that evil is worse than people thought, and that goodness is better than people thought. I see how everywhere in different countries religion is proclaimed by young fresh spirits, not as a handmaid to morals but as the testimony of a really human existence, as a life in God and the only durable help against slavery of body and will and mind. And, indeed, as a reaction against moralism the new recognition of God's overwhelming majesty and the dread of the holy is sometimes preached in a way that endangers the moral trust in man and the application of the Gospel to human life. At the Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work in Stockholm, August 1925, where the greater part of Christendom, represented by more than six hundred official delegates, met for the first time in history to consider the duties of the Christians and of the Church in the distressing social and international needs of our time, the chief problem became the Kingdom of God, although that word was not even mentioned on the programme. Is God's rule or Kingdom a spiritual, superhuman, eternal fact, or is it an ideal for human endeavour and human conditions? All at least agreed in seeing that religion and morals belong together. Morals will become narrow and too human, and pharisaic without the horizon of God's eternal scheme. And religion is void, if it does not leave the Mountain of Transfiguration and apply itself to the daily task.

Christianity is not worthy of its name if it does not become a living force in all human relations.

In Christ both religion and morals are fulfilled, in perfect harmony. His Cross is the perfect revelation of divine love and of human faithfulness.

The Possibilities of Rural Revival

One of the best and most successful experiments regarding the co-ordination of the village arts and crafts with the work of the school class-room, has been achieved in the Santal High School, started at Bhimpur by the American Baptist Mission, according to *THE NATIONAL CHRISTIAN COUNCIL REVIEW*. The object of the school is to evolve a type of education which while maintaining a vital relationship with village life through emphasis upon village culture and village industrial arts taught for their educative value, will also be co-ordinated with higher educational institutions, thus encouraging the progressive improvement of village life and at the same time providing facilities for continuous progress to those pupils who reveal the ability to profit by higher education.

The achievements of the School have been described by the writer as "a renaissance of rural culture."

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Evidence and Proof in Occult Science

According to a writer in *THE OCCULT REVIEW* occult science has two enemies to contend with, the sceptical materialist and the credulous occultist. There are ways of testing the findings of clairvoyant investigation that will enable us to assess their value without spoiling the experiment. At the time of the experiment we must have absolute faith; and after the experiment is over, we must be impartially critical towards its results. Those who take part in occult investigation should make up their minds to accept the theories on which it is based as working hypotheses and to give themselves up wholeheartedly to the experiment while it is in progress. In this way the group-mind of the circle gives subconscious suggestion to the psychic and helps him to rise to a higher plane. Subjective proof depends upon intention i. e., subconscious mentation wherein the logical processes are carried on below the threshold of consciousness and take cognisance of data which may never have been present to consciousness. The purely subjective data of intention can be detected by means of psycho-analysis. The whole gifting of evidence should be very clearly done:

The use of the foregoing method will yield most interesting results, for although it will clearly demonstrate the subconscious element which is present in all psychism to a greater or less degree, it will also open up communications with the contents of super-consciousness, and bring them through into brain consciousness. The use of free association for this purpose is a most important aspect of esoteric work, but its technique is too complicated to be discussed in detail in the present paper. I can only conclude by urging upon my readers the serious nature of occult studies, and reminding them of the responsibility that rests upon those who undertake the publication of their results. They should make sure beyond all possibility of doubt that they have recorded and interpreted their visions correctly, both in concept and in detail, and should avoid in any way demanding of their readers a faith which renders ridiculous both those who ask and those who give.

Bengal under Western Influence

Mr. Priyaranjan Sen, writing in *THE CALCUTTA REVIEW* studies some channels of the influence of the West on the literature of Bengal—among them being the English law courts and the codification of the Civil and Criminal Procedure which helped to foster the growth of a sense of unity and democracy in the ideas of the people. Both the English and the Vernacular press have acted as an effective means of education; and its importance as a free institution in the domains of politics and of thought can hardly be over-estimated.

The College of Fort William, established with a different purpose in view, contributed materially to this end by providing the language with its first Dictionary and compiling Readers for the use of beginners.

We have noted in a former issue of this *REVIEW* the various steps successively taken in spreading the new education; the Government inaugurated definite policies and pioneer work was also done by the Missionary Societies, notably, by the Serampore group and Rev. Mr. Duff, and by other agencies.

There were numerous clubs or societies or associations, some of them have been described at length in the April number of the *REVIEW* while others have been merely mentioned by name.

The various religious, social and political movements of the period have had their share in conveying Western ideas to Bengali life which was further subjected to these influences in the Law Courts.

Last, though not the least, the press has been fully utilised as a vehicle of Western ideas—and it is an influence by itself in the direction of freedom of thought and expression.

We must not overlook the extensive influence exerted by environment, and the byways of education—in the broad sense of the term—should be briefly considered. Through all these channels the new wave has acted on the Bengali mind, and produced changes in the Bengali literature.

The Value of the African's Past

Dr. Westermann, writing in *THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF MISSIONS* puts in a plea for the recognition of the African's racial individuality, his mental attitude and his heritage from the past upon which alone his future should be built, if he is to meet the requirements of a new era. In physique and also from the economic point of view the African is adapted to his natural environment. His social organisation is simple, based on the clan which may be matrilineal or patrilineal and is generally totemistic. The clan is regarded by the African as his real home. Nature education is remarkable for its mildness; and the basis of clan-life throughout is religion. Apart from ancestor and spirit-worship all over Africa is found the belief in a Supreme Being.

Christian and European attitude towards the African world has been based on ideas that Africans do not possess any religion, traditions and institutions worth the name. They have been taught to look upon their ideals and institutions as of small value, as ridiculous or sinful, though now men are beginning to be conscious that African mind and culture are too weighty to be treated as negligible.

The attempts to respect and acknowledge in our work the African's heritage from the past are as yet but isolated. They will become a powerful influence in the future life of Africa only when systematically extended over the whole continent. This implies co-operation of all the agencies concerned. These missions must work together on a fixed plan, or the efforts of one body to nationalize education will be frustrated by those of another which continues to work in the old style. Therefore missions must also win the other educational agencies to sympathy with these ideals and they must gain the hearty sympathy and the active co-operation of the Natives. Our aim must be to work together with the Africans for Africa.

Party Changes in India

THE ROUND TABLE describes the obvious disruption of the Swarajya Party going on for the last one year which has resulted in the definite stand of the Responsive Co-operators. The basic ideas of responsive co-operation had found between the end of 1923 and the end of 1925, increasing popularity. The Moderates and Independents began, after the Congress of 1925, to re-examine the possibilities of uniting their parties and the Responsive Co-operators in one all-embracing National Party for no essential differences can be perceived in the ultimate objects of these three groups, or even in their political tactics. The walk-out of the Swarajists from the Legislatures had also produced no effects and afforded a proof that the constituencies were tired of mere play acting, and required tangible results from their representatives. A defection in the Swarajist ranks followed almost immediately. The All-Party Meeting in Bombay, the failure of the Sabarmati Pact between Pandit Motilal and Jayakar have only resulted in the cleavage becoming wider than ever. Thus the Congress has been left in the hands of a small and dwindling band of extreme Swarajists and at present it cannot reasonably claim to be either Indian or national.

INDIA IN PERIODICALS

REORGANISATION OF THE BRITISH ARMY AFTER THE MUTINY. By Major B. D. Basu ["The Modern Review," September 1926]

SOME ANCIENT INDIAN KINGS. By Dr. Rimala Charan Law. M.A., B.L. ["The Maha-Bodhi," September 1926.]

SOME SOUTH INDIAN SUPERSTITIONS. By K. T. Narayanan ["The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society," Bangalore, September 1926.]

THE PROBLEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT IN INDIA. By Prof. S. N. Pherwani, M.A. ["The Vedic Magazine," September 1926.]

Questions of Importance

Indian Muslim Hedjaz Conference

The Indian Muslim Hedjaz Conference which met at Lucknow on September 25th under the presidency of Mr. Salehbhoy Barodawalla, the Sheriff of Bombay, passed a number of resolutions affecting the Muslim community. The Conference discussed in detail the report of the Indian Delegation to the Hedjaz World Mahomedan Conference. The report describes the way in which Ibn Saud got into power and obtained possession of the holy cities of Islam, and the barbarities he committed there, as also the truth about the damage done by him to the holy tomb at Medina. The Conference passed resolutions condemning the excesses committed by Ibn Saud and declaring that Ibn Saud had no title to become the ruler of the Hedjaz. Another resolution demanded the establishment of an independent Government in the Hedjaz consistent with the wish and teaching of Islam and based on the free-will of the people and on the principle of "The Hedjaz for Hedjazians."

Back Bay Inquiry

The Bombay Back Bay Inquiry Committee which is now in England recording evidences has been requested by the Government of Bombay to submit an interim report containing their recommendations as to the steps that should be taken to ensure that the work on reclamation, so far as may be necessary, may proceed without interruption during the coming fair season, pending submission by the Committee of their final report.

The Committee have accordingly telegraphed to the Government of India, recommendations which include the following:—Reclamation of Blocks 1, 2 and 8—Block 1 by dredging from the Back Bay in the next working season, and thereafter both Blocks 1 and 2 by either dredging or dry filling, whichever may prove more economical or advantageous. Block 8 should be completed as quickly as possible by dry filling.

With regard to Block 7 the Committee are impressed with uncertainty regarding the date and rates at which land, if reclaimed, could be disposed of, and this makes them doubtful if it would be a sound proposition financially. They, therefore, consider that the Local Government should decide what action should be taken in respect of this block, pending decisions of the Government on the final report of the Committee.

The Committee emphasise the necessity of taking immediate steps to find new and nearer quarries and to arrange definitely for more abundant and speedier supplies at cheaper rates than at present.

Jail Reform in Burma

Mr. A. Paterson, His Majesty's Commissioner for Prisons in England and Wales, who came to Burma at the request of the Burma Government to advise generally on the Jail Conditions in Burma has now presented to the Local Government the results of his labours in a Report.

The Government resolution on the Report dated 9th October says:—

"Mr. Paterson's experience of young criminals has been unique and the recommendations he makes in his Report are therefore deserving of most careful and sympathetic consideration. The Report has been sub-divided into three main heads, (1) prevention of crime, (2) treatment of young offenders and (3) jail management and discipline. The recommendations, which are 24 in number, have been dealt with seriatim and analysed briefly in the Resolution. Mr. Paterson has made five recommendations on "prevention of crime," and the Resolution states that these five recommendations the Governor-in-Council proposes to have examined in detail by a representative Committee. In the 5th recommendation on prevention of crime, Mr. Paterson states that the Government shall take power in the Provincial Act to establish "a preventive school" to which the court may commit boys under 14.

India and the League

SIR C. P. RAMASWAMI IYER'S SPEECH

During the discussion of the Budget in the meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer of the Indian delegation made the following pertinent remarks in regard to the appointment of more Indians in the staff of the League organisation.

As on the last occasion when the Budget was discussed very powerful arguments were advanced by the delegates of the various countries as to the need for the representation of all the nations of the world in the offices of the League I desire to take this opportunity to emphasise and bring to the notice of the League authorities the claims of Indians for employment. I do so not on the narrow ground of India's comparatively large contribution and its regularity in making that contribution, but, as has been referred to by more than one speaker, it is useful to make every member of the League feel that all the nations of the world have a fair chance in this matter, other things being equal. It is my intention finally to point out that this is one of the means by which the citizens of my country will receive training in international work if some of its men who have the necessary qualifications are given the opportunity to work in Geneva. Their presence here will also serve to link together even more closely my distant country with this world-organisation.

I conclude, as I began, by repeating that my aim is not to criticise what has been done but to make suggestions to the appointing authorities in the League relying fully, as indeed was evident, from the Secretary-General's speech, the other day, that they are animated by the same ideas to which I have endeavoured to give expression in this connection, and inasmuch as there is a reference to certain new posts, let me also take this opportunity to emphasise that both in labour matters and in general questions appertaining to the League it would be at least as useful to maintain constant touch with the problems of the Far East as with those of Latin America by establishing suitable machinery for the purpose.

In the discussion on the report of the Economic Committee with reference to the restrictions on export and import Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer said :—

The Indian Government has given its careful consideration to the draft international agreement. It is of course obvious, as is apparent from the latest report submitted to the Council during this month that this document should be regarded solely as a basis for the deliberations of a conference of the representatives of the Government. From that report and the very valuable analysis of criticisms and commentary appended to the report it is clear that this question is closely connected with the general problem of commercial policy. A general observation which must be made at this stage is that it is strongly felt in India that the appendix referred to

on Article IX of the draft agreement should not, as indicated in the footnote to that article be confined to the principal States of Europe but should include other important commercial States, the underlying idea being that India should not be bound by conditions which are not binding on other countries with whom India has trade relations. While therefore the delegation will agree in the words of the report of the Economic Committee that the return to the freedom of commerce should be re-established as a factor in the economic restoration, there are many points of detail which will have to be scrutinised at the projected conference with special reference to India and bearing in mind the problems that arise from its geographical and commercial conditions.

THE MAHARAJA OF KAPURTHALA'S SPEECH

The Maharaja of Kapurthala who represented the Indian Princes on the meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations made several vigorous speeches. In one of them he said :

Important amendments in the penal law devised to protect the community, and particularly minors, more effectively against sexual crime had recently been adopted as a result of the ratification of the Convention for the Suppression in Traffic in Women and Children.

As a result of the Conference in Geneva on Opium and Dangerous Drugs administrative changes, resulting in the progressive restriction of the cultivation, internal consumption and export of opium had been introduced, together with provisions covering the exchange with other countries of information designed to check the illicit drug traffic. India had decided to reduce her export of opium by a fixed annual proportion during the next ten years, so that the export trade would be entirely extinguished, save for medical and scientific purposes, during that period.

Col. Wedgwood on Communalism

Colonel Wedgwood, speaking on the Indian Estimates in the House of Commons, referred to communal representation as follows :—

It may be some time before we shall be able to inspire consent in India in the ordinary British point of view. Meantime, to help in that direction, I would draw the attention of the India Office to the system quite recently introduced in Ceylon. Here there was the same claim for communal representation that we had in India. This very difficult matter was got round in a very skilful way. There was one list of voters for the whole of the country, and then, in addition, every Mohammedan had a vote for his community. This applied to various others, the Burgher, Dutch, the English and so on. You had the common roll and, in addition, the minority had special representation. I can conceive that in this lies the solution for India. Certainly, in Madras it would not do the slightest harm if the Mussalman had two votes, one on the general roll, one communal. When you have the common roll you get that community of interest such as we desire to see develop in India. This system in Ceylon has worked well—Tamil, Mussalman, Burghers and Singalees are satisfied.

The Future of Indian States

The Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastri was the guest of the H. H. The Maharaja of Cochin early this month. He made a speech at Ernakulam on October 7 on "The future of Indian States," in which he declared that personal rule in the States must go. Autocracy in Indian States which have a third of the area and a fourth of the population of the country was not compatible with the notions of popular Government in India. He regretted that our politicians and statesmen instead of facing the real problem had so far contributed to the subject by "loose thinking, dangerous programmes and profitless speculation."

The declaration of August 1917, Mr. Sastri said, made a definite breach with the notion that the ruled are for rulers. Henceforth, it was the interest of the governed, the interest of democracy, that Britain was going to safeguard and for that constituencies and electorates were created under the Government of India Act of 1919. If the subjects of British suzerainty were to evolve their own destiny he wanted to know how long they would care to remain in an unevolved political system. They ought to ask for the same destiny as their brothers, something broader, something more manly. They could not and would not remain in the same old theatre of contentment.

Jail Reform in Mysore

The Mysore State is always in the forefront in introducing reform. The Government of Mysore have now passed orders on the scheme submitted by the Inspector-General of Prisons for the constitution of Special Advisory Boards to consider the cases of long term prisoners with a view to their release on probation prior to the termination of sentence as recommended by the Indian Jails Committee. Agreeing with the principle they have decided to work the scheme experimentally during the next three years.

The Hyderabad Finances

The Hyderabad finances, as unfolded by Mr. A. Hydari, Hydak Nawaz Jung Bahadur in his budget for the year October 6, 1926 to October 5, 1927, is gratifying. The Finance Member has been showing surplus budgets year after year, the difficult task, however, being the proper utilization of these recurring surpluses. Recently, he devoted his energies to see that the budget was not only balanced but well balanced. Now he declares that the Finance Department, with the personal support of His Exalted Highness, the Nizam, is promoting several measures that are likely in future to ensure that the dominion has not only sufficient money but also efficient men. A capital programme holds out the hope of linking up Delhi with Madras by April 1928.

The budget is based on the triennial contract. The actuals for 1,334 fasli (corresponding to the year 1924-25) are now available. These show that the actual surpluses during the past triennium have been 56.65 lakhs; 100.46 lakhs and 154.46 lakhs, including a departmental saving amounting to 88.39 lakhs.

The Baroda University

His Highness the Maharaja Gaikwad of Baroda has appointed a Committee of Mr. Widgery (chairman), Mr. Anandshanker Dhruva, Mr. Kanaiyalal M. Munshi, Dr. K. G. Naik and Mr. S. V. Mukerji to consider the form and terms of, and to submit for orders, a charter for the possible foundation of a University of Baroda and to prepare a scheme in detail for its equipment, organization, administration and maintenance. The Committee is also to consider and make necessary provision for the University, including within its scope educational institutions within Gujarat and Kathiawad which may be prepared to co-operate. The Committee is also asked to tour in India, visit various University centres and invite leading educationists to give their views on the various matters concerned.

Indian Labour in Ceylon

In 1922 the Ceylon Government was asked to institute an enquiry into the question of fixing a basic wage in accordance with the conditions on which the emigration of Indian labour to Ceylon was allowed.

The Colonial Government appointed Mr. Jones Bateman whose conclusions, however, did not satisfy the Government of India. The Ceylon Government then at the suggestion of the Indian Government appointed a Committee of Enquiry whose report was forwarded to the Government of India in April 1925. The Committee accepted the principle of standard wage and assuming that an adult male or female labourer worked for 24 days and a working child for 20 days a month, suggested the payment in low country, middle country and up country, respectively, of the following wages: For men 50, 52, and 54 cents; for women 40, 41 and 43 cents; and for working children 30, 31 and 32 cents. The Government of India, in consultation with Standing Emigration Committee, urged an addition of ten per cent. to the Committee's scale to provide for a margin for sickness, etc. The Ceylon Government thereupon deputed Mr. Reid, Controller of Indian Immigrant Labour, to discuss the situation at Delhi. Mr. Reid claimed that a margin of ten per cent. was provided for in the Committee's scale in the difference between the standard wages and the actual cost of living exclusive of the dependents and made the following further concession for non-working dependents, namely, the issue of one-eighth of a bushel of rice free every month to each working man and the same quantity of rice to each widow.

The Government of India by their resolution dated 29th September have accepted these proposals subject to the understanding that any revision in the standard wage could not take place until after six months' notification of such proposal. These proposals take effect from 1927

Indians in Burma

The Burma Expulsion Act, it may be remembered, was passed by the Burma Legislative Council in spite of public opposition and it evoked a storm of protest throughout Burma and India. This Act authorises the expulsion of non-Burmans convicted of offences from Burma. Besides the inherent objection to the Act, it was apprehended at the time that it was directly aimed against Indians inasmuch as it included the sedition sections of the Indian Penal Code under the cloak of which Indian politicians undesirable from the point of view of Government might be safely got rid of. The Burma Government came forward with an amending Bill to eliminate all offences under Sections 121, 122-A, 123, 124 and 124-A, Indian Penal Code, from the schedule of the Act, and it has been duly passed by the Council.

Emigrants from British Guiana

The problem of dealing with emigrants returned from British Guiana and other British Colonies over six hundred of whom are reported to be living in Muthiaburz suburb of Calcutta, was investigated by the Bishop of Calcutta, Sir Devaprasad Sarbadhikari, Mr. D. P. Khaitan and Mr. C. F. Andrews. These are lower caste Hindus from the Central and United Provinces most of them having their families with them. Returning to their native lands they usually find their castes and estates forfeited. Mr. Andrews favours recruitment, now going on in the U. P. for British Guiana, from the ablest of them who had experience of the conditions of work there.

The South African Conference

The Government of India announced in July last, that a Conference on the Indian problem in South Africa, which the Government of the Union had agreed to enter, would meet in Cape Town on the 14th December. It has been now decided to open the Conference on the 20th December.

The 1sh. 6d. Ratio

The Executive Committee of the Southern India Chamber of Commerce, Madras considered the Currency Commission Report with the minutes of dissent. While recognising that a few of the recommendations are acceptable they are opposed to several of the more important proposals. The Committee by a majority agreed to the proposed ratio of 1sh. 6d. as a tentative measure just for the sake of certainty of exchange and also unanimously supported the proposal for the establishment of the new Central Bank. They however unanimously condemned the recommendations of the Commission in regard to inconvertible paper, demonetisation of sovereigns and half sovereigns, and the gold bullion standard, the cumulative effect of which will render the position of Indian Currency nervous, chaotic and demoralised and will render it necessary to keep Indian Currency reserves in different parts of the world which might eventually result in unforeseen loss to the country.

Air Service from England to India

We understand that the Air service from England to India is to be inaugurated on January 12th next. It is also announced, that Sir Samuel Hoare, Secretary for Air, accompanied by Lady Maud Hoare, will travel to India by the first flight. Three machines will set out together and Air Vice-Marshal Sir Sefton Branker will also be one of the party. It is probable that only three aeroplanes will be completed by January 12, but, later, five will operate the new airway. On the route not only has it been necessary to make suitable landing places in uninhabited and difficult country, but hotels for travellers have been built at romantic places where one could never hope to find hostelry.

The recent Air-flight made by Sir Alan Cobham will, we think, facilitate the early opening of this air service.

Protection for Match Industry

Reference of the case for the protection of the match industry to the Tariff Board is announced in a recent resolution issued by the Commerce Department of the Government of India. It states that the present rate of duty on matches imported from abroad is Re. 1-8 per gross, which represents a duty of more than 100 per cent. The *ad valorem* duty was raised to this figure purely as a revenue measure, and the Government of India have consistently rejected requests from manufacturers in India that the duty should be declared a protective duty. A high revenue duty naturally has a protective effect, and since 1922, when the present duty was imposed, numerous match factories have been established in India, some of them using indigenous wood and other woods imported in log from abroad.

International Economic Conference

Speaking at Geneva on September 17 with regard to the projected Economic Conference Mr. Abdul Qadir laid stress on the importance of India in the economic life of the world. He pointed out the discrepancy between the level of prices of agricultural products and manufactured goods in India. He stated that India found it most difficult to secure the prices for her raw products which would enable her to buy advantageously the manufactured articles she required.

British Empire Fair

The Advisory Committee to the Madras Development Ministry met early last month and recommended that the Madras Government should participate in the British Empire Fair to be held in London and give large advertisement to the Indian products. The Director of Industries, Madras has been asked to submit an estimate of the approximate amount required for such participation so that the sanction of the Legislative Council might be obtained for the same. It is understood that the cost would not exceed Rs. 10,000.

A Modern Agricultural Department

Mr. G. S. Henderson, Imperial Agriculturist, Pusa, writing in *THE AGRICULTURAL JOURNAL OF INDIA*, says that district research and propaganda are the fundamental work of an agricultural department, combined with cattle-breeding, the study of farm-machinery, implements, well-boring, principles of rotation, up-keep of fertility and manuring. He pleads for a close study of the organisation of the Department of Agriculture of U. S. A., for the enlisting of representatives of trade interest and for the formation of a bureau for each central crop. Not only is research required through laboratory and field experiments, but there is a crying need for practical investigation into the technique of direct cultivation in India on an estate scale. Some larger agency than the board of agriculture is now necessary to keep in touch with the expansion of modern agricultural methods.

Besides propaganda in cattle-breeding, grading of agricultural produce etc. and educational diffusion of new ideas, there are the following in which improvement can be quickly effected. While, as already mentioned, owing to economic circumstances, many parts of India present great difficulties for immediate agricultural improvements, there are many other special areas where there is plenty of money and the time is ripe for improvement. The following heads represent the lines which urgently require exploiting in a national manner and which are common to two or more provinces or States:—

NEW AND IMPROVED CULTURAL METHODS

While these are largely a work of Provincial Departments, there are many problems which would better be properly investigated by common action such as reclamation of *kalar*, *usar* and alkaline lands.

IRRIGATION FACILITIES: BOTH CANALS AND WELLS

National problems are the "duties of water", water requirements of crops and data for the operation of new canals, also power well bores and drainage problems.

IMPLEMENTS AND MACHINERY

Effort should be made to get foreign makers interested in India. The agency system at present in vogue has nothing to recommend it, and among other disadvantages stocks of spare parts of machinery sold are inadequate. A power threshing machine suitable for Indian requirement is one of the pressing problems of the day. In big wheat tracts the harvest of wheat is now beginning to interfere with the sowing of cotton.

MANURES

A large amount of work is required herein, especially in the utilization of manurial cakes, bones, fish, etc., which are at present exported.

The Agricultural Commission

The Marquis of Linlithgow Chairman of the Agricultural Commission and two other members arrived in Bombay on the 8th of this month. The first meeting of the Commission took place at Simla on the 11th when the Commission examined a number of witnesses including several heads of departments under the Government of India.

Referring to the work of this Commission the *LONDON TIMES* says that while nothing in the terms of reference to the Agricultural Commission forbids the expression of the opinion that a certain system of land tenure is adverse to rural prosperity, it would be placing an undue burden to request the Commissioners to suggest changes in the manifold system of land tenure. It adds that there is already the risk that the complexity of their problems may unduly delay the publication of the report and considers that the Commission will have to exercise considerable diplomacy in its recommendations for the co-ordination of the activities of Central and Provincial Governments and also perhaps in devising means for the eventual safeguarding of agricultural institutions, whose creation it may recommend against financial loss by political enemies of Provincial Governments or political friends of powerful money-lending interests.

[SHORT NOTICES ONLY APPEAR IN THIS SECTION.]

Wanderings and Excursions. By J. Ramsay MacDonald, The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis.

Like some others in English public life whose names will occur readily to one's mind MacDonald's interest has been divided equally between politics and literature. His career as a Socialist and Labour leader led him to the top and he became the first Labour Prime Minister of England. But the reward of literature is different—the pure joy of creation. He wanders over moor and mountain and his descriptions are a thing of beauty. The fact is he carries the holiday mood with him and the mood expresses itself in words of rare craftsmanship. There are in this volume charming essays on the Channel Islands and colourful pictures of Constantinople. But above all is the spirit of the artist as lovable and as companionable as that of his illustrious countryman—R. L. S. "Wanderings and Excursions" is, as he truly says "a book for the way-side and the evening between supper and bed."

Character Builders. By Kharshedji Cawasji Desai, Navsari.

This is a collection of maxims and sayings of celebrities—authors, poets, and philosophers. In the nature of things one would find the oft-quoted lines, the trite sayings made familiar by constant usage. But the field is so vast that there is always room for fresh "fruit gatherings." It is an admirable idea of the author to supply brief biographical sketches of those whose sayings are culled for our edification. The names are in alphabetical order as also the sayings presented under suitable headings. But there is not even a table of contents for the book and we doubt if the author himself can get at a particular passage without wading through the whole of this miscellany. It is a pity that for a book of 600 pages dealing with innumerable authors and hundreds of topics there is not an index of subjects nor an index of names.

The Indian Constitution By Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. The National Secretary's Office, Adyar.

This volume was written on the eve of the Enquiry of the Reforms Committee in 1924. In another two years or so a Royal Commission of Enquiry into the working of the Reforms will be upon us. Meanwhile the present constitution is being worked for what it is worth. Demands for its early revision are insistent. The author holds that on such a subject differences of opinion are bound to continue. But no well-informed criticism of the present constitution is possible without a proper study of the Act. Dr. Sapru supplies that study in these illuminating chapters on the various aspects of the Indian Constitution.

The Secret of Ana'l Haqq. By Khan Saheb Khaja Khan. Price Rs. 2. (Available of Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co., Publishers, Madras.)

This book is a translation from Persian of the *Irshadat* or 'sayings' of Shayk Muhammed Ibrahim. The doctrine of Ana'l Haqq which means "I am the truth," is particularly worked out in 20 chapters and edited with notes and an introduction by the author.

BOOKS RECEIVED

THE BELL-BRANCH. By James H. Cousins. Maunsell & Co., Ltd., Dublin.

THE POLITICS OF BOUNDARIES AND TENDENCIES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. By Bency Kumar Sirkar, N. M. Roy Chowdhury & Co., College Street, Market, Calcutta.

A BOOK OF MODERN VERSE. By J. C. Smith, Oxford University Press, Madras.

PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS OF THE THIRD ORIENTAL CONFERENCE, MADRAS. Law Printing House, Mount Road, Madras.

INLAND TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATION IN MEDIEVAL INDIA. By Bijoy Kumar Sirkar, A. B. (Harvard) Calcutta University Press.

- September 14. The Maharajah of Alwar opened a bazaar at Inverness to-day.
- September 15. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has been elected President and Lala Lajpat Rai, General Secretary of the Independent Party.
- September 16. The Madras Legislative Council passed the Hindu Religious Endowment Bill.
- The Manchester City Council has resolved by 62 votes to 19 to confer the Freedom of the City on the Indian representatives to the Imperial Conference.
- September 17. The Madras Legislative Council was prorogued to-day.
- September 18. The South African Deputation arrived in Bombay to-day.
- September 19. N. M. Samarth, Member of the India Council died to-day.
- September 20. The betrothal is announced of the Crown Prince Leopold of Belgium and Princess Astrid of Sweden.
- September 21. The C. P. Legislative Council was dissolved to-day.
- The Conference of Ministers and Commissioners of Excise met at Simla under the Presidency of Sir Basil Blackett.
- September 22. The Commission on Disarmament has adopted the French proposal to call the Disarmament Conference before the next meeting of the Assembly of the League.
- September 23. The South African Deputation arrived in Madras to-day.
- September 24. The Marquess of Reading has accepted the chairmanship of the British Indian Union in succession to Lord Willingdon.
- H. H. The Maharajah of Kashmir is promoted to the honorary rank of Colonel in the Army.
- September 25. The Indian Hedjaz Conference met at Delhi under the presidency of Mr. Salebhoy K. Brodawalla, Sheriff of Bombay.
- September 26. Lord Willingdon sailed for Canada to take up the Governor-Generalship.
- September 27. The South African Deputation arrived in Calcutta to-day.
- September 28. Sir Sassoon J. David Bart died to-day in Bombay.
- September 29. Mr. C. F. Andrews left Bombay for S. Africa to-day.
- September 30. The Assam Legislative Council was prorogued to-day.
- October 1. Alan Cobham, the famous world aviator arrived in London to-day after his successful raid round the world.
- The S. African Deputation arrived in Simla.
- The Public Services Commission has been inaugurated to-day.
- October 2. A State of emergency has been declared in the City of Calcutta under the Presidency Security Act.
- October 3. Lord Willingdon has been sworn in as Governor-General of Canada.
- October 4. Alan Cobham is made a Knight Commander of the Order of British Empire.
- October 5. Sir Stanley Reed gave evidence before the Back Bay Enquiry Committee to-day.
- October 6. Sir Chunilal Mehta has been co-opted as a member of the Royal Commission on Agriculture.
- October 7. Two of the members of the German Cabinet, Heer Von-Seeckt and Her Severing have resigned.
- October 8. Marquis of Linlithgow, Chairman of the Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture arrived in Bombay to-day.
- October 9. The Prussian States Council has adopted the Hohenzollern Property Compromise Bill.
- Mr. G. S. Bijpai left for London to-day by the S. S. *Rawalpindi*.
- October 10. H. E. Lord Lytton on return from leave resumed charge to day.
- October 11. The Agricultural Commission met in Simla and held its first sitting.

Literary

The Bombay Chronicle

THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE in its issue of October 1st announced that Mr. L. R. Tairsee had purchased the paper and press on behalf of Mr. Belgaumwalla and friends. As some legal and other formalities have to be gone through in the meantime it will take some time before the management and control of the paper are assumed by the new Syndicate. Subscribers and readers of the CHRONICLE are assured that "reconstitution of the management will not involve any change in the nationalist policy of ventilating grievances and championing the rights of Indian people which the paper founded by Sir Phirozeshah Mehta has consistently followed."

Mr. Lloyd George as Journalist

Mr. Lloyd George's remark in reply to Mr. Churchill as to his reasons for writing articles raises an interesting point, says the London correspondent of the CEYLON INDEPENDENT. The exact passage from the verbatim report is: "I have to earn my living and I write a fortnightly article which appears in almost every country in Europe and America." It is generally understood that Mr. Lloyd George has a fairly generous annuity under the will of Mr. Andrew Carnegie. It is also possible—though some misconception exists as to the extent of this—for an ex Cabinet Minister to obtain a pension in certain circumstances. Journalists who might be asking whether it is absolutely necessary for the ex-Prime Minister to come into the crowded market are however consoling themselves with the thought that so distinguished a competitor owns his mode of making a living to be writing for "divers papers." The sting of Kipling's observations on this occupation is thus effectually drawn, though perhaps the speech like the ballad was a little rhetorical.

The Morning Post of India

Sir Victor Sassoon has made the following statement regarding the daily newspaper proposed to be published by him in Bombay:—"The Amalgamated Press of India Ltd., after due consideration do not consider that the trade prospects of Bombay in the near future justify them in starting the proposed newspaper MORNING POST OF INDIA in the next few months as was originally intended. The question of high exchange restricting the buying power of the Indian consumer and the disadvantages in which trade in Bombay is suffering from high rates for land charged by the Port Trust and Bombay Municipality have had something to do with this decision."

Freedom of the Press

"The Freedom of the Press", said Sir Robert Bruce, the Editor of THE GLASGOW HERALD in his speech as President of the Institute of Journalists, "is freedom to record all public events without fear or favour; freedom to discuss all affairs that affect the commonweal; freedom to oppose tyranny wherever and under whatever circumstances it raises its challenge; freedom to uphold all good causes against prejudice or vested interests—in a word it is freedom of speech and freedom of thought."

"To exercise this freedom the Press must maintain its independence and the only comment I will make thereon is an expression of gratification that there never was a time when the British Press was freer from caucus ties. A tied Press is of no use whatever in a democratic State. Further no party in the state, no section of the community will ever win any success worth having in this free country which attempts to measure out knowledge to its people in quantities just sufficient as it thinks, for its own purpose and which seeks to suppress all criticism except of its opponents."

Educational

Mr. Sastri's advice to Students

The Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri presided over the Kumbakonam College Old Boys' Anniversary last month. Addressing the students he said :—

"India is yours to make or to mar. We have done our bit and if you do better than we with a larger outlook, with more manly enthusiasm, not only will our duty have been done but the inmost desire of our hearts will have been achieved. What is the purpose of an institution like this? That the education we have received, the culture of which we have been the custodians, should be handed down to you not only richer, purer but also more copious, more varied and more fitted for the gigantic tasks that from all sides of the world are going to perplex your brains in the future. You, have our fondest wishes for success while in college and greater success when you leave."

Rt. Hon. Fisher on Education

The Right Hon. H. A. L. Fisher speaking at the London University Meeting on August 11 said that public schools must produce captains of industry and controllers of the Empire who understand men as co-workers, not as "hands," niggers or under-dogs. He said :—

"If the public schools can breed a race of leaders who are one with the millions they lead, the great grand-children of those who learned to win Waterloo on the playing-fields of Eton and the children of those who won Zeebrugge at Twickenham and Lord's will find new fields and greater conquests in the cities and villages at their doors. Schoolboys should be treated as men of the world in the best sense. The world now-a-days did not tend to adopt itself to the complacent public schoolboy of limited outlook and a great reverence for convention but respected the engineer who knew his job, the elementary schoolboy who won a commission in the war and the labourer's son in the statesman's seat."

Education in India

The total expenditure by the Government on education in India, says the Government Report on "Progress of Education in India," issued by Mr. Richey, Education Commissioner with the Government of India, is Rs. 9,98,01,594 representing only four annas per head of population.

The percentage of total expenditure on education borne by the Government has declined from 48.9 to 47.9 while contributions from fees has risen from 21.8 to 22.4, the cost per scholar to the Government funds shows an extraordinary range of variety indifferent provinces from Rs. 3 in Bihar and Orissa to Rs. 42 in Delhi.

The Teaching of English

Mr. P. G. Sahasranama Iyer M.A. offers in the course of a lecture (reprinted in THE JOURNAL OF THE TRAVANCORE TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION) some very useful and practical suggestions for the cultivation of taste in literature and the habit of writing and speaking correct and idiomatic English. First, he pleads for a course of phonetics of modern English. For it is no good learning to write a language without knowing to speak it well. Then he considers the art of composition in its various aspects: legible handwriting, accurate spelling and correct punctuation. He then discusses the methods of attaining mastery over paragraph-structure and passes on to show the real value of style. Quoting Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch he warns the students against flights of eloquence and tells them that it is enough if they look to the decencies of sentence structure without soaring higher. He offers some wholesome advice as to how we can attain mastery over the technique of English composition. "My own idea of a solution is two-fold—extensive reading of good English books and constant use of books like the Oxford Dictionary. I believe in the possibility of the idiom and the genius of English getting into the very being of the reader."

Legal

An Important Judgment

In the absence of Sir Benjamin Heald, Mr. Justice Otter delivered judgment on September 23 in the appeal of Maung Sein, Editor of the Magazine called BANDOOLA against the conviction and sentence of Rs. 51 or one month's R. I. passed by the Eastern Sub-Divisional Magistrate, Rangoon, on a charge of defamation.

His Lordship in the course of his judgment said that parties and their legal advisers and the Magistrate seemed to have overlooked the fact that a newspaper was not a person and that, therefore, it was not a criminal offence to defame a newspaper. The defamation of a newspaper might in certain cases involve defamation of those responsible for its publication but His Lordship did not understand that it is to be suggested that U Ba Pe was a disreputable person. A great deal of time and doubtless considerable amount of money had been wasted over this prosecution. But it seemed to His Lordship that the case was one to which section 95 of I. P. C., might well be applied since the harm done was so slight that no person of ordinary sense and temper would complain of it. His lordship set aside the conviction and sentence and directed the accused to be acquitted and the fine refunded.

Indian Divorces

The Society of Solicitors in the Supreme Courts of Scotland have protested against the Indian and Colonial Divorce Jurisdiction Bill proposing to confer jurisdiction in actions for divorce upon the High Courts in India where parties are domiciled in England or Scotland, and to authorise these courts to award damages, ailment, custody of children, etc. The solicitors are supported in their protest by the Faculty of Advocates and the Society of Writers to His Majesty's Signet.

Liberty of Person

A full Bench of the Calcutta High Court has given an important decision in the case of Muhammad Sulaiman vs. The King Emperor. What the Judges had to decide was whether the Calcutta police have power to detain a prisoner in custody, without bringing him before a Presidency Magistrate, until such time as the police have carried their investigations to the point at which they have a charge to make. It has been the practice in the past for the Commissioner or Deputy Commissioner of Police, acting in his capacity as a Justice of the Peace, to determine when a prisoner shall be brought before a Magistrate. The power to do this has now been challenged, and the judges have found that the assumed power does not exist—that a prisoner must be produced with all expedition before a Magistrate, and that if a prisoner is to be remanded in custody the decision must be that of a Magistrate and not of a police officer.

Crime in Burma

Persuant to their resolution on the suppression of violent crime the Government of Burma have appointed a Committee to advise generally what measures should be taken to deal with the large increase in murders and dacoities with special reference to the desirability or otherwise (a) of restricting the carrying of daos or to take any other action under the Indian Arms Act and (b) of special legislation with a view to more expeditious disposal of murder and dacoity cases. The Committee will be presided over by Sir Benjamin Heald, Puisne Judge of the Burma High Court.

Religious Endowments Bill

After a protracted debate lasting over a fortnight the Hindu Religious Endowments Bill was passed by the Madras Legislative Council on September 17. Over 475 amendments were given notice of, of which more than 300 were moved, only nineteen of these were accepted by the Minister and the rest were lost.

Medical

Board of Indian Medicine in U. P.

The Hon. Justice Gokaranath Misra is appointed President of the Board of Indian Medicine in the United Provinces. The functions of this Board are to advise the Government on all matters connected with the organisation and development of Ayurvedic and Unani systems, to prescribe courses of study for examinations, appoint examiners and



HON. JUSTICE G. N. MISRA

conduct all examinations under Indian systems of medicines, confer certificates, diplomas and degrees, register medical practitioners and to distribute grants placed by the Government at the disposal of the Board. The Minister of Education, Hon. Rai Rajeshwar Bali while inaugurating the Board on the 16th of last month advised it to follow the present scientific methods in bringing the Ayurvedic and Unani systems up-to-date.

A new Cure for Malaria

A new cure for malaria, by means of a synthetic preparation "Plasmochin," was explained at the Scientists' and Doctors' Congress at Duesseldorf. It was claimed that it was more effective than quinine. Experiments were at first conducted by Professor Sioli on lunatics who were specially infected with malaria germs, after which "Plasmochin" was successfully tested by Professor Muchlens of Hamburg Tropical Institute on over a hundred victims of malaria from various parts of world. In many cases, permanent cure is believed to have been effected.

Curing with Dust

Don Luigi Garofalo, priest of the Quarto sector of Naples, is curing all the ills, flesh is heir to, from pneumonia to broken bones by practical application of a theory derived from the text, "Dust thou art and to dust thou shalt return."

Don Luigi argues that from the homeopathic point of view that dust should therefore be a curative element. So from dust taken from the reddish earth near Pozzuoli, which contains traces of sulphur and copper, he makes pills for the afflicted, but, with a broadness of view that emphasises his stronger faith in suggestion than in chemicals, he maintains that any other earth will do.

Persuaded to go to the house in the most crowded district of Naples to see a seventeen-year old girl who had been given up by the leading doctors after four years' fruitless treatment for acute neurasthenia, Luigi bound her head with white bandages on which he had breathed three times—and the girl almost immediately became better. He has cured tubercular cases, tooth-ache, internal lesions, heart disease, mumps, etc.

Dr. Sandoz's New Discovery

"Tricaine," a new anaesthetic, has recently been discovered by Dr. Sandoz, of the University of Lausanne. It is particularly notable for its narcotic effects.

Science

Prof. C. V. Raman's new discovery

An interesting discovery, which promises to throw much light on the mystery of magnetism and its relation to chemistry, has been made by Professor C. V. Raman, F. R. S.

By using highly sensitive and refined optical methods, it has been demonstrated that the molecules of all common liquids, water or paraffin for



PROF. C. V. RAMAN, F.R.S.

instance, when placed in a strong magnetic field orientate and tend to place themselves so that certain favoured directions are parallel to the field. Investigation shows every molecule in the liquid state to possess different magnetic properties in different directions, and actually enables these differences to be measured and connected with the chemical structure of the molecule.

Professors Cotton and Mouton, the two French investigators, who, about the year 1907, first observed the double refraction exhibited by nitrobenzene in a magnetic field, were unable to detect the effect in a great many common liquids which were, accordingly, considered to be magnetically inactive.

But the discovery now made in Calcutta is the result, according to Professor Raman, of a more searching investigation aided by the results of his earlier researches on the scattering of light by molecules and its relation to their structure and dimensions. The combined evidence of magnetic and optical researches now made opens up a new vista in the study of the physical and chemical properties of molecules by enabling a determination of the position of the electrons in the molecules.

Imagination in Science

Sir William Schooling, Writing in THE EMPIRE REVIEW expatiates on the duty of the student to exercise his power of selection and his faculty of imagination. Imagination is required for scientific discovery and for explaining the results which have been reached by original thinkers; and for the mere layman or amateur it is imagination that gives endless interest and pleasure to his studies.

In the pursuit of science, whether in original discovery or in explaining it to others, as teachers and professors constantly have to do, we are continually struck by the gradual approach that we are able to reach towards a fuller conception of the unity of nature. Most of our work does the best it can to prevent us from realizing that unity. We split nature up into astronomy, chemistry, biology, and the rest, and have comparatively watertight compartments. It limits our view and gives us wrong notions. Those divisions which we call sciences, and progress comes when the divisions between them are broken down. Because of our limited faculties, it is necessary to study little groups at a time, but we want, if we can, and as often as possible, to use the faculty of imagination to see the unity which prevails throughout. This tracing of relationships is in no way limited to these divisions of science, but enters also into history and social problems.

Personal

The Late Mr. N. M. Samarth

Mr. N. M. Samarth, Member of the India Council, who died in London on September 19 was one of the staunchest Liberals of Western India. He had been the right-hand man of the late Sir Pheroza Shah Mehta.

The public life of Mr. Samarth may be said to have begun from the year 1913 when he entered



MR. N. M. SAMARTH

the Bombay Legislative Council as a representative of the Bombay University. He did useful work in the Reformed Council constituted under the Minto-Morley Reforms. Later he had a great deal to do with the drafting of the old Congress Scheme. After the declaration of August,

1917 was announced, he earnestly worked for bringing about the Reforms. He organised the first All-India Moderates' Conference in Bombay in 1918, which was presided over by Sir Surendranath Bannerjee. It was under the auspices of this party that he organised a Deputation, which did valuable work in England.

After the Government of India Act was passed, Mr. Samarth was nominated to the Legislative Assembly. His minute of dissent while on the North-West Frontier Committee formed the basis of opposition in the Assembly this year. He was also a member of the Racial Distinction Committee. As a member of the Lee Commission he successfully pressed upon the Commission the urgency of the complete provincialisation of the Superior Services and their subordination to Indian Ministers in the departments controlled by them. Mr. Samarth also pressed for the Indianisation of the Medical Services and made it a condition that the increase of salaries given to the services should be based upon these reforms being simultaneously carried out.

Soon after his appointment at the India Office his health failed, as the climate of London did not suit him in his old age. Latterly he was suffering from Phthisis to which he succumbed.

The Late Sir Sassoon David

Sir Sassoon David, Bart, who died on September 28 was prominent among those pioneers of commerce and industry who laid the foundations of Bombay. He was remarkable for his financial acumen, foresight, sagacity and indefatigable industry which placed him in a commanding position in commercial circles in the city. The Bank of India which was one of the pioneer enterprises in Indian Banking owes its prosperity largely to his talents and not a few of Hydro-electric and other schemes of the Tatas received invaluable support from him. Sir Sassoon took a prominent part also in the civic affairs of Bombay.

Political

Lord Goschen on Communalism

In proroguing the Madras Council on September 17th the President read a message from His Excellency Lord Goschen the Governor of Madras reviewing the work of the Government and the Legislative activities of the House during the last three years.

Lord Goschen is of opinion that the time has now come for parties to be divided on effective political programmes, and not on communal basis. The concluding portion of the message of the Governor ran as follows:—"Lord Willingdon in



H. E. VISCOUNT GOSCHEN

proroguing the Council in 1923 used these words: We started our work on different principles to that of any other Province, principles which were much criticised at the time, principles as to which I was gravely warned of the troubles I was laying up for myself as the head of administration. Thanks to the goodwill and co-operation of all, those gloomy prophets have been confounded."

"I believe myself that these different principles on which this Province was started were sound and had a steadying influence on the early days of our parliamentary system in this province. But I believe the moment has arrived when we should ask ourselves whether we should not in the interests of the administration of the Presidency and of Parliamentary Government hasten the days which I seem to see approaching of the institution of a real division of parties based upon effective political programmes. Let rivalry rest on no other basis than a genuine desire to promote the moral and material prosperity of the people whom the parties represent."

India through French Eyes

M Maurice Pernot, the distinguished French journalist, who recently toured India makes the following observations on his visit to Madras, in the pages of the *Revue de deux Mondes* :—

It is in the lobbies of the Parliament of Madras that I made the acquaintance of some of my Indian confreres, men courteous and cultured. One of them wished much to take me to the office of the INDIAN REVIEW which Mr. G. A. Natesan edits with success. In the absence of the Editor, detained at Delhi by work in the Council of State, the Editorial Secretary obligingly did me the honours of the House. He knew the *Revue de deux Mondes* having seen it quoted very often in the English periodicals. The views that he developed before me on the political situation resembled very nearly those that were expressed to me by Lord Goschen. He denounced the rivalries of caste as the great obstacle to progress, political and social of the country. * * * * * The group that has founded and directs the INDIAN REVIEW attempts to attenuate these distinctions and to render the spirit of caste less intransigent. I will not say that the result is commensurate to the efforts. Meanwhile you will find a proof of the liberal spirit that we animate in some of these parts that I take the liberty of offering to you and particularly in one of these which is our Jubilee Number. The authors that are there collected are of all origins, Brahmins and Non-Brahmins, Mahomedans and Christians. This eclecticism is in conformity with the devise that you will read at the head of the Review, '*Absit Invidia*.'

General

Indians in League Offices

India's contribution to the expenses of the League of Nations has been fixed from this year at 56 units out of 937. It was till now greater. Under the new arrangement India will have to pay annually a sum of about 7 lakhs of rupees. The Hon. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar pressed for the appointment of more Indians in the League Secretariat. Commenting on this THE INDIAN DAILY MAIL writes:—

"There are now no Indians occupying the higher posts in the League Secretariat and only one or two even in positions of lesser responsibility. The higher posts are said to be the monopoly of a few European nations while Japan is also not ignored. A substantial part of the sums paid by these countries goes back to them as salaries to their nationals while India loses once and for ever all but a very small percentage of her huge annual contribution to the League."

India's Loyalty

Addressing the Canada Club, at Toronto on September 28, Sir T. Vijayaraghavachariar referred to a book by Dean Inge, in which he expressed the opinion that the attitude of India in any future Empire trouble, was very doubtful. He was of opinion that the attitude of India was as free from doubt as the attitude of Canada would be in another world war. He said:—

"We Indians are the subjects of the King, along with all his other people. I have faith in the British Empire, and it is strengthened by the assurance that the future greatness of Canada, as of India, is bound up with the British Empire. We are all subjects of the mighty Empire, which, God willing, will be strengthened in future as in the past. The resources of the British Statesmanship have not been exhausted. We are in an era which is the beginning of a still more glorious future, will rest with all British subjects."

Lure of Drugs

"Drug addiction is a real menace to the world, and it is necessary that Britain should play its part in the fight against this menace," said Sir William Willcox, president of the Society for the Study of Inebriety, speaking in London on April 13.

"I have known medical students who have taken drugs to see what it is like," continued Sir William, "and I have known them to die through it."

"Then I know of a brilliant man who has one of the strongest wills of my experience, who took morphia for pain, and said: 'Other people must not take it, but I have a strong will.' He has been an addict for 15 years."

"I do not believe anyone has a strong enough will to withstand drug addiction if they take the drug for one month or more."

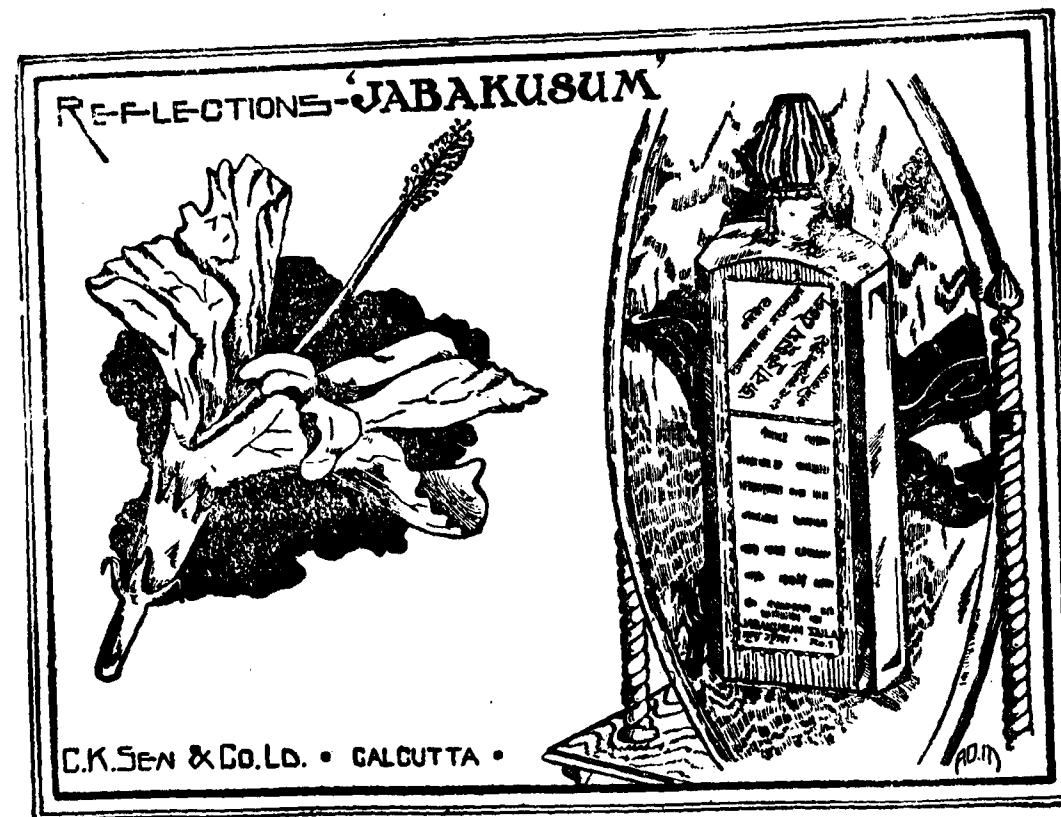
Millionaires in U. S. A.

According to Mr. McCoy, Chief Actuary to the U. S. Treasury, the number of American millionaires, says a cable to THE ENGLISHMAN, is declining and the future will bring a further decrease. This calculation is based on the income-tax returns which show that there are now 11,000 millionaires, including at least one billionaire. Thus one American out of every 10,450 of the population has attained millionaire rank.

Syed Amir Ali on Communalism

The Rt. Hon. Ameer Ali writes to THE TIMES:

"In THE TIMES of the 21st instant I find in the note on the recent appointments to the Judicial Committee a reference to me in the following terms: 'Lord Sinha is the first Hindu to be placed on the Judicial Committee. The Mahomedans have been represented there since 1909 by Syed Ameer Ali.' I was not aware that I was appointed to the Judicial Committee to represent the Mahomedans, nor am I aware that Judicial appointments are made to represent either religious communities or political factions."



E. Oct. '26, C. P. 8.



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"Razmak" to Aden	10,000	30th	"Naldera" from Aden	15,993	20th
"Morea" from Aden	10,998	6th Nov. ..	"Ranchi"	16,550	27th
"Kaiser-i-Hind"	11,430		"China" to Aden	7,952	
			"Manuta" from Aden	10,902	

* Through steamer from Australia

† Terminates voyage at Marseilles

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Steamers.	Tons.	Sailing About
Nagoya	7,000	19th November 1926
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Dumana	8,428	30th October 1926
Merkara	8,300	13th November ..
Mantola	9,000	27th

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" 5th	Trivellore	Arpasi New Moon
" 13th to 18th	Via Poona	Kartik Ekadashi at Pandharpur
" 13th to 18th	Via Hotgi	Kartik Ekadashi at Pandharpur
" 19th	Tiruttani	Grand Kirthigai festival
" 19th	Via Katpadi for Tiruvannamalai	Karthigai festival, Tiruvannamalai
" 21st	Sholinghur	Karthigai Sunday
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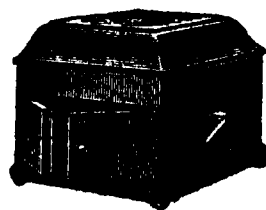
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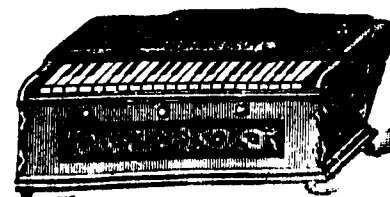
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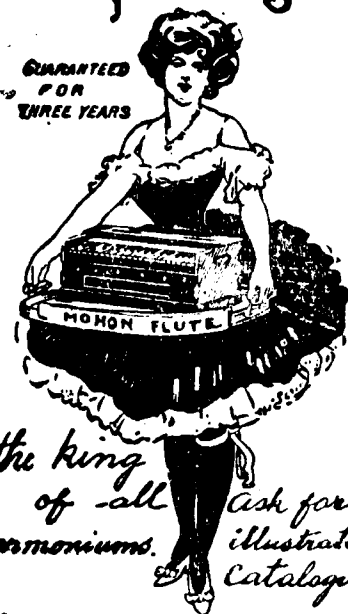
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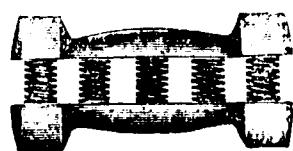
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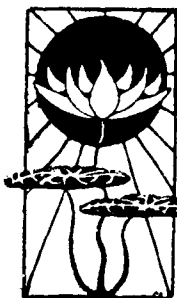
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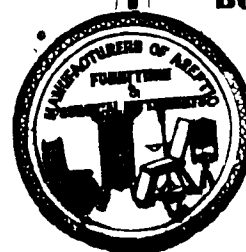
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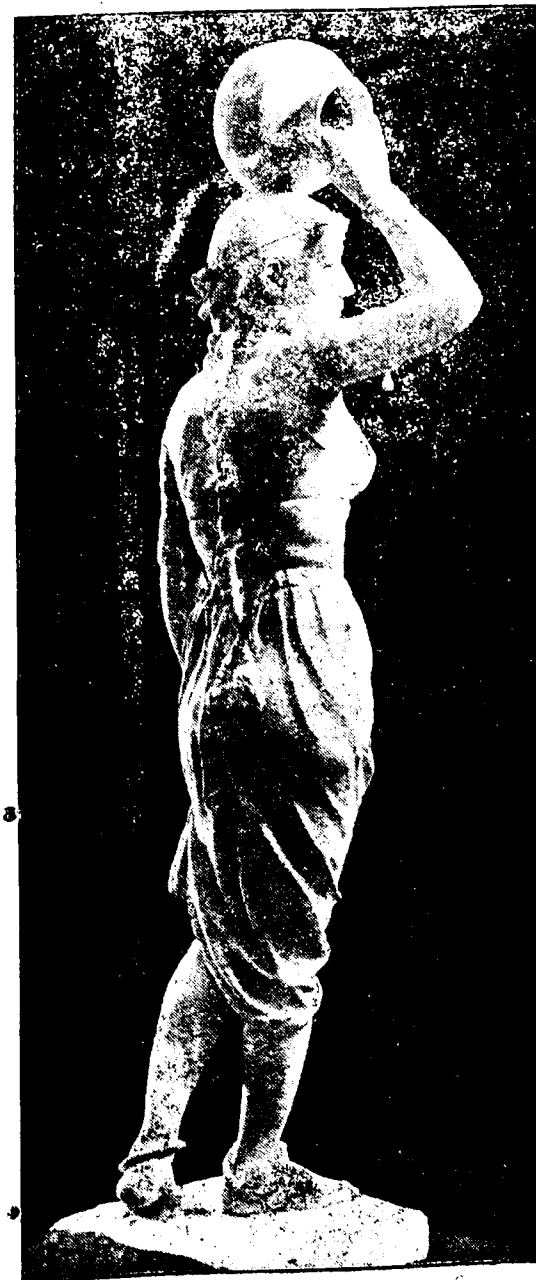
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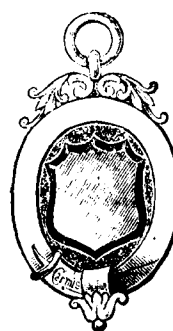
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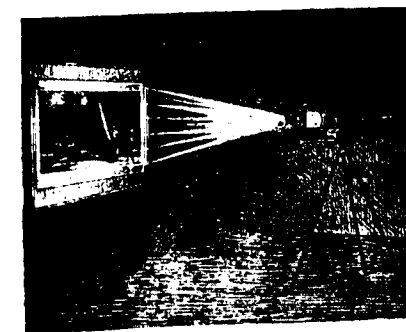
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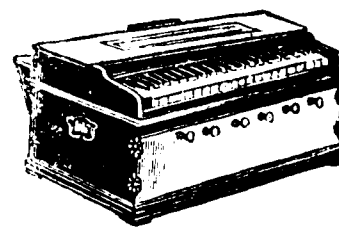
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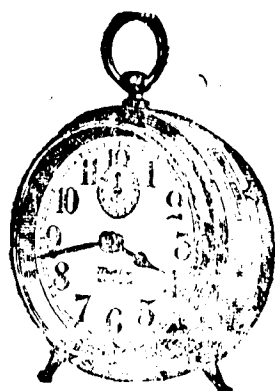
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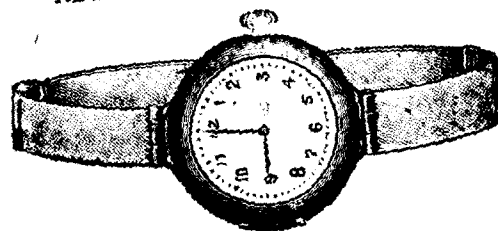
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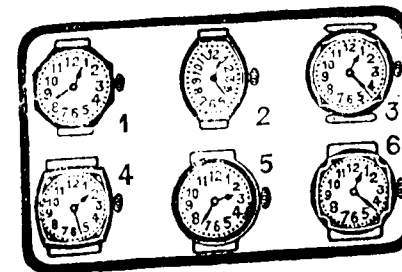
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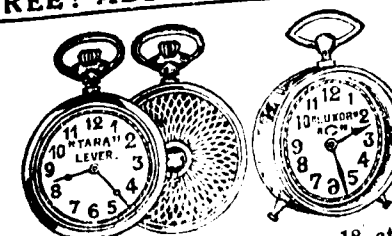


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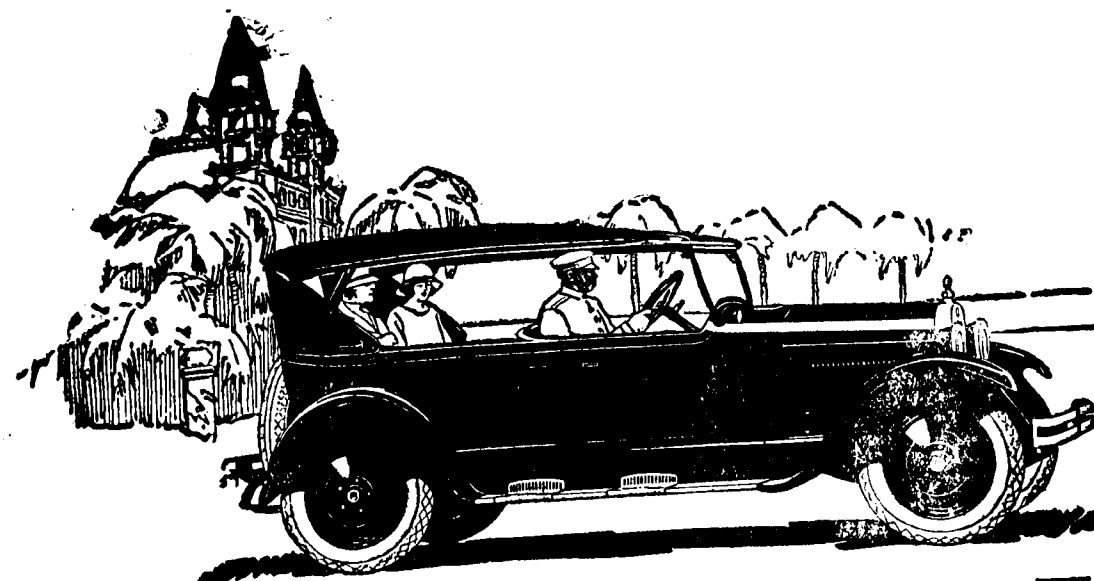
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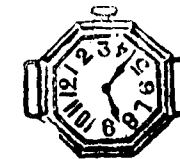
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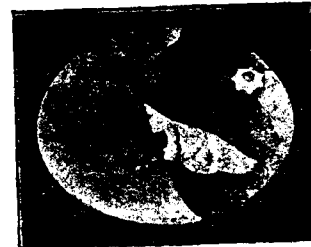
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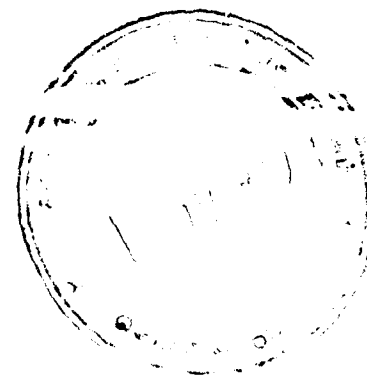
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